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SOME UNIDENTIFIED ROMAN PROTOTYPES OF BRITISH CELTIC COINS

DAVID WOODS

It is well-established that many dynastic coins of late Iron Age Britain derive their imagery from Roman prototypes, usually from either coins or inscribed gems.¹ While the British artist or designer clearly strove to copy the Roman prototype as closely as he was able in some cases, it remains the fact that ‘there are remarkably few British coins which are unchanged copies of Roman originals’.² While one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that a British designer may occasionally have made minor changes because he misunderstood his Roman prototype, the thematic unity displayed in such changes across a variety of different coin types can sometimes point to a very different conclusion, that the changes were deliberate and much more sophisticated than might otherwise have seemed to be the case.³ In some cases, while it is clear that the British designer has deliberately changed some subtle details of his original prototype, the fact that he relied on one particular prototype remains clear enough also.⁴ The purpose of this paper, however, is to offer some new suggestions concerning the prototypes of some British coins where the designer seems to have engaged much more inventively with his Roman prototypes than was often the case, either adapting certain images in a much freer manner than previously or even combining elements from very different models. The result was some sophisticated obverse or reverse types whose origins and potential significance are that much harder to understand.

1. Cunobelinus and the female dog



Figs. 1–2. Cunobelinus, silver units (reproduced x2). 1. Reverse depicting dog on snake, *ABC* 2891: BM, CM 1919,0213.374. 2. Reverse depicting a springing dog, *ABC* 2846: BM, CM 1991,1110.247. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Cunobelinus issued a silver unit whose reverse depicts a female dog facing right and standing on an extended looping snake. Two variants survive, one with the letters **CAM** in the exergue, in reference to Camulodunum (Fig. 1), the other with the letters **CVN** in the exergue, in reference to his name instead.⁵ They were each paired with the same obverse, the letters **CVN** surrounded by a wreath. The same type was also issued in the name of a certain Agr(?), probably a son of Cunobelinus, with the legend **AGR** on both obverse and reverse.⁶ Finally, Cunobelinus

¹ See e.g. Henig 1972; Henig 1988; Laing 1991; Scheers 1992; Creighton 2000, 80–125.

² Allen 1958, 43–63, at 43.

³ See the exemplary study by Williams 2005 on the importance of vine-imagery on the coinage of Verica in particular.

⁴ See e.g. the reverse of the silver unit of Solidu(?) (VA 2073, *BMC* 1894–5, *ABC* 474) where the standing figure is generally agreed to have been directly copied from a depiction of Neptune on the reverse of a bronze *as* issued under Caligula (*RIC*² 1, Caligula no 58), but with changes to his headgear and the object in his outstretched right hand.

⁵ VA 2069, *BMC* 1893, *ABC* 2891 (**CAM** in exergue); *ABC* 2894 (**CVN** in exergue).

⁶ The significance of the letters **AGR** has exercised much debate, whether an abbreviation of Roman Agrippa, Celtic Agricca, or of something else altogether. See e.g. de Jersey 2002; Rudd 2002; Sills 2003.

also issued a bronze unit with a similar reverse except that the dog faces towards the left and the details of the snake are a little different.⁷ In this case, the obverse depicts a male bust facing towards the left. So what is the origin and significance of this type? Henig interprets the dog as a debased griffin, and identifies its prototype as a gem similar to one found in Cornwall depicting a griffin trampling a snake.⁸ Van Arsdell and de Jersey follow him in this.⁹ Since the name Cunobelinus means ‘hound of Belenus’, one obvious possibility is that the dog represents Cunobelinus himself trampling some enemy symbolized by the snake. Three points need to be borne in mind next. The first is that, in the case of the silver coinage, the reverse type depicting the dog standing on a snake seems to replace a reverse type depicting a springing dog as used on two earlier issues (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The second is that the addition of the snake to the type was accompanied by other changes, most noticeably, changes in the pose of the dog and in the direction in which the dog was facing, from left to right, and the addition of prominent teats. The third is that the snake upon which the dog stands bears no resemblance to the ram-headed snake as depicted on the obverse of two silver units issued by Cunobelinus during the earliest phase of his coinage when Celtic influence remained strongest.¹¹ Hence the snake is not necessarily Celtic in origin.¹² The real question, therefore, is why Cunobelinus decided to change the depiction of the dog on his silver coinage in the way that he did.

One possibility that deserves more attention than it has received heretofore is that he did so in imitation of the denarius which Julius Caesar issued in 49/48 BC with a reverse depicting an elephant about to trample a snake and the legend **CAESAR** below an exergual line (Fig. 3).¹³ Given the association of the name **CAESAR** with the elephant, the interested viewer could easily have interpreted it as a symbol of Caesar, even if he did not necessarily understand why Caesar would have wanted to be depicted in this way. It is arguable, therefore, that Cunobelinus



Figs. 3–4. Potential prototypes for Cunobelinus’ dog on snake type (reproduced $\times 1.5$). 3. Julius Caesar, denarius, reverse depicting an elephant about to trample a snake, *RRC* 443/1: BM, CM R.8822. 4. P. Satrienus, denarius, reverse depicting a wolf with teats, *RRC* 388/1a: BM, CM 1902,0503.64. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

⁷ VA 2085, *BMC* 1900–1, *ABC* 2951. In the case of the silver units, there is a row of dots along the length of the snake, whereas the body of the snake on this bronze unit is entirely smooth. Furthermore, the head of the snake on the bronze unit has distinctive protuberances, whatever exactly these represent, but there is no apparent effort to add such detail in the case of the snake on the silver units.

⁸ Henig 1972, 217.

⁹ Van Arsdell 1989, 418; de Jersey 2001, 10; de Jersey 2002, 7–8.

¹⁰ For the reverse type with the springing dog, see VA 1949, *BMC* 1858–61, *ABC* 2846; *ABC* 2852. Van Arsdell and *BMC* misidentify the dog as a celticized horse. De Jersey 2001, 8, 15, attributes these types to his group ‘C. Middle issues’, whereas he attributes the types with dog standing on snake to a later group ‘E. Late vegetal issues’. The springing dog also appears on the reverse of a bronze half unit by Cunobelinus, VA 1967, *ABC* 2990.

¹¹ VA 1947, *BMC* 1856, *ABC* 2831; *BMC* 1857, *ABC* 2834. See Jope 2000, pl. 171, for a ram-headed snake armlet from the early first century AD, and the depiction of a ram-headed snake on the Gundestrup cauldron.

¹² Evans 1864, 316, claimed that this reverse ‘must be regarded as in some manner connected with the early British mythology’. The parallel with the reverse type by Julius Caesar (below) renders such speculation unnecessary. For comparative purpose, note a silver coin by Togirix of the Sequani (c.80–50 BC) which shows a horse trampling a snake (*CCCBM* II, nos 366–400). However, the similarities between the relative positions and poses of the animals are much greater between Cunobelinus’ type and that by Caesar than that by Togirix. Dubnovellaunos of the Cantiaci also issued a stater with reverse depicting a horse and a ram-headed snake, but in such a way that they seem to be being associated together rather than the horse to be trampling the snake (VA 169, *BMC* 2492–6, *ABC* 303).

¹³ On the coin by Caesar, see *RRC* 443/1 and Woods 2009 arguing that the elephant represents Caesar about to crush his enemy King Juba of Numidia. Rudd 2002, 3, quotes Italo Vecchi making the comparison, referring in brief to ‘a Cunobelinus silver unit (VA 2069), which represents a bitch or the Roman she-wolf trampling a serpent and, presumably, as with Julius Caesar’s elephant trampling serpent denarii (*RRC* 443/3) (*sic*), is symbolic of the victory of good and great over evil’.

was initially attracted to this design because it seemed to show Caesar using an animal as a symbol in the same way that he sometimes did, and that he was then influenced by it to depict himself, or rather his symbol, trampling a snake in the same manner as Caesar. This could explain why, in the case of the silver coinage, he begins to depict his dog facing right in the manner of the elephant on Caesar's reverse also rather than left as previously: he, or rather his designer, was unconsciously influenced to do so by the fact that this was a feature of the model that he was imitating. This brings us to the sudden addition of prominent teats to the dog.¹⁴ These are reminiscent of the prominent teats of the wolf depicted on the reverse of a denarius issued by L. Papius Celsus in 45 BC, or those of the wolf depicted on a denarius issued by P. Satrienus in 77 BC (Fig. 4).¹⁵

Next, the change in the pose of the dog on Cunobelinus' silver coinage needs to be explained also. The springing dog holds its rear legs together and its front paws raised into the air, while the dog standing on a snake adopts a calmer pose with only his inner front paw raised. In fact, he adopts almost the exact same pose of the wolf on the denarius by Satrienus, where one rear leg stretches back, and the other forward, and one front leg stretches forward on the ground, while the other is raised chest-high in front of it.¹⁶ The only features that the dog standing on a snake inherits from his predecessor, the springing dog, are the head held high on a long upright neck and a long tail curling high behind him.¹⁷ It seems, therefore, that when Cunobelinus decided to imitate the reverse of Caesar's denarius depicting a snake being trampled, he also decided to depict his symbolic dog in a more Roman fashion, and so based his new depiction of it very much on the depiction of the wolf on Satrienus' denarius, whether or not he realized that this was actually a wolf and not a dog.¹⁸ It is important to note here also that Cunobelinus depicts the dog and snake standing on an exergual line, below which the legend reads from right to left in one line, in the same way that Caesar depicts the elephant and snake standing on an exergual line, below which the legend reads from right to left in one line. This is in marked contrast to the design of Cunobelinus' earlier types with the springing dog, neither of which had included an exergual line, and in contrast also to the design of other silver units of the same phase of coinage.¹⁹ Finally, one notes that the snake being trampled on the silver coinage is depicted as formed from a row of dots in an apparent attempt to mimic the segmented or creased appearance of the snake being trampled on Caesar's denarius. Hence Cunobelinus' depiction of himself as a dog trampling a snake may represent a thoughtful engagement with and adaptation of two different Roman types, where Caesar's reverse type depicting an elephant trampling a snake provides the primary model, and Satrienus' depiction of a standing she-wolf exercises an important secondary influence.

This is not to claim that the depiction of one creature attacking another, even a snake, was previously unknown in pre-Roman Britain. Tincomarus had probably already issued his silver unit with a reverse depicting a standing eagle clutching a snake by the time that Cunobelinus issued the types under discussion, and Epaticcus and Caratacus, contemporaries of Cunobelinus, both produced silver units continuing the same basic reverse as introduced by Tincomarus.²⁰ However, Cunobelinus, or his officials, were increasingly looking to Roman models for the

¹⁴ It is important to clarify that the addition of prominent teats to the dog does not necessarily require that there was any change in the understanding of its gender. Teats are not normally prominent on a female dog except when she is nursing, so the addition of prominent teats proves only that the dog was now considered to be with young.

¹⁵ *RRC* 472/1–2 (Papius Celsus), 388/1a–b (Satrienus).

¹⁶ As noted in Chris Rudd List 64 (2002), 36. It is not clear what the significance of the wolf is on Satrienus' coin. See Harlan 2012, 92–7.

¹⁷ The result is a dog that bears a startling similarity to that on a Roman quadrans c.265–42 BC (*RRC* 24/6), but there is no need to invoke the influence of this.

¹⁸ See Woods 2012a for a standing dog reverse type of Epaticcus (*BMC* 2358–63, *ABC* 1364) based on another Roman wolf type also (*RRC* 235/1).

¹⁹ de Jersey 2001, includes five types within his group 'E. Late vegetal issues', but one was the dog trampling snake type issued in the name of a certain Agr(?). Of the three other issued in the name of Cunobelinus, the reverses of two depicted exergual lines, but one included an extra line parallel to it beneath the legend (VA 2049, *BMC* 1867A, *ABC* 2885), and the other set the legend above the exergual line (VA 2047, *BMC* 1866–7, *ABC* 2888), while the third set the reverse legend in a panel (VA 2051, *BMC* 1868–9, *ABC* 2897).

²⁰ For Tincomarus' type, see VA 397, *BMC* 880–905, *ABC* 1106; for Epaticcus' type, see VA 580, *BMC* 2024–293, *ABC* 1346; for Caratacus' type, see VA 593, *BMC* 2376–84, *ABC* 1376.

coinage, and the influence of Caesar's type best explains also both the sudden change of direction in which the dog faces on the silver coinage and the careful inclusion of the legend below the new exergual line. Furthermore, as Creighton observed, this issue by Caesar was one of the five most common types of silver coins in circulation north of the Alps during the late Republican and early Imperial periods, and had already been imitated in north-east Gaul.²¹ He used its apparent lack of influence upon British dynastic coinage to argue that 'the most common imagery from the precious metal issues of Rome was not of great interest or import to the British dynasts'. However, in this case at least, it is arguable that the imagery was, but that Cunobelinus was more subtle in his use of this Roman prototype either than the Gauls had been or than Creighton was prepared to allow.

2. Cunobelinus and the hunters



Figs. 5–6. Cunobelinus' unit with hunters and a potential prototype. 5. Cunobelinus, silver unit, hunter on each side (reproduced $\times 2$), *ABC* 2879; BM, CM 1919,0213.373. 6. Augustus, denarius, reverse depicting Diana (reproduced $\times 1.5$), *RIC*² 1, 173a; BM, CM 1860,0330.5. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Another silver unit issued by Cunobelinus appears to depict a hunter on each side (Fig. 5).²² There can be no doubt as to the identity of the model for the figure depicted on the reverse since the fact that it is depicted with a dog at its side and a bow in its hand suggests that it has been modelled on some depiction of the goddess Diana.²³ As has long been recognized, this figure bears a strong resemblance to that on a reverse type issued by Augustus *c.*15–13 BC depicting Diana standing with a dog at her right foot and a bow in her left hand (Fig. 6).²⁴ There are several difference between the figures – Diana holds a spear in her right hand, while the British figure holds its right hand down towards the dog; Diana turns her head towards her left, while the British figure turns its head towards its right; Diana's upper body is fully clothed, while the British figure leaves half its upper body exposed; the dog next to Diana is depicted in full and gazing outwards, while the dog next to the British figure is depicted as if the hind part of its body was concealed behind this figure, and with head raised to nuzzle or licks its hand – but these are not sufficient to cause any serious doubts concerning the identification of Augustus' reverse type as the prototype for this British type.

However, it is much more difficult to identify the figure on the obverse of the British coin. It does not seem to bear a close resemblance to anything depicted on a republican or early imperial Roman coin. More importantly, it is difficult to identify its two main attributes, the object that it carries in its right hand, and the object that it seems to carry on its back. Evans saw a 'partially draped figure marching to the right, holding in his right hand a short staff or sword, and carrying a dead animal on his shoulders', and identified it as Hercules carrying the Cerynean stag.²⁵ Henig sees a huntsman with a dead animal over its shoulders, but does not identify the object in his right hand; Van Arsdell claims once more that it 'holds staff or sword

²¹ Creighton 2000, 82–3. The imitations occurred under A. Hirtius and the proconsul Carinas in the territory of the Treviri *c.*49 BC and 30 BC respectively. See *RPC* I, nos 501–2.

²² VA 2063, *BMC* 1886–8, *ABC* 2879. Hence *ABC* refers to the type as 'Cunobelinus Hunters'.

²³ The *BMC* catalogue seems to be alone in describing this side as the obverse. I follow de Jersey 2001, 13.

²⁴ See *RIC*² 1, Augustus nos 172–3b. So e.g. Evans 1864, 315; Scheers 1992, 39; de Jersey 2001, 10, 13.

²⁵ Evans 1864, 315.

and a dead animal'; Scheers describes it as 'holding in his right hand a sword (?) and carrying on his left shoulder a large object, animal or man'; the *BMC* catalogue describes it as 'holding spear by side, stag (?) over the shoulders'; de Jersey describes it as 'Hercules r., ?lion-skin draped over shoulders, club in r. hand', and *ABC* follows de Jersey.²⁶ Hence the object in the figure's right hand has been variously identified as a staff, sword, spear, and club, and the object over its shoulders has been described as a dead animal of some type or a lion-skin.

As far as the object in the figure's right hand is concerned, it seems a little too short to be a staff, spear, or a sword; it does not have the curved shape that one would normally associate with a throwing stick, and it is far too slim to be a club. Furthermore, the figure seems to be clasping this object about its middle, which effectively excludes its identification as a bladed weapon of any sort. Unfortunately, the identification of the object over the figure's shoulders is rendered even more difficult than it might otherwise be due to the fact that most specimens are struck off-centre to some extent at least, so that this element of the design is usually only partially preserved. Where the object over the figure's right shoulder is visible, however, it seems to form a broad rounded mass behind its neck which then tapers away into a straight line. In the case of perhaps the best surviving depiction of this object (CCI 98.2058), there are three dots or bulges along this line suggestive of joints.²⁷ On this specimen, a short vertical length also rises upwards at the first dot (knee-joint?) along the main length, suggestive perhaps of the lower part of a second 'leg', obscured for the most part behind the first 'leg', as it bends upwards and away from the latter. However, on another specimen (CCI 68.0453) this short vertical length is included within the main 'leg' to give the impression that it is bent at an angle rather than extended straight. Whatever is the more correct rendition of what the original artist intended, the overall impression is that of the hindquarters of some beast resting behind or upon the figure's right shoulder. Something is also visible over the figure's left shoulder, but it is much smaller than the object over the right shoulder, and even more difficult to identify. In perhaps the best surviving depiction of this object (CCI 68.0453), a small line, or limb, seems to extend from, or from behind, some rounded mass. This mass may represent the head of the slain beast, while the extension from or behind it may represent a front leg. Whatever the case, the object over the left shoulder seems best interpreted as some extension of the object seen over the right shoulder, and the whole as some slain beast. In support of this interpretation, one notes that the figure bends forward as if carrying a substantial weight upon its shoulders.²⁸ The same stooped posture tells against interpreting the object on the figure's shoulders as a lion-skin, since this ought not to have weighed so much as to cause it to stoop in this way. More importantly, the fact that this figure is wearing a chiton in the same way as the figure on the reverse tells significantly against identifying it as Hercules, and the object on its shoulders as a lion-skin, because Hercules was normally depicted as a heroic nude. Indeed, he is depicted in this way on the obverse of another silver unit issued by Cunobelinus during the same phase of coinage, as well as on various late republican Roman issues.²⁹

So who is this figure with the apparent dead beast upon its shoulders, and what classical model, if any, did the artist draw upon in this matter? Henig points out that 'the return from the hunt is a very common theme on engraved stones, although the quarry is generally shown hanging from a stick', and draws attention also to the fact that another common artistic theme was that of Ajax carrying the corpse of Achilles.³⁰ However, neither parallel seems particularly relevant here. One clue as to how to approach this matter may lie in the fact that the figure on the obverse is dressed in exactly the same manner as the figure on the reverse, in a chiton that begins above the knees and only covers one shoulder. Another may lie in the fact

²⁶ Henig 1972, 214; Scheers 1992, 39; de Jersey 2001, 13.

²⁷ The same, or similar, line is visible on CCI 92.0329 and 95.1272.

²⁸ Scheers 1992, 39, describes the posture of this figure as identical to that of Ajax carrying Achilles as depicted on a gemstone in Bonn, but this is simply the natural way to depict any figure carrying a substantial weight.

²⁹ VA 2061, *BMC* 1884–5, *ABC* 2864. de Jersey 2001, 11–13, attributes this to his group 'D. Tasciovanus issues' as D1, and the coin under discussion to the same group as D6. For Hercules as a heroic nude, see *RRC* 455/1–2, 461/1, 494/38.

³⁰ Henig 1972, 214.

that the action of the figure on the obverse seems to complement, or complete, the action of the figure on the reverse. By this I mean that the figure on the reverse seems to stand waiting as if it has already shot its arrow, while the figure on the obverse seems to be hurrying forward under the weight of a slain beast and with what could well be an arrow in its right hand. Hence the figure on the obverse could be the hunting partner of the figure on the reverse, depicted retrieving the body of the beast that its companion has shot, while holding the arrow that it has recovered from the same. This suggests that the artist responsible for the figure on the obverse based his depiction of this figure on the manner in which he, or another, had already decided to depict the figure on the reverse. Hence the two sides of the coin seem to tell the story of a single hunt, and to the extent that the Augustan reverse type both suggested this as a suitable topic for coinage and acted as the direct model for the British reverse which then acted as the model for the British obverse, the Augustan reverse type may be said to have inspired both sides of this type by Cunobelinus. It is not clear whether Cunobelinus, or his designer, understood who, or what, Diana was, but he certainly understood the concept of hunting by bow-and-arrow, and that was all that was necessary here. There is no need to interpret this coin to celebrate anything other than the act of hunting itself, although one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that one or both figures were also being honoured as gods of the hunt in the manner of Diana.

3. Cunobelinus and the sacrifice at the sloping altar



Figs. 7–8. Cunobelinus' sloping altar and potential Roman prototype. 7. Cunobelinus, silver unit, reverse depicting figure at sloping altar (reproduced $\times 2$), *ABC* 2900: BM, CM 1991,1110.249. 8. Mark Antony, aureus, reverse depicting Fortuna (reproduced $\times 1.5$), *RRC* 516/1: BM, CM BNK,R.2. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Cunobelinus issued another silver unit whose reverse appears to depict a figure standing between two altars, with its back to one altar while stretching out its right hand to do something to the altar in front of it, or so it is generally agreed (Fig. 7).³¹ To be more precise, Allen sees an altar behind the figure and, in front, 'a tripod, towards which this figure may be extending some kind of knife or other straight instrument', and Henig identifies the object to the front of the figure as a tripod rather than an altar, and the line rising from this as possibly a snake rather than a flame, but Van Arsdell sees two altars behind and in front of the figure, while the *BMC* catalogue refers to a 'figure stg. r., draped, before & behind an altar'; de Jersey, however, sees a 'standing figure in toga r., preparing offering at an altar; another altar behind', and *ABC* describes 'a figure standing r., altar in front and behind.'³² However, one may seriously doubt whether the alleged altar in front of the figure is really identifiable as such. The first reason to doubt this is that its steeply sloping surface is without parallel. One may search the catalogues of Roman coins in vain for the depiction of a sacrifice at such a sloping altar, or tripod. While several republican or early imperial coins do depict one or more figures sacrificing at an altar, none depict such a sloping altar, and for the very good reason that it would have been impossible to offer sacrifice at such an altar or tripod from which everything would have slid straight down onto the feet of the presiding official.³³ Here one must also question why the altar behind the figure is depicted with a level surface, while that before it is depicted with a sloping surface.

³¹ VA 2065, *BMC* 1889–90, *ABC* 2900.

³² Allen 1958, 62; Henig 1972, 211; Van Arsdell 1989, 418; de Jersey 2001, 10, 18.

³³ See *RRC* 334/1, 372/1; *RIC*² 1, Augustus nos 363–6, 369, 411; Gaius no. 36. For a lighted altar by itself, see *RRC* 455/4–5.

The second reason to doubt the identification of the altar in front as such is the fact that the apparent flame, if that is what it is, rises in a straight line from its surface, but at an unnatural angle to the horizontal, in order to touch the hand of the standing figure. Yet a flame ought to have been depicted rising perpendicular to the horizontal, and probably broader in form than this line, exactly like the flame depicted rising from the altar behind the standing figure. The shape of this line remains equally unusual even if one prefers to interpret it as a snake instead, because it should then have adopted a traditional curved, even coiled, shape, as in the case of the curved snake depicted rising from the altar on a silver unit issued by Tincomarus.³⁴ Together, these two unusual features, the strange sloping surface of the alleged altar and the stranger linear movement of the apparent flame rising from its surface, suggest that the alleged altar is not in fact an altar, nor the alleged flame a flame. Instead, the standing figure seems to be grasping at some handle or lever emerging from some form of stand or lectern in front of it, or prodding this stand with some type of short, straight instrument. One possibility, therefore, is that this figure is using a stylus, or other instrument, to leave its mark on something resting upon the sloped surface of the stand before it, that is, that it is performing some form of writing.

So what model influenced Cunobelinus, or his designer, in the choice of this reverse type? No republican or early imperial Roman coin depicts any figure using some form of short, straight instrument to prod or mark something resting upon the sloped surface of a stand. Henig draws a parallel with gems depicting Apollo before an altar or tripod, but he relies on a mutilated specimen of the type where the key section of the coin has been badly damaged.³⁵ However, the answer to the origin of the sloping stand may lie in a reverse type issued by the triumvir Mark Antony in 41 BC (Fig. 8).³⁶ This depicts the goddess Fortuna standing and facing towards the left with her right arm stretched out before her to grasp the handle of a rudder. The rudder passes behind her body so that it is mostly concealed from the viewer's sight, but its base emerges into view once more at ground level on the right hand side. Two of the three issues of this type also depict a stork standing in front of Fortuna and immediately below the handle of the rudder. The relevance of this type here is that the slope of the main shaft of the rudder as it descends behind Fortuna's body is reminiscent of the slope of the stand upon which the British figure appears to write, while the short, straight handle of the rudder resembles the short, straight instrument which the British figure appears to hold, and the angular intersection of the handle with the main shaft of the rudder is reminiscent of the angular intersection of the seeming writing instrument with the slope of the apparent stand on Cunobelinus' coin. It is plausible, therefore, that Cunobelinus, or his designer, mistakenly identified the part of the rudder in view to the front of Fortuna as a depiction of her using a short straight instrument to write upon a sloping stand where the figure of the stork was assumed to be concealing most of this stand, if its outline was not actually misinterpreted as the stand's front edge.

In short, it is arguable that Cunobelinus adapted this reverse type by Antony in the creation of the reverse type under discussion. He reversed the direction in which the main figure was facing, removed the cornucopia from its left arm, created a little more distance between it and what he thought was some form of stand in front of it, and added a burning altar to its rear, but he copied its basic activity, or so he thought. The strangely voluminous robe of the figure on Cunobelinus' coin reinforces this interpretation. It sweeps from around the back of the figure to form a large mass dragging along the ground to its side and front, and bears no resemblance to the clothing of any other figure on Cunobelinus' coinage. However, it does resemble the sort of robe that Fortuna could have been thought to be wearing if one had misinterpreted the base of the rudder emerging from behind her at ground level as part of a voluminous dress. Hence the best explanation of the origin of this reverse type by Cunobelinus is that he, or his designer, attempted to adapt a reverse featuring Fortuna holding a rudder which he had completely misinterpreted. He seems to have intended the resultant scene to depict some sort of ritual situation where a long-robed figure performed some form of writing in the

³⁴ *ABC* 1130.

³⁵ Henig 1972, 211–12. Van Arsdell 1989, 418, follows Henig.

³⁶ *RRC* 516/ 1 (aureus), 2–3 (denarii).

presence of a lighted altar, so that it not unnatural to ask whether this figure is not a priest or druid, exactly as has already been suggested.³⁷

4. Verica and the head on a spear



Figs. 9–10. Verica's figure with palm and a potential prototype. 9. Verica, silver unit, reverse depicting figure with palm (reproduced $\times 2$), *ABC* 1235: BM, CM 1988,0627.476. 10. P. Clodius, denarius, reverse depicting Pietas (reproduced $\times 1.5$), *RRC* 494/19: BM, CM 1907,0107.12. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figs. 11–12. Potential prototypes for Verica's figure with palm and bust on upright (reproduced $\times 1.5$). 11. M. Pobjlicius, denarius, reverse depicting soldier with palm, *RRC* 469/1a: BM, CM R.8997. 12. Mark Antony, denarius, reverse depicting legionary standards, *RRC* 544/23: BM, CM 2002,0102.4887. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Verica issued a silver unit whose reverse depicts a figure standing facing left with some form of vegetation in his outstretched right hand, while a head rests on some form of upright in the field to the right (Fig. 9).³⁸ Van Arsdell describes a figure with 'branch in right hand', but mistakenly claims that this figure also holds 'bust on lance in left hand', while the *BMC* catalogue describes a 'figure stg. l., helmeted, left arm across body, r. arm holding a palm (?) branch', with 'to r. head on lance', and *ABC* describes a 'figure standing l., holding branch in r. hand, head on spear in l.'. Similarly, Laing describes a figure 'holding a branch and a head on a pole', while Bean describes 'a female draped figure facing left, large ear of corn in right hand, human head impaled on ornate staff in left'.³⁹ Finally, Creighton prefers 'figure with ancestral bust', and uses this image to support his argument that Verica promoted an ancestral cult of the Commius whose son he claimed to be.⁴⁰ Bean identifies the prototype of this reverse as the reverse of a denarius issued in 42 BC depicting Pietas standing facing to the left with a branch in her outstretched right hand and a sceptre in her left hand (Fig. 10).⁴¹ The problem with this identification, however, is that the figure on Verica's coin bears little real resemblance to this depiction of Pietas: it seems to be male (no breasts), bears a branch that is longer and more erect, and does not hold anything in its left hand. In fact, the figure on Verica's coin is better compared to the soldier depicted on a denarius issued by the *legatus pro praetore* M. Pobjlicius in the name of Cn. Pompeius Magnus in Spain c.46/45 BC (Fig. 11).⁴² The soldier is standing on the prow of a ship with right arm outstretched to receive a palm branch from an armed female figure. His stance, facing towards the left with right arm outstretched and left arm at

³⁷ Allen 1958, 62.

³⁸ VA 506, *BMC* 1450–84, *ABC* 1235.

³⁹ Laing 1991, 22; Bean 2000, 247.

⁴⁰ Creighton 2000, 191–3.

⁴¹ Bean 2000, 193, referring to *RRC* 494/19.

⁴² *RRC* 469/1a–e.

his side, but bent forward at the elbow, is identical to that of the figure on Verica's coin, with a stronger similarity between the branches in their hands also.

As for the alleged ancestral bust behind the figure on Verica's coin, it bears a strong similarity to a type of Roman military standard, the *imago* or bust of the emperor normally borne by a Roman *imaginifer*.⁴³ Allied princes were expected to signify their submission to Rome by honouring the image of the emperor among the standards, and Verica would certainly have been required to do so after he fled for refuge to Roman territory, if he had not already done so long before then.⁴⁴ While no Roman coin seems to have depicted this particular type of standard, this identification is reinforced by the depiction of the shaft of this standard in the same way that the shafts of the *signa* were depicted on the legionary denarii issued by Mark Antony c.32–31 BC (Fig. 12).⁴⁵ Two points of similarity are evident, the facts that the shafts are depicted as a single columns of dots, and that they end in a triangular spear-head designed to penetrate into the ground.⁴⁶ Since these denarii formed one of the most common silver types in circulation north of the Alps during the early imperial period, it is not surprising that Verica, or his designer, should have been familiar with them, and Creighton errs in his claim that 'this massive issue failed to impress any of the British dynasts, as none imitated it'.⁴⁷ Hence Verica, or his designer, seems to have borrowed elements from two different Roman reverse types to create a new composition.

So what exactly does this reverse type depict? One possibility is that it depicts Verica himself carrying a palm branch in celebration of some victory gained with the support of the Romans as symbolized by the *imago* of the emperor, although it is impossible to determine on this evidence whether this victory was real or imagined, past or prospective. However, much depends on the identity of the bust on the standard. Some better preserved specimens seem to depict a bearded bust, and if this is correct, the bust is unlikely to be that of any of the early Julio-Claudian emperors who were never depicted bearded, assuming that the engraver would have been sufficiently informed to know this.⁴⁸ This leaves two other main possibilities. The first is that the bust on the standard is that of some god, while the standing figure is Verica, so that coin proclaims Verica's victory under the sign of this god.⁴⁹ The second is that the bust on the standard is that of Verica himself, while the standing figure represents the state, or some element of the state, so that the coin proclaims the victory of the state under the sign of its king. The key point here, however, is that the designer has juxtaposed these two elements, a figure holding the palm-branch of victory, and some adaptation of a Roman military standard, in such a way as to suggest that he has correctly understood the symbolism of each. Finally, one should note that the bust on the standard is unlikely to be that of an enemy, or to have anything to do with the Celtic practice of head-hunting, precisely because this standard was drawn in imitation of the Roman eagle-standard and at a time when British designers seem to have been deliberately avoiding anything too distinctively Celtic or British.⁵⁰ The suspicion must be that the designer replaced one positive symbol, the eagle, with another positive

⁴³ See Alexandrescu 2005, 147–56, at 148–9. For an example of such an *imago*, a large bust in the round, exactly as depicted on Verica's coin, see the gravestone of Aurelius Diogenes in Chester (*RIB* 521), although it dates to the mid-third century AD.

⁴⁴ On worshipping the image of the emperor among the standards, see Campbell 1984, 96–9.

⁴⁵ *RRC* 544/8–39.

⁴⁶ The shafts of the *signa* on Mark Antony's denarii are always formed of columns of dots, but there is some variation in the depiction of their butts, so that not all are depicted ending in spear-heads. Both of these features distinguish them very clearly from the various standards depicted on the coinage of Augustus, such as on those many coins issued in connection with his reception of the captured standards back from the Parthians in 20 BC.

⁴⁷ Creighton 2000, 82. In fact, Verica copied the eagle from this type for use as the main feature on the reverse of a minim, as revealed by the fact that his eagle retains the same pose and, more importantly, the distinctive collar of the eagle on Antony's legionary denarii. See VA 563, *BMC* 1572–8, *ABC* 1331.

⁴⁸ For the apparent beard, see e.g. CCI 02.0298; also CNG Group, Electronic Auction 292, lot 516.

⁴⁹ Laing 1991, 22, suggests that the bust is 'likely to be a bronze mount, comparable with the Romano-Celtic head from Felmingham Hall, Norfolk'. This is a persuasive suggestion, despite the relatively late date (second/third century AD) of the Felmingham Hall hoard.

⁵⁰ In general on Celtic head-hunting, see Armit 2012. Even if Cunobelinus does depict Perseus with the head of Medusa on the reverse of a bronze unit (VA 2109, *BMC* 2004–9, *ABC* 2987), or something similar based on a depiction of these classical figures, this does not prove that he, or any other British leader, had any more interest in the cult of the head than did many Greeks and Romans who also displayed an interest in this myth.

symbol more appropriate to the new British context in an attempt to create a British equivalent of the eagle-standard; if, indeed, he was not simply attempting to depict something that Verica had already invented as part of his increasing Romanization of his court.

5. Verica and the domed altar-enclosure



Figs. 13–14. Verica's altar type and its Roman prototype. 13. Verica, minim, obverse depicting domed 'altar' (reproduced $\times 2$), *ABC* 1313: BM, CM 1973,0802.1. 14. Tiberius, *as*, reverse depicting altar enclosure (reproduced $\times 1$), *RIC*² 1, 81: BM, CM R.6410. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Verica issued a silver minim with an obverse depicting what the major catalogues agree in describing simply as an altar (Fig. 13).⁵¹ However, Bean describes it as a 'two door temple with domed roof', while Creighton wishes to identify it as a shrine, or cupboard, in which Verica kept a bust of his alleged father Commius.⁵² The reason for its identification as an altar lies in the fact that the lower part of this object or building clearly imitates the altar, or altar-enclosure to be more precise, that appeared on the reverse of an *as* issued by the emperor Tiberius c.AD 22–30 (Fig. 14).⁵³ In each case, there is an attempt to represent steps, a main body consisting of two rectangular doors, and an entablature on top. The similarity between the two types is increased by the fact that two large capitals appear on either side of the building, C and F in the case of Verica's coin, to be expanded as *C(ommi) F(ilius)* 'son of Commius', and S and C in the case of Tiberius' coin, to be expanded as *S(enatus) C(onsulto)* 'by decree of the Senate'. However, there is an important difference between the two types in that Verica's coin depicts a band arcing above the entablature to create the initial impression of a barrel roof or even a dome. In contrast, Tiberius' coin depicts some curling ornamentation on top of, and at the two extremities of, the entablature, with some sort of flat raised surface in between. The question, therefore, is why did the designer of Verica's coin add an apparent barrel roof or dome to the basic model that he was imitating.

One may begin by noting that the coin under discussion is one of only two British coins that depict architectural types, and the strong parallels between the two coins suggest some greater co-ordination between their issues. Both coins are minims, both were issued by Verica, both depict a classically derived architectural type on the obverse, and both depict a taurine image on the reverse. Hence, while the coin under discussion depicts an apparent altar on the obverse and the head of a bull on the reverse, the other issue depicts an apparent temple on the obverse and a butting bull on the reverse (Fig. 15).⁵⁴ In other words, the coins seem to represent variations on the same themes. But can one push this parallelism further to argue that the apparent altar on one obverse bears the same approximate relationship to the apparent temple on the other obverse as the bull's head on the reverse of the former bears to the full bull on the reverse of the latter? This seems possible, whether one understands this relationship as pro-

⁵¹ VA 552, *BMC* 1534–7, *ABC* 1313.

⁵² Bean 2000, 246; Creighton 2000, 192.

⁵³ See e.g. Laing 1991, 20, on *RIC*² 1, Tiberius nos 80–1, where the object is described as an 'altar-enclosure with double panelled door' and 'uncertain ornaments on top'. The same object also appeared on bronze coins from Emerita in Spain. See *RPC* 1, nos 28, 34–6, 45–6, where it is described merely as an altar.

⁵⁴ VA 553, *BMC* 1538–41, *ABC* 1316. All agree in describing the structure as a temple.



Figs. 15–16. Verica's temple type and a potential prototype. 15. Verica, silver minim, obverse depicting temple (reproduced $\times 2$), *ABC* 1316; Chris Rudd List 139, no. 26. 16. © The author. Mark Antony, denarius, reverse depicting temple and solar disk (reproduced $\times 1.5$), *RRC* 496/1: BM, CM 1867,0101.1130. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

ceeding from the part to the whole, or from the central element to the wider context. It is arguable, therefore, that the apparent altar may well be intended as such since it could be said to form the central element of the temple, or temple-complex, in the same way that the head is the central or controlling element of the body. Alternatively, one could nuance this interpretation to say that, whatever exactly it was supposed to be – whether an altar, a cupboard, or a larger shrine of some sort – the key point is that this item could be said to form the central element of the temple, or temple-complex. However, all this may push the parallelism between the two issues by Verica a little too far, and still does not explain the addition of a barrel roof or dome to the altar-enclosure as depicted on Tiberius' *as*.

It may prove more fruitful to assume no more than a basic parallelism between Verica's issues, that both depict the same sort of architectural feature on the obverse in the same way that they both depict the same creature – a bull – on the reverse, but to then examine the depiction of the apparent temple to see to what extent, if any, the designer has departed from his classical model in the assumption that the designers of both obverse types probably adopted much the same approach in this matter, if it was not actually the same individual in each case. In the case of the apparent temple, therefore, while the classical influence is clear, it is difficult to identify which coin, if any, the designer has used as his model in this matter. Bean describes this temple as having a circular door because it seems to depict some circular object in the opening between its two main pillars.⁵⁵ This, together with the fact that there are just two main pillars, suggests that the designer may have been influenced by a denarius issued by Mark Antony in 42 BC which depicts a temple with a solar disk between its two front pillars (Fig. 16).⁵⁶ Otherwise, the thick rectangular platform at the base of the temple is more reminiscent of that of the temple to Julius Caesar as depicted on coins issued by Octavian in 36 BC (Fig. 17).⁵⁷ However,



Figs. 17–18. Further potential prototypes for Verica's temple (reproduced $\times 1.5$). 17. Octavian, denarius, reverse depicting temple to Julius Caesar, *RRC* 540/2: BM, CM R.9473. 18. Octavian, denarius, reverse depicting Curia Julia, *RIC*² 1, 266: BM, CM R.6167. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

⁵⁵ Bean 2000, 247. Van Ardeell 1989, 173, claims that 'an indistinct figure in temple appears to hold a spear'. For clear depictions of this object, although more of a rounded blob than a true circle, see e.g. CCI 01.1459, 03.0557, 92.0569, 93.0125. It takes a somewhat squarer appearance in CCI 90.0112 and 99.1899. However, it never seems to touch the ground, but hangs suspended in mid-air between the columns.

⁵⁶ *RRC* 496/1. The design may have celebrated the occurrence of a solar halo. See Woods 2012b, 87–8. Bean 2000, 193, suggests that the British obverse derives from either *RIC*² 1, Augustus no. 419 (12 BC) or *RRC* 480/21 (44 BC), but the former depicts a laurel wreath above a closed double door flanked by laurel-branches, while the latter depicts a standard tetrastyle temple with closed doors.

⁵⁷ *RRC* 540/1 (aureus), 540/2 (denarius).

the British temple also displays a large chimney-like architectural feature at the apex of its pediment, precisely where one would often expect to find some statuary in the case of many Roman temples, although neither of the Roman types just mentioned depicts any significant feature at this point on their temples.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in the case of the British temple, the roof extends far too much beyond the main body of the temple itself, as does the platform beneath it. The result is that the basic profile of this building bears a stronger resemblance to that of the Curia Julia as depicted by Octavian on a denarius issued *c.*29 BC (Fig. 18) rather than to that of any temple.⁵⁹



Figs. 19–20. Potential prototypes for a domed structure (reproduced x1.5). 19. Augustus, denarius, reverse depicting temple of Mars Ultor, *RIC*² 1, 39b: BM, CM 1936,0512.22. 20. P. Carisius, denarius, reverse depicting a view of Emerita, *RIC*² 1, 9a: BM, CM 1904,0203.12. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

In other words, the designer of the British coin has not produced a close copy of any Roman model, but seems to have combined a number of different elements or influences in order to convey merely the idea of a Roman temple, if that was what he intended. Such an approach may best explain also the addition of what appears to be a barrel roof or dome to a building very clearly based on the altar-enclosure as depicted on Tiberius' *as*. The designer of this obverse did not copy any particular model, but copied features from different architectural types in order simply to convey the idea of a Roman temple. Here one notes that Augustus depicted a domed temple of Mars Ultor on numerous types issued *c.*19–18 BC (Fig. 19), and our designer may well have been familiar with some of these types.⁶⁰ However, this type does not really explain why the designer chose to depict a dome by means of a band arcing over the top of the altar-enclosure rather than a single line. The presence of this band rather than a single line supports the depiction of a barrel roof rather than a dome, but no Roman coin ever depicted such a roof. So where could this idea have come from? The answer to this may lie in the reverse of a denarius issued by the *legatus pro praetore* P. Carisius at Emerita in Spain in the name of Augustus in *c.*25–23 BC (Fig. 20).⁶¹ It attempted to provide a sort of bird's eye view of the town from the front, with the city-wall running into the distance behind the gateway. However, to the untutored eye, the arcing band formed by the city-wall enclosing the city in the distance may well have looked like an attempt to depict a barrel roof or dome over the gateway. It is my suggestion, therefore, that the British designer correctly identified the entrance to the altar enclosure as some form of monumental entrance and decided to add the same architectural feature to it as he thought he saw depicted on the reverse by Carisius, in an attempt to convey the idea of a Roman temple with a barrel roof or dome rather than to copy any particular model in full. In other words, the only two British coins to display architectural types, probably depict architectural fantasies rather than real buildings, but the same is true of many Roman architectural types also.⁶² The question as to why Verica wished to display such fantasies on his coinage – whether as symbols of monuments that he intended to build, sym-

⁵⁸ For clear depictions of this chimney-like feature, see e.g. CCI 00.0682, 01.1459, 03.0557, 90.0112, 92.0569.

⁵⁹ *RIC*² 1, Augustus no. 266.

⁶⁰ *RIC*² 1, Augustus nos 28, 39, 68–74, 103–6, 114–20. On the historical problem posed by this depiction of a domed temple to Mars Ultor, see Rich 1998, 79–86.

⁶¹ *RIC*² 1, Augustus nos 9a–10. This depiction of Emerita proved popular at Emerita itself which continued to use it on its bronze coinage well into the reign of Tiberius. See *RPC* 1, nos 20–7, 30–3, 38, 41–4.

⁶² On Roman architectural types, see Burnett 1999, esp. 152: 'it is the idea rather than the actual structure that is the objective of the die engraver'.

bols of buildings that he had seen during a visit to the Roman Empire, or for some other reason altogether – must remain unanswered.

Conclusions

As a conceptual tool at least, it may assist in the analysis of the iconography of British obverse or reverse types to sketch the logical steps in the development of this iconography under increasing Roman influence, and to attempt then to categorize the various types according to these steps. One could perhaps distinguish the following stages resulting ultimately in the depiction of subjects, or types of subjects, with no Roman precedent, that is, the emergence of a new Celtic subject matter, but in a realistic Roman style:

1. Traditional Celtic subject, Celtic style;
2. Traditional Celtic subject, Roman style;
3. Imitative Roman (simple copying of single Roman model);
4. Adapted Roman subject, single model;
5. Adapted Roman subjects, multiple models;
6. New Celtic subjects, Roman style.

While it may not always be easy to assign an individual British type to one step or the next, consideration of a variety of approximately contemporary types provides a good insight into the general state of development. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the types discussed here all fall towards the end of this developmental sequence. On the whole, British artists were advancing beyond the minor adaptation of single Roman models to the use of multiple Roman models in the creation of more complex compositions, but they had not yet become confident enough to create truly new compositions dealing with subject matters that had no precedent or parallel in the Roman numismatic tradition. However, they seem to have been on the cusp of so doing when the Claudian invasion of AD 43 brought their increasing iconographic sophistication and independence to a halt.

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SCEATTAS AND EARLY BROAD PENNIES FOUND IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT

KATHARINA ULMSCHNEIDER AND MICHAEL METCALF

Introduction

WITHIN living memory, the Isle of Wight was virtually a blank on the distribution-maps of sceatta finds. There was just one coin, found at Newport in 1759, and described in the minute-books of the Society of Antiquaries.¹ Meanwhile, controlled excavations across the Solent at Hamwic, the modern Southampton, have revealed the sceatta² currency of perhaps the best documented and the best published of the English coastal *emporia* of the late seventh to the ninth centuries. A catalogue was published in 1988, including some 129 sceattas, originating at many different mint-places, plus some 36 re-used late Roman coins from the same eighth-century pits, and fifteen or twenty early pennies, etc., of the later eighth and the ninth centuries. Since then the archaeological investigation of the *wic* has continued, and a further 20 or so sceattas have been found, and published, plus a couple more early pennies, bringing the total to some 150 sceattas (including just one Merovingian denier).³ The contrast with the Isle of Wight seemed extreme. Regionally, Hamwic existed in monetary ‘isolation’, as an urban or proto-urban site with its own locally-minted sceattas, Series H.⁴ It had extensive trading contacts with the Netherlands and with south-eastern England, and it seems to have enjoyed a positive balance of trade, as coins of Series H are scarce elsewhere (at Domburg, for example, there are just two specimens among the best part of a thousand finds).⁵

The seeming contrast in monetary terms between Hamwic and the nearby Isle of Wight now has to be fundamentally rethought. Over the last three decades, two ‘productive’ sites have come to light in the island, one in Shalfleet parish, and the other near Carisbrooke, which, together with other stray finds, bring the total of early finds to more than 130 coins. It is now possible to present the sceattas and early pennies from these sites, located surprisingly close to each other, and a mere 15 miles or so from Hamwic, as the crow flies. Comparisons of the range of sceatta types found at Carisbrooke and Shalfleet and as stray finds elsewhere in the island allow us to explore the idea that the ‘productive’ sites, especially Shalfleet, were to a significant extent integrated with the currency of Hamwic, but that coins were also entering the island partly from elsewhere, and reaching those two sites. Also, there are differences in the chronological spread of the stray finds as compared with the ‘productive’ sites which suggest that before the sites were functioning, and also during the reign of Offa, monetary exchanges were taking place in a more scattered way across the island.

As well as all the monetary implications of the new material, there are social and political aspects which deserve to be considered, arising out of the possibly ‘Jutish’ character of the island’s population. Bede, in a much-discussed observation, says that ‘The people of Kent and

Acknowledgements. We are deeply indebted to Frank Basford for allowing us to use material painstakingly collected and expertly recorded by him over many years on the Isle of Wight. Without his encouragement and indefatigable help in providing the latest information on finds, and his excellent rapport with the metal-detecting community, encouraging the use of GPS and prompt recording of finds, this detailed study would not have been possible. We also gratefully acknowledge the help of Vicky Basford, David Motkin, David Tomalin, and Ruth Waller, as well as the other members of the Isle of Wight Archaeology Centre, for providing important background information, and for their warm welcome on the island. Finally, we would like to dedicate this article to the memory of Mark Blackburn, whose friendship and kindness is much missed.

¹ Metcalf 1957, 205.

² The adjective sceatta is a modern usage, from the Old English noun *sceat* (pl. *sceattas*). It is used as a term of art, and as such is now entrenched in the literature.

³ Metcalf 1988; Metcalf 2005b; Garner 2003, 125.

⁴ This should not be taken too literally – other sceatta types reached Hamwic.

⁵ Op den Velde and Claassen 2004, nos 66 and 67.

the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes'.⁶ Barbara Yorke has traced the history of the conquest of the Isle of Wight in 686, as well as that of the Jutes of south Hampshire, the *Meonware*, by King Caedwalla.⁷ Bede was writing, with the benefit of local information,⁸ in the hey-day of the sceatta coinages, and one practical question for the monetary historian is whether the *Wihthware* developed trading contacts with their fellow-Jutes still living in Jutland – as reflected in a higher-than-average proportion of Danish coins in the local currency, compared with other regions of England. We can also ask whether the proportion of sceattas of Series H (minted at Hamwic) was significantly lower in the Isle of Wight. The large new samples of stray losses of sceattas give us the opportunity, for the first time, to begin to ask questions such as these.

The evidence from the two 'productive' sites

The exact locations of the two 'productive' sites have been withheld, at the wish of those involved, but the parish name of Shalfleet was put in the public domain in 2007, when various sceattas were included in the *Coin Register*, and 'near Carisbrooke' has been mentioned freely.

'Near Carisbrooke', located in the centre of the island, was searched by three or four detectorists mainly during the period c.1989–2001. In all, it yielded 41 sceattas, one Merovingian denier, and two early pennies, as well as other Early and Middle Saxon stray finds, all mainly located in two neighbouring fields. The site was not available for fieldwork then, and the exact findspots within the fields remain unknown to this day. However, broader historical and geographical analysis suggests that the site would have functioned as some sort of market, and is likely to have been associated with the development of a central place at Carisbrooke.⁹

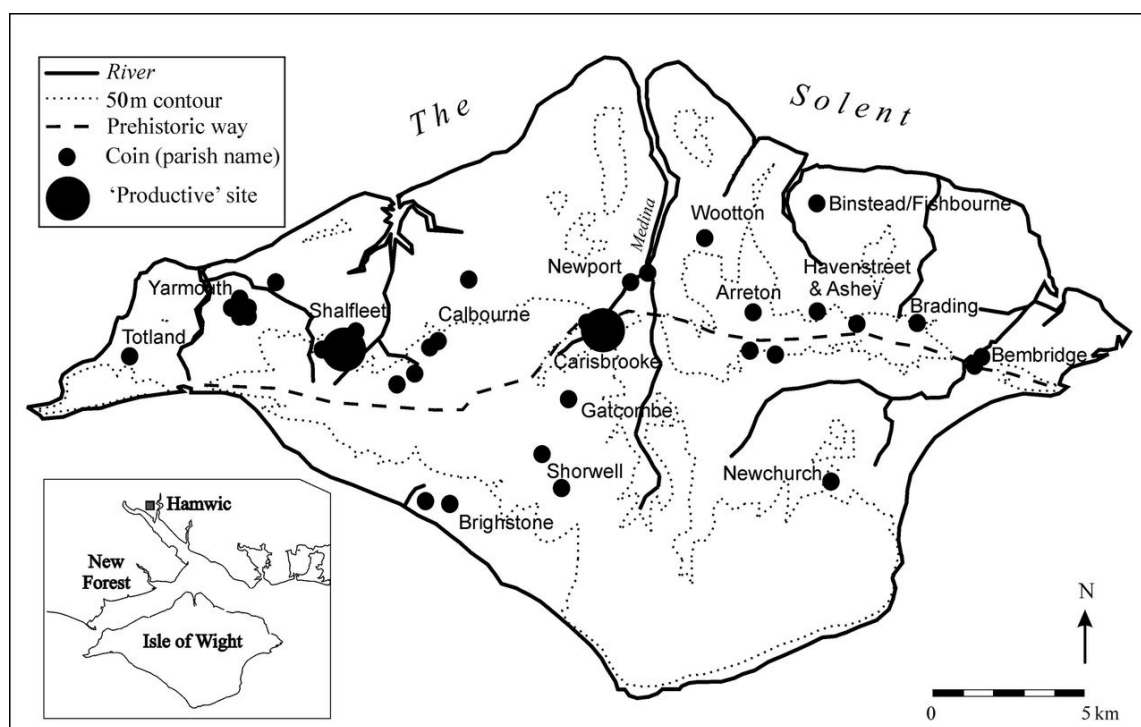


Fig. 1. Map of Middle Saxon coins on the Isle of Wight, and the two 'productive' sites (data up to 1 Oct. 2012).

⁶ Bede, *HE*, i.15 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 50–1).

⁷ Yorke 1989. This article is not the place for an extended discussion of the complex relationship between material culture and ethnicity.

⁸ He mentions that he received help from Daniel, bishop of Winchester (who also exercised the episcopate in Wight): Bede, *HE*, Preface (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 4–5).

⁹ For a central place at Carisbrooke, see Margham 1992. For the 'productive' site, see Ulmschneider 1999 and 2003.

The second ‘productive’ site, located in Shalfleet parish, has not been published previously, and needs some introduction.¹⁰ Like ‘near Carisbrooke’, this site first became known through metal-detecting, in 2005. It has been exploited by about 30 different detectorists, who have been meticulously reporting their finds, most of which were made at organized rallies. To date the site has yielded 42 sceattas (including again one Merovingian denier) and five early pennies. In a significant and crucial new development, Mr Frank Basford, the Finds Liaison Officer of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, has been able to persuade finders to take GPS readings of the exact location of their finds. As a result the artefacts, and among them almost all the coins, are recorded with ten-figure National Grid Reference numbers, allowing individual findspots to be located to within one metre. The finds from the area of the site have been plotted below (Fig. 2). This unprecedented precision allows us for the first time to look more closely at distribution patterns of coinage within a purely metal-detected ‘productive’ site.

The site is located in an elevated position on gently sloping ground inland from the Solent coast and the navigable parts of the Newtown River and its tributaries. Situated on agricultural land, at least one spring can be found in its vicinity. The wider area has revealed finds of the Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman periods.

Early Saxon finds, in the main comprising brooches, such as button, bow, square-headed, disc, and equal-arm and small-long types, but also the very occasional mount and strap-fitting are widely scattered over an area of about 600 by 600 metres. They do not show any clear focus at present, though they are noticeably absent from the northern area of the later, Middle Saxon, ‘productive’ site (see Fig. 3 below). About 200 metres southwest of the ‘productive’ site an important early to mid sixth-century bracteate has been found. It may have been produced locally and seems to link in with finds made in east Kent.¹¹ Another high-status find, a silver-gilt sword ring, was found about 200 metres southeast of the site.¹² Important cemeteries, at least one of them with high-status finds and Kentish, Merovingian and Mediterranean imports, are also known from the wider area. It is unclear at present whether the single finds represent stray losses, as yet undiscovered graves, or whether they may stem from small scattered settlement sites. However, they do suggest already an early importance of the area as a centre of population with some form of an elite presence.

In comparison, the bulk of the Middle Saxon material from the site appears to cluster in a core area of roughly 250 by 450 metres (Fig. 3).

The vast majority of the metal-detected artefacts are coins, including two tremisses, 41 sceattas, one Merovingian denier, and five early pennies. The remaining eight Middle Saxon finds include four copper-alloy pins, two strap-ends, and an unidentified object. The lack, so far, of domestic and functional finds paired with the outstanding number of coins, second in the region only to Hamwic, strongly suggests some form of economic/market function for the site. Outstanding in this context is a seventh- to eighth-century skilket possibly for use in baptism ceremonies (Fig. 3).¹³ A small-scale excavation on the site of the find revealed that the skilket did not, as expected, come from a grave, but a possible boundary ditch, though this did not show up on aerial photographs.¹⁴ Ditches have been noted in connection with a few other ‘productive’ sites. Unfortunately no other finds or features were observed which might reveal more information about the nature and possible occupation of the site.¹⁵

Thanks to the precision achieved by the GPS readings, we have some sort of guarantee that the finds are stray losses, rather than a ploughed-out hoard or mini-hoards, and we can therefore examine possible variations in distribution patterns within the site. The finds plotted on Fig. 3 would seem to indicate that there may have been three foci of coin finds on the site: a northern, southern, and western one. Of these, the northern and southern foci seem to be at

¹⁰ The following finds are recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database. See <http://finds.org.uk/>.

¹¹ PAS IOW-125794. For a brief summary of the historical and archaeological evidence for this link, see Ulmschneider 1999, esp. 24–6.

¹² PAS IOW-74F105.

¹³ PAS IOW-0D5540.

¹⁴ Basford 2006, 567.

¹⁵ A study of local place-names may provide further evidence in the future, however.

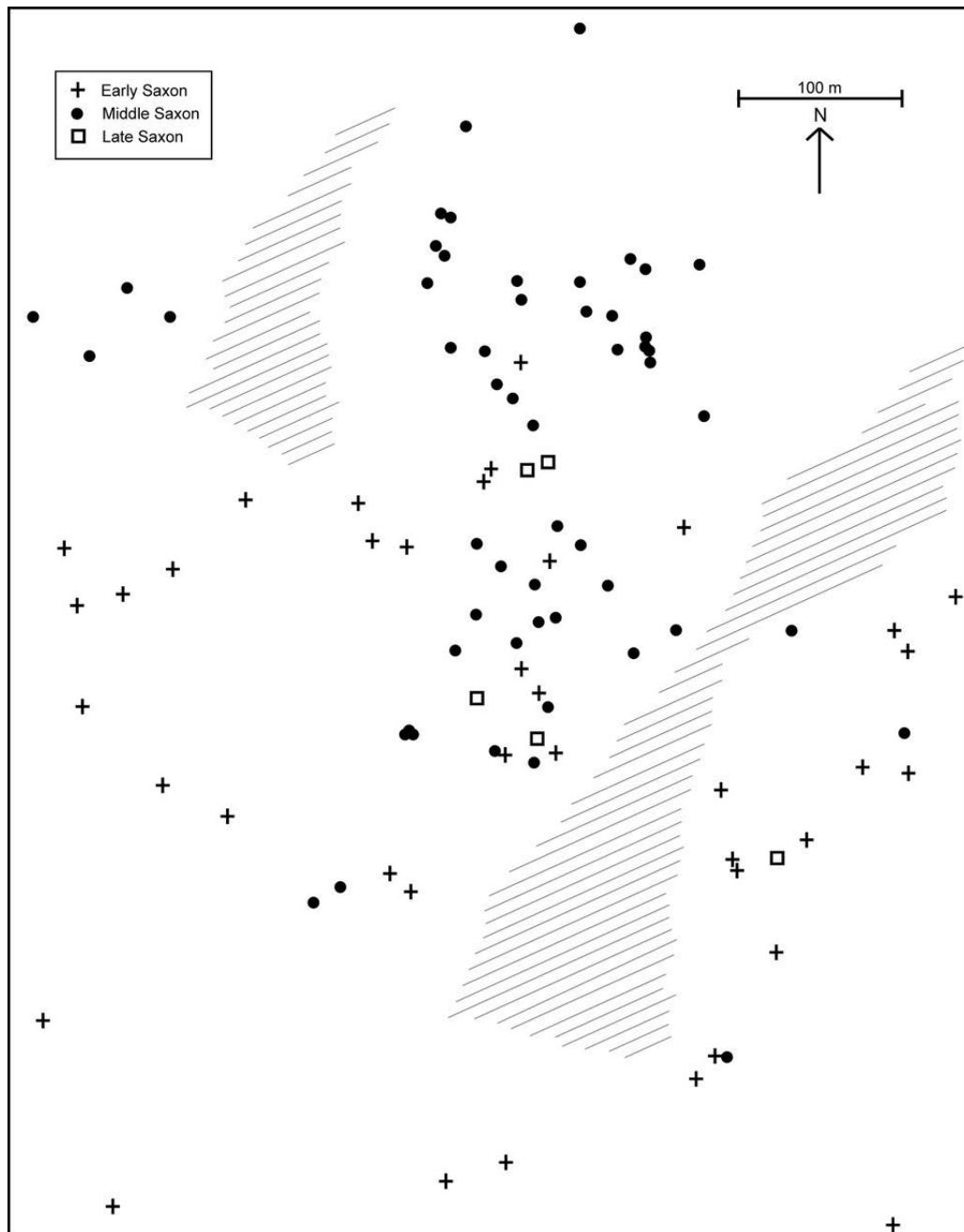


Fig. 2. Map of Anglo-Saxon finds from the 'Shalfleet parish' 'productive' site.

least 50 metres apart. This pattern may be real, as Early and Late Saxon finds were made in the 50 metres in between (see Fig. 2), showing that the area was metal-detected.

What would have been the extent of these foci? The stippled areas indicate parts of the site, which are not available for metal-detecting. The northern focus seems to trail off naturally towards the east, and no finds are made for at least 50 metres before the area becomes unsearchable. Similarly, the coins from the western site again seem to be some distance away from the unsearchable area (30–40 metres) to the east.

The full extent of the southern focus is less clear: it could potentially extend further to the east to include the C2 and perhaps even the secondary E sceat (Fig. 4, below) – though the latter is some way off. Equally uncertain is the exact extent to the south. The three sceattas

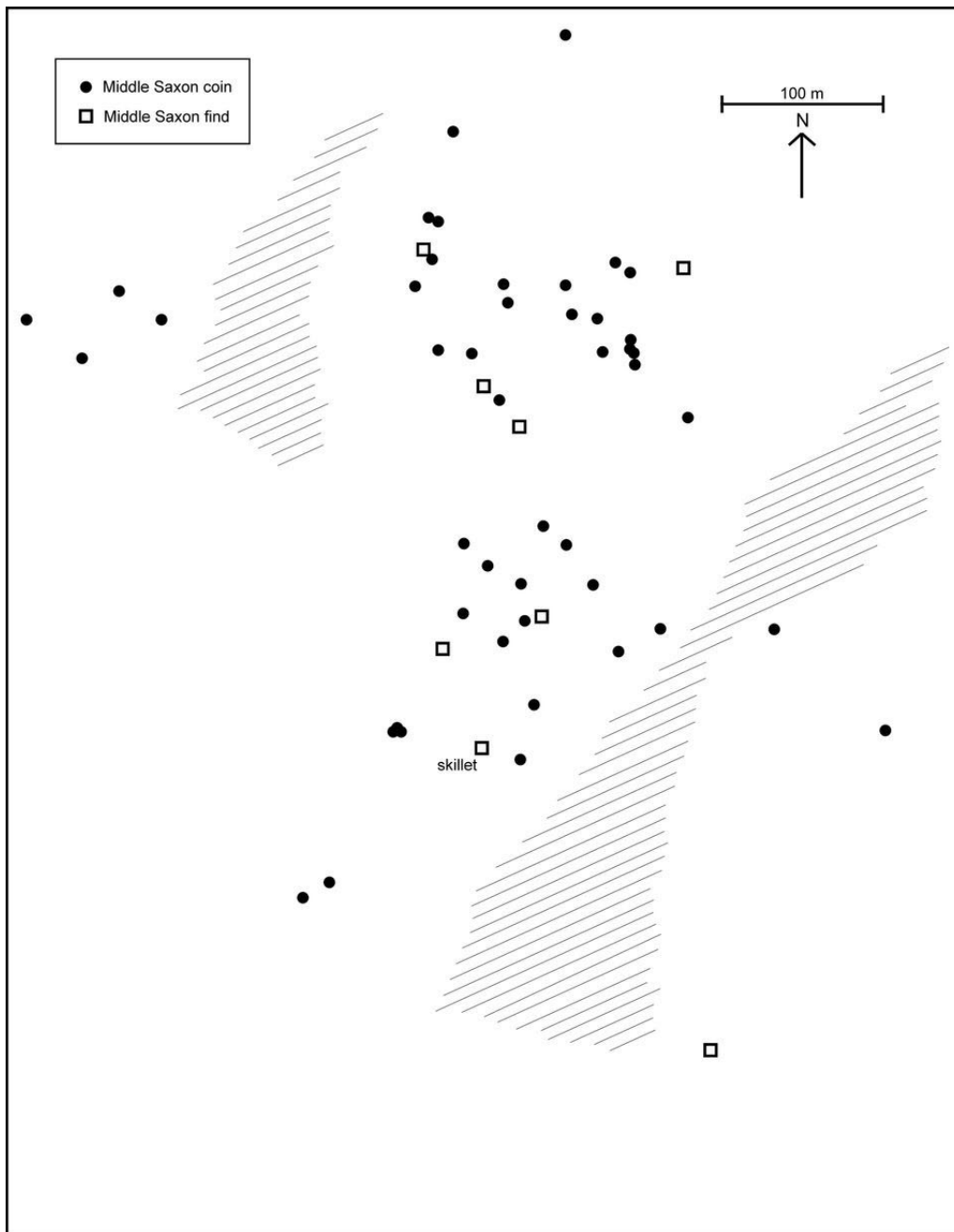


Fig. 3. Map of Middle Saxon finds from the 'Shalfleet parish' 'productive' site.

mapped in the same place are the only ones to be located merely to within 100 metres, though they seem to belong to the southern site, unless there was an (unlikely?) fourth focus even further southwest, to include also the Series Z and C1 coins. The few non-coin artefacts identified as Middle Saxon fall into the southern and northern foci. Thus there may have been three clusters of activity within the site. Could these have differed in date, use, or function in some way, as has been mooted for the 'productive' site at Bidford-on-Avon?¹⁶

Before trying to answer such questions, we should look at the later development of the site. The Late Saxon finds, mainly strap-ends/fittings and a pin (Fig. 2), are few and far between

¹⁶ Laight and Metcalf 2012.

and would appear at present to be stray finds rather than indicating any sustained use or occupation. Interestingly, the Late Saxon finds (similar to the Early Saxon ones) so far are absent from the northern focus of the 'productive' site. The finds are too few and chronologically indistinct to allow a clear pattern to be proposed, but they could point to the southern part of the site still being in use or re-emerging in the ninth century, when a few early pennies are found. There is, however, little evidence for activity thereafter, and no tenth-century coins have been found on the core site.

Thus we have two 'productive' sites on the Isle of Wight now, one in the centre, the other in the western part of the island, and a mere five miles or so apart. That is very surprising: one thinks of 'productive' sites as being places to which people would travel from ten or fifteen miles around. What was the monetary context of these sites, and how much – if at all – did they differ?

Although our record is possibly incomplete, we are reasonably confident that the recorded sceattas and pennies are an unbiased sample as regards the various types represented. That means that we can treat the finds as approximating for statistical purposes to a random sample. We are in a position to compare the proportions (but not the absolute numbers) of different sceatta types at the two 'productive' sites, and likewise to make comparisons with Hamwic and with other anchor-points in our understanding of the monetary circulation of the period, such as Domburg.

The proportions of coin types would be liable to be somewhat distorted and misleading, if the finds included unrecognized small hoards. It is one great merit of the recording of ten-figure Grid references that it allows us to examine that possible source of error (Fig. 4).

The primary-phase coins (solid circles) are scattered throughout the site, with no obvious tendency to be clustered in any particular part of it. Their dates of loss may, of course, have extended into the early secondary phase. Among the secondary-phase coins (open circles), Series H tends to occur more in the northern half of the site, and Series X in the southern half, but we would hesitate to claim that that might reflect any segregation of traders coming from different places. Further, the idea that a cluster of coins of Series H could derive from a small, ploughed-out hoard is purely speculative: our best evidence of how far the plough could scatter a hoard comes from Middle Harling, Norfolk, where the interpretation of the site was uncontroversial, because of the heavy cluster of finds at the centre of the distribution, and because the hoard, of a substantial size, was made up predominantly of coins of a single type, namely of Beonna.¹⁷

The tremisses (marked AV) were found well clear of the 'productive' site, and doubtless antedate its existence. The early pennies (marked by crosslets), with the exception of one penny of Coenwulf (796–821) and one of Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), are peripheral (with a western focus). It seems that the 'productive' site had ceased to function before the reform that introduced the pennies. Its use probably came to an end during the recession in the third quarter of the eighth century.¹⁸ That chronology is borne out by the absence of pennies of Offa, which occur as stray finds elsewhere in the island, and also at Hamwic, where coins of Offa are among the early pennies recorded from the *wic*.

Stray finds from the Isle of Wight

In addition to coins from the two 'productive' sites, 22 sceattas and nine early pennies have been found and recorded from 18 localities scattered widely through the island. There is also a small hoard of sceattas. Comparing these with the range of varieties from the 'productive' sites turns out to be a fruitful exercise (Fig. 5).

Whereas Hamwic, with its locally-minted sceattas of Series H, formerly seemed to dominate the monetary affairs of southern Wessex in the secondary phase of sceattas, all this new material from the Isle of Wight changes the balance of the evidence substantially. Moreover,

¹⁷ Here mostly around 10 metres: see Archibald 1985, 12, for site plan; Rogerson 1995.

¹⁸ Metcalf 2009.

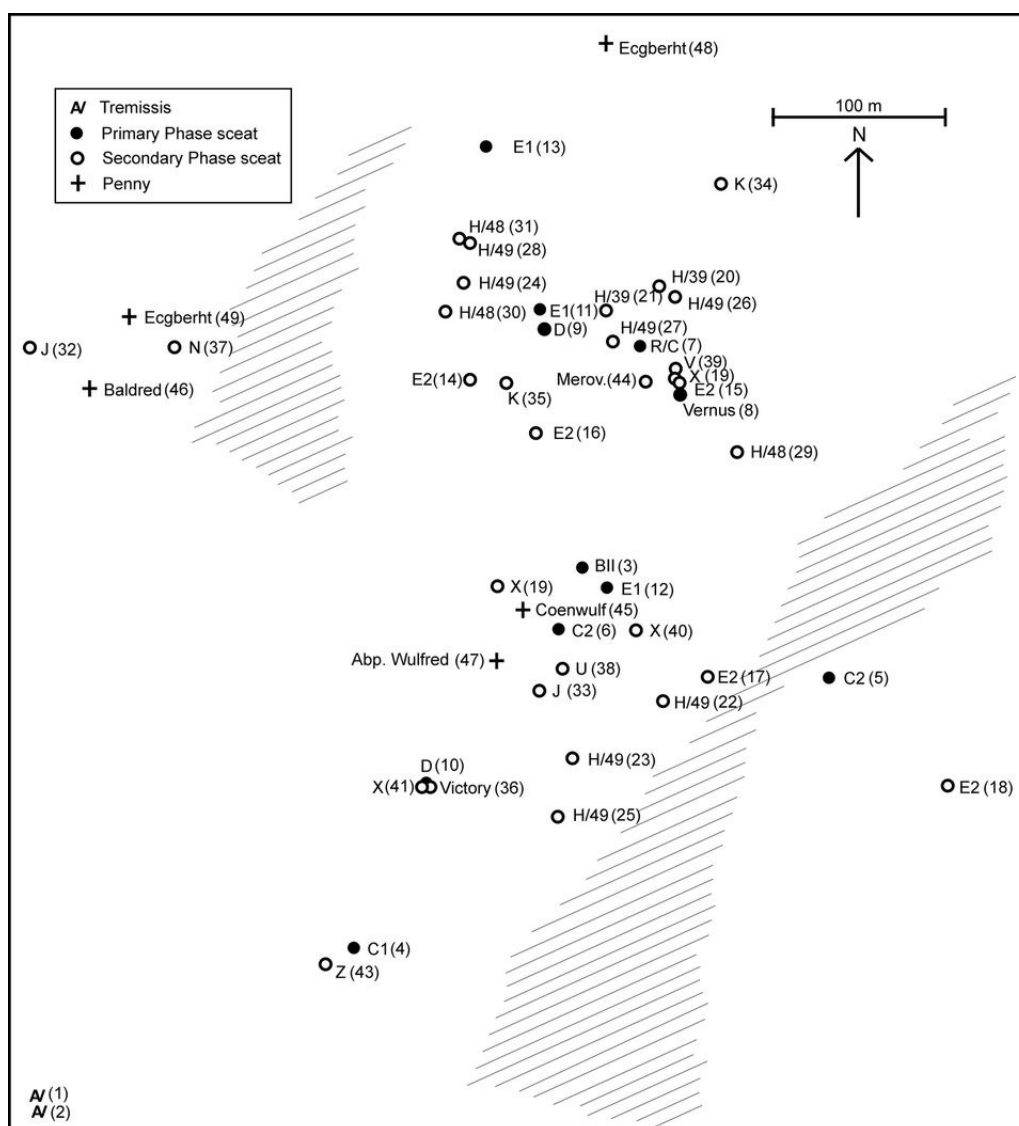


Fig. 4. Map of coin types from the 'Shalfleet parish' 'productive' site.

it offers new opportunities to compare (again) the range of types represented at the two 'productive' sites with the range at Hamwic, and thus to gain a better perspective not just on the trading connections of the two 'productive' sites, but also on the regional functions of Hamwic itself. To take a simple illustration, we shall ask what percentage of the finds from the Isle of Wight are of Series H and how that compares with Hamwic. At the *wic*, where they were minted, the two successive issues, Series H, Types 39 and 49, make up some 48 per cent of the finds, whereas at the two 'productive' sites the corresponding figure is 27 per cent. We also considered the possibility that certain sub-varieties of Series H might have been imitations, minted on the Isle of Wight. But there is absolutely no reason to think that any particular sub-varieties are over-represented at Carisbrooke and/or Shalfleet. It seems safe to assume that all the finds of Series H, Types 39 and 49, were minted at Hamwic and reached the Isle of Wight through trade. In so far as Type 39 was replaced by Type 49 in the currency of Hamwic, the balance between the two types at our 'productive' sites, compared with what we see at Hamwic, will perhaps give an idea when Series H began to arrive on the Isle of Wight. Likewise the range of varieties of Type 49 may be informative.

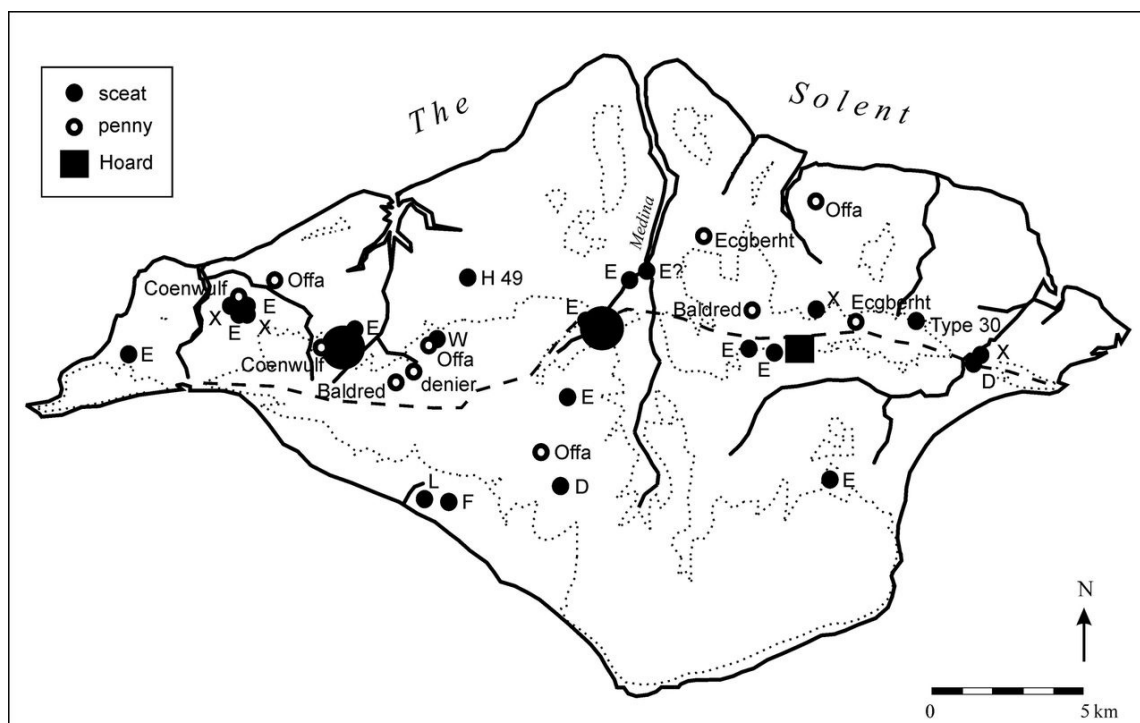


Fig. 5. Map of coin types from the rest of the Isle of Wight.

Again, it will be a simple and obvious question whether any other sceatta type is over-represented on the Isle of Wight, relative to Hamwic, to such an extent that it might be attributed to a mint on the island. When only one find of a sceat was known from the island, it would have been preposterous to imagine that any were minted there. That has changed. We do not know of a *wic* on the Isle of Wight, and one had always imagined that sceattas were minted within the relative security of *emporia*. But there are a great many different types which must have been minted somewhere; perhaps we need to question the accepted orthodoxy, and ask whether minting could have taken place at a 'productive' site? The candidate which comes to mind is Series H, Type 48, which shares the obverse design of Type 39, but which has its own distinctive reverse. The correct attribution of Type 48 has always been puzzling;¹⁹ its distribution within England is more widespread than that of Types 39 and 49. At Hamwic there are 5 specimens of Type 48 against 47 of Types 39 and 49, or 11 per cent. On the Isle of Wight there are 4 specimens against 17, or 25 per cent. These percentages do not amount to a conclusive case for locating the mint-place of Type 48 on the island, but they justify a fuller examination of the evidence (below).

Among the 22 sceattas mentioned as having been found at other localities on the Isle of Wight, Series H, Types 39 and 49 are absent, except two, one of them from Calbourne (not far from Shalfleet). If the total were somewhat larger, one would not hesitate to say that the absence of H, measured against the 22 per cent at the 'productive' sites, was statistically significant, and that it was telling us something about the source and character of the inflows of money to the 'productive' sites. It may be that when the 'productive' sites came into use, they gathered up much of what had previously been geographically dispersed trading in the island. Again, the full picture may be more complicated, not least because the proportion of primary- and early secondary-phase sceattas is distinctly higher among the 22 stray finds.

The date-range of the sceattas from Hamwic and the two 'productive' sites looks much the same. Which came first? Could the 'productive' sites have functioned before Hamwic was a

¹⁹ Metcalf 1993–94, 339–40; 2005a, at p. 5 and n.11.

wic, or were they dependent on it and on cross-Channel trade? At most, one would guess that there were only four or five years between the respective start-dates. We know from hoards such as the Kingsland hoard from Hamwic, and also generally, that primary-phase coins were still in circulation in the early years of the secondary phase, and we should therefore not hastily assume that trading activity had already begun in the late primary phase, just because there are some primary-phase coins from our 'productive' sites. Lafaurie has published evidence which indicates that the Nice-Cimiez hoard is ten or more years later than the previous consensus; and following on from that the end-date for Series D and the start-date for secondary-phase porcupines have been set in connection with the death of the Frisian ruler Radbod in 719.²⁰ The start-date for our sites could, consequently, perhaps be as late as *c.* 725. But the presence among the 'productive' site-finds of several specimens of Series C and, among the primary-phase porcupines, of an unexpectedly high proportion of the 'plumed bird' variety, should make us hesitate, and examine the case for a late-primary beginning, say *c.* 715. There is also the big and difficult 'grey area' of imitations of sceatta types, which may or may not be significantly later in date than their prototypes. This is discussed below with reference to Series W (see postscript) and Series U, Type 23c.

From the area and close surroundings of the 'Shalfleet parish' site, finds include two pennies of King Ecgbeorht of Wessex (802–39), and singletons of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Archbishop Wulfred, and Baldred (823–25). That matches well enough what has been found at Hamwic. The Coenwulf and the Wulfred pennies are from the core area of the 'productive' site, and one at least of the Coenwulfs is from just on its edge. Tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon pennies also have been found in the wider area, but they tend to be from a few hundred metres away from where the sceattas were concentrated. There are also tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon pennies from other localities on the Isle of Wight, but they are not part of our present brief.

The numbers of single finds of sceattas, around 150 at Hamwic, against 42 (Shalfleet) plus 41 (Carisbrooke), must not be assumed to reflect the relative amounts of money changing hands at the three places, not even vaguely so. The totals will reflect various modern factors, in particular the intensity of excavating or of searching. At Hamwic, for example, a vertical division was made, and only a half of each pit was excavated. In any case, Hamwic was an inhabited place, whereas the Carisbrooke and Shalfleet sites may just have been seasonal. Even the recovery-rates from the two 'productive' sites will not necessarily have been closely similar, although the scope for uncertainty will be much less than with the *wic*.

The monetary history of the Isle of Wight in its wider context: discussion

In considering the find-material in more detail, we shall divide it for convenience into five categories according to the region of origin of the sceattas, namely (i) local, i.e. from south Wessex or (possibly) the Isle of Wight itself; (ii) English regions, including the South-East and East Anglia; (iii) Low Countries, where it is now generally possible to distinguish between coins minted in the lower Rhineland, and those from Frisian political territory, chiefly the northerly province of Friesland; (iv) Jutland (Ribe) – of interest because of the possible seventh-century 'Jutish' background of southern Wessex and the Isle of Wight, before their conquest; and (v) Merovingian coins. Continuing links between Hamwic and Ribe have been mooted.

Coins found in the Isle of Wight will not necessarily have been carried direct from any of these five regions of origin. Friesland sceattas, for example, may well have arrived via the currency of Domburg, where they were very plentiful. So, indeed, may the Jutish Wodan/monster sceattas of Series X. Coins from east Kent and other English regions may have come to the Isle of Wight from the currency of Hamwic. There is, unfortunately, no hard and fast way of handling the material. One will look to see whether a similar mix of types was to be found elsewhere – an exercise at present severely limited by the sample size. Any perceived tendencies will be, in varying degrees, tentative.

²⁰ Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 279–84.

Sixth-century gold coins

There are several gold coins which have nothing to do with our ‘productive’ sites, but which are recorded here for the sake of completeness. A solidus in the name of Anastasius (491–518) was found at Shorwell,²¹ with associated early medieval finds from a ploughed cemetery site. It shows no obvious sign of having been looped or mounted. From the vicinity of the ‘Shalfleet parish’ site there are two tremisses, one of them of Visigothic type, which appears, however, to be derivative. The reverse lacks, for example, any lettering in the exergue. A third gold-plated tremissis on a base silver core was found not far from the ‘productive’ site.²² There is also another gold-plated piece on a base metal core, a grave-find placed in the mouth of the deceased, excavated at Carisbrooke Castle.²³ Thus there are now five or six separate specimens of sixth-century gold coins, and one Byzantine copper of Justinian.²⁴ There is another copper coin of Justinian from Hamwic, excavated in an eighth-century pit: it had almost certainly reached England much earlier than that, and the same is probably true for the coin found in the Isle of Wight. The gold coins, separated by a good hundred years from the sceattas, lie well outside the subject under discussion – except that two of them were found on the Shalfleet ‘productive’ site. Was there some memory of its use which persisted locally; or was the site used during the seventh century for other social purposes which did not involve monetary exchanges?²⁵

The primary phase

There are eleven primary-phase sceattas from the ‘Shalfleet parish’ site and ten from ‘near Carisbrooke’ – in each case, about a quarter of the sceattas from the site. Although the samples are too small for us to assert that there is no significant statistical difference, that is how it looks. Whether the date-range is comparable at the two sites is to an even greater extent a subjective judgement, because the individual coins cannot be dated exactly. At Hamwic the proportion of primary-phase sceattas is only ten per cent or less; that could be because the ‘productive’ sites began sooner or (more probably) because the *wic* was prospering in the 720s and 730s and overtook the ‘productive’ sites. There are also nine primary-phase sceattas from scattered locations elsewhere on the island, and they may hold the key, in that they are almost all from the Low Countries. The idea that Frankish and Frisian traders may have kick-started a monetary economy on the Isle of Wight deserves consideration; a similar argument has been offered *apropos* a ‘productive’ site on the Yorkshire Wolds,²⁶ and similar patterns are emerging elsewhere in England, e.g. at Bidford-on-Avon,²⁷ Warwickshire, and at Tilbury, Essex.

TABLE 1. Primary-phase coin finds from the ‘productive’ sites of ‘Shalfleet parish’, and ‘near Carisbrooke’, and stray finds from the Isle of Wight

	<i>‘Shalfleet parish’</i>	<i>‘near Carisbrooke’</i>	<i>Stray finds</i> ²⁸
(i) <i>Local</i>	–	W	W
(ii) <i>English</i>	BII Cl; C2; C2 imit. R1-2; Vernus	C2; C2	
		F; Saroaldo	F
(iii) <i>Low Countries</i>	D8Z; D/2c E plumed bird var. K; var. L; var. L	D/2c; D/2c; D/2c E, var. Gl; E VICO	D/8; D/8; D/2c E plumed bird; var. G; var. G (imit.); var. G; var. D

²¹ PAS IOW-D7CB55.

²² See catalogue no. 95, below.

²³ For the Carisbrooke Castle grave find, 0.53 g, see Morris and Dickinson 2000, 94.

²⁴ PAS IOW-07D7D6.

²⁵ See, amongst others, Pantos 2004 and Hutcheson 2006.

²⁶ Bonser 2011, 165.

²⁷ At Bidford-on-Avon the suggestion has been made that the ‘productive’ site may have functioned in connection with a monastic house: Laight and Metcalf, 2012, 32–3.

²⁸ See Postscript below, p. 41, for four new stray finds.

The present evidence indicates that the two ‘productive’ sites became active at very much the same date as each other, towards the end of the primary phase, and the ratio of primary to secondary sceattas is almost exactly the same at both (10 or 11 to 30). English primary coins of Series A and B are essentially absent, and the earliest series to be represented in quantity are Series D and E, from the Netherlands, and the English Series C. Hamwic has a similar start-date, with some preliminary activity in Series B which may not be purely trade-based.²⁹

The emphasis at the ‘productive’ sites on Series C (with almost none of the preceding Series A and B) and even on C2, the later part of C, attracts attention. It is not matched at Hamwic. From Domburg there are half a dozen specimens, but they are outnumbered there by Series A and B. Might there have been some political event which created this monetary horizon – the setting up of the ‘productive’ sites? With so few finds overall to support that idea, this is of course at best speculative.

Series W is a scarce type with a south Wessex distribution, which is very unlikely to be from Hamwic. Only one specimen has been found there; and the type was resumed in, and also copied during the secondary phase, when Hamwic had its own distinctive design. Imitations from the Nice-Cimiez hoard, which are no doubt local, i.e. Provençal, have prompted the suggestion that the mint-place of W was accessible from the Solent, and that it was carried across the Channel from there. Winchester is one possibility, and the Isle of Wight has also been suggested. Two finds from the Isle of Wight are intriguing, but they are not enough to give any encouragement to the hypothesis of local minting, given the number of mainland provenances now on record.³⁰ There is, from Carisbrooke, a specimen of secondary-phase date, probably derivative.³¹ The second is from Calbourne, not very far from Shalfleet parish. Series W will have reached the Isle of Wight directly from the southern coastlands, but not from Hamwic.

The Low Countries coins, of Series D and E, are thought to have been minted (imitations apart) in Friesland and the Rhine mouths area respectively. They could all have been carried to the Isle of Wight, however, either direct from Domburg, or partly via Hamwic. Both the coins listed as of Type D/8 are from Shorwell. One is a respectable piece, while the other is a rough copy, at best reminiscent of the type. Porcupine sceattas (Series E) exist in four distinct varieties, namely plumed bird, VICO, Variety G, and Variety D. Shalfleet has three, all of the plumed bird variety, which is also unexpectedly plentiful at Hamwic, and in Wessex generally,³² although it makes up, at most, a quarter of the known primary-phase porcupines. The three specimens may well have arrived from Hamwic. But at Carisbrooke, the plumed bird variety is, to date, unrepresented. Among the stray finds, it contributes one among five. Was Shalfleet in some sense a higher-status site than other places on the island, with closer links to Hamwic?

Because the starting-date of *c.* 715x25³³ is much the same as at other, widely separated English ‘productive’ sites, it would seem *prima facie* that the impetus came from the Netherlands, rather than from any local political developments in the island, e.g. its conquest by Caedwalla in 686. Frisian traders kick-started the monetary economy.³⁴ The flowering of trade and monetary circulation on the Isle of Wight, as in other peripheral regions, was without any preliminary build-up, so far as one can see. We suspect that the stray finds may even have begun a year or two earlier than the ‘productive’ sites.³⁵

The secondary phase

Secondary-phase sceattas are somewhat fewer among the stray finds from the island than at the two ‘productive’ sites (13, compared with 31 from Shalfleet and 30 from Carisbrooke). Moreover the local Series H is virtually absent among the stray finds (just two, one from

²⁹ Birbeck 2005, especially the discussion of the beginnings of Hamwic, and of the early cemetery, at p. 192.

³⁰ Metcalf 2005a, with distribution-map at p. 4, showing finds both to the west and to the east of Hamwic. At least nine further mainland provenances can now be added predominantly to the east of Hamwic.

³¹ Discussed and illustrated, Metcalf 2005a, 11.

³² Metcalf and Op den Velde, 2009–10, 191 and Table 7.3b.

³³ *Ibid.*, 279–84, argue for a date about a decade later than previously supposed.

³⁴ Laight and Metcalf 2012, drawing attention to the Aston Rowant hoard.

³⁵ Series D, Type 8 is earlier than Type 2c; and the primary-phase porcupines among the stray finds are of interest.

Calbourne), and other English types are scarce. The stray finds are mostly porcupines or Wodan/monsters.

TABLE 2. Secondary-phase coin finds from the 'productive' sites of 'Shalfleet parish', and 'near Carisbrooke', and stray finds from the Isle of Wight. Where there is more than one coin of any type, the number is given in parentheses.

	<i>'Shalfleet parish'</i> ³⁶	<i>'near Carisbrooke'</i>	<i>Stray finds</i> ³⁷
(i) <i>Local</i>	H/39 (2); H/49 (7) H/48 (3)	H/39 (2); H/49 (5) H/48 (1) W-related	H/49 (2)
(ii) <i>English</i>	J/85; J/36; Z/66; 'Victory' N/41; K/33; K/42; U/23; V; Z/66	J/37 (2); V; O/38 (2); AESE 30/51 (2)	L; 30/51
(iii) <i>Low Countries</i>	Insular X (3) Porcupines (5)	Insular X (2) Porcupines (10)	Insular X Porcupines (5)
(iv) <i>Jutland</i>	Series X	Series X	Series X (3)
(v) <i>Merovingian</i>	Denier	Denier	Denier?

The occurrence of Series H, Types 39 and 49, looks very much the same at the two 'productive' sites, making up about a third of all secondary-phase sceattas. Contacts with Hamwic evidently grew close. Some, perhaps even many, of the other English sceattas could also have been carried to the island from Hamwic. The two 'productive' sites seem to have more or less monopolized monetary exchanges on the island in the secondary phase, at least as regards English coins. Type 49 comprises many minor varieties with distinctive 'secret marks'. Style is variable, and the current classification has, alas, little claim to correspond with the chronological ordering of the varieties, other than the first. For what it is worth, the varieties represented at Shalfleet (1a, 1c, 1b/c, 2a, 2a, 2a, 4d) and at Carisbrooke (1b, 1b, 1c, 2b, 4a) do not differ from the range at Hamwic in such a way as to suggest that the same design was minted on the Isle of Wight – which would have been politically possible.³⁸

It is virtually certain that Series H sceattas will have been carried direct from Hamwic to the Isle of Wight, and it is probable that they represent net monetary transfers. Both Shalfleet and Carisbrooke have a good showing of Series H and, like Hamwic, they have produced a wide range of other types. Does that imply that, like Hamwic, the 'productive' sites had wide-ranging commercial connections with other regions? Or might the other types have reached their place of loss largely from the currency of Hamwic, like Series H? There are no types well represented in the Isle of Wight that positively could not have come from the currency of Hamwic. Unless we can demonstrate otherwise, it seems that we should not exclude the possibility that the 'productive' sites were less cosmopolitan in character than Hamwic, deriving most of their wide range of sceatta types at second hand. But perhaps we can get some idea – a rough idea – of the scale of the transfers. At Hamwic, Series H, Types 39 and 49 contribute 72 out of a total of 150 sceattas, or 48 per cent. At Shalfleet, the same two types contribute nine out of 42, or 21 per cent, and at Carisbrooke seven out of 41, or 17 per cent. We may accept as virtually certain that in both cases they reached the island direct from Hamwic, if only because Series H is scarce elsewhere. Next: from what we know of the indiscriminate composition of sceatta hoards, in which different types are mingled, presumably at par, Series H is unlikely to have been carried to our two 'productive' sites selectively. It seems probable, therefore, that rather than 17–21 per cent, roughly twice as many sceattas (100 over 48), say 38 per cent of the finds from Shalfleet and Carisbrooke, will have come direct from Hamwic. The corollary of that is that the other 62 per cent arrived in the Isle of Wight from elsewhere, e.g. the Netherlands, and south-eastern England. (These percentage figures are cited just to allow the reader to keep

³⁶ See Postscript below, p. 41, for two new finds from 'Shalfleet parish'.

³⁷ See Postscript below, p. 41, for two new stray finds.

³⁸ In East Anglia, for example, Series R was demonstrably struck at more than one mint-place: Metcalf 2000, 7–8.

track of the argument; they are not to be understood as exact or conclusively proven). The Isle of Wight was engaging in inter-regional trade on its own account, which is something that one would not have ventured to claim without the numismatic evidence.

The correct attribution of Series H, Type 48 is challenging. It has been classified as part of Series H, because of its typology, but there are grave reasons to doubt whether it was minted at Hamwic. It was dispersed through England more widely than Types 39 and 49. The list of provenances includes St. Nicholas-at-Wade, Thanet; Alford, Lincs.; and Roxton, Beds., as well as the specimen from polished, early dies from Ostia (Rome). At Hamwic, it accounts for only five of the sceatta finds (roughly three per cent).³⁹ On the other hand, it would seem to make sense for it to originate in the south Wessex region, where its wolf-whorl design, corresponding with that of Type 39, would probably have helped to make it acceptable locally. At Shalfleet there are three specimens, making seven per cent, and at Carisbrooke one (2.4 per cent). For it to be more plentiful in the island than at Hamwic is against the trend observed for Types 39 and 49. The modest proportions at the 'productive' sites, however, seem to indicate that it was not minted in the Isle of Wight either. As regards the date-range, the silver contents of Type 48 as measured by electron probe micro-analysis (EPMA) are close to 50 per cent. Could there be some other locality, at present unknown or unexplored, where the ratio was even higher? Possibly somewhere in the Portsmouth area? Short of such a dramatic discovery, it is hard to see how progress could be made, although a die-corpus of Type 48, to establish how large an issue it was, might help. (There is in fact no reason to think, from a general inspection of the corpus, that the survival-rate of Type 48 was significantly higher.)

The samples of non-local English coins from the two 'productive' sites (13 at Shalfleet and 10 at Carisbrooke) contain a somewhat different range of types, but given the very wide choice of possible varieties, the lack of much overlap is probably not significant. As mentioned, any of these could have arrived via Hamwic, except possibly the two specimens of Type O/38, found at Carisbrooke. These could perhaps have arrived at the site together, or on the same occasion, but they were certainly not found together. Both specimens were found by the same finder, the first in a field near Carisbrooke in December 1991, and the second in an adjacent or nearby field in May 1992. The record is emphatic that finds from different fields are in question. Similarly, there are two specimens of Type J/37 from Carisbrooke, both found by another finder, about 50 metres apart. At Arreton, two die-duplicate porcupines of early secondary date have been found.⁴⁰ If a single consignment of coinage, the contents of one merchant's purse, could colour an assemblage of just 41 site-finds, the overall scale of the currency in use at the site must have been small. Besides, merchants would normally carry a mixture of types indiscriminately.⁴¹ There are a few other pairs of coins of the same type from find-spots elsewhere in England, and it is something to keep an eye on.

Finds of sceattas of Series X, minted at Ribe on the North-Sea coast of Jutland, are relatively more plentiful at Hamwic and in the Isle of Wight than they are in south-eastern England, which Danish seafarers would have reached first – and it would seem, sailed past. May this be a reflection of the apparent 'Jutish' origin of the area? For commerce to be worthwhile there had to be advantages for both buyer and seller. Series X was extensively copied in a variety of styles. These so-called 'insular' copies of the Wodan/monster sceattas remain mysterious as regards their social context and mint-place(s).⁴² They are certainly not from Ribe. A few have been found at Domburg, but the proportion seems to be higher in England, hence the designation 'insular'.⁴³ Were they struck by expatriate Jutes?

The six insular specimens from the Isle of Wight (three from Shalfleet, two from Carisbrooke, and one stray find) add useful new facts. Two from Shalfleet have grained borders, an unusual stylistic detail otherwise restricted, so far, to Hamwic, and not to be seen at Domburg. The

³⁹ Metcalf 1993–94, 335 (distribution-map) and 337–40; Metcalf 1988, 40–1.

⁴⁰ See Arreton Hoard in the catalogue.

⁴¹ As shown in hoards.

⁴² Metcalf 2000–02.

⁴³ Many of the imitations are undoubtedly English in origin and some seem to have originated in the south Wessex area. From Hamwic there are seven Jutish originals (which may have reached there directly), and six imitations.

first Shalfleet specimen is highly unusual in that the monster has a curly tail. The die-cutter was perhaps aware of other English types with this detail, e.g. Series N/41. The second is very similar to, if not die-identical with a grave-find from Wells cathedral.⁴⁴ A Carisbrooke specimen is certainly by the same die-cutter as a find from Eynsham, Oxon.⁴⁵ A degree of localization to Wessex seems to be emerging, but it would imply that 'insular' coins were struck elsewhere in England too.

There are significant differences between what has been discovered at the 'productive' sites, and what has turned up elsewhere in the island. At Shalfleet there is one of the Danish originals among 42; at Carisbrooke one among 41; and among the stray finds, three among 22. Is the higher proportion among the stray finds statistically significant? As soon as we try to speak about such small totals, the margins of statistical variation become relatively much wider, indeed unacceptably wide. The only practical solution, short of abandoning the discussion, is to work with the available sample, while keeping firmly in mind that the answers are inevitably provisional and at risk of being overturned. This applies to much of what follows. From Shalfleet there are three of the insular coins, against one of the Danish Series X. Given the minimally small numbers, the ratio leaves open the possibility that both the original and the copies may well have been carried to the 'productive' site from Hamwic. From Carisbrooke there are two insular coins against one from Denmark. It is intriguing, therefore, that among the stray finds there should be three of the original, Danish coins (which is 18 per cent of the sceattas), plus one of the imitations. The best argument here is not based on the ratio of Danish coins to copies, but on the percentage of both among the sceattas as a whole. From Hamwic, as mentioned above, there are seven of the Danish coins, and six imitations, out of 150 sceattas (five and four per cent respectively) – a good showing, but money coming into the Isle of Wight from the mainland can hardly have generated the 18 per cent share among the stray finds. Likewise, the Danish coins are found at Domburg, but not in anything like the same quantities as secondary-phase porcupines found there. As there are only four of the secondary-phase porcupines among the stray finds from the island, and even allowing for margins of statistical uncertainty, it seems that money from Jutland was arriving directly to the Isle of Wight – and not just to the 'productive' sites. The contrast between Shalfleet (in particular) and the stray finds may be significant: the Shalfleet specimens may well have arrived from Hamwic.

The Jutish Wodan/monster sceattas from the island are unremarkable as to their varieties. As well as two from Shalfleet and one from Carisbrooke, there are two stray finds, from Bembridge and Yarmouth, of which the last is in noticeably poor (worn) condition. The loss of this specimen, at least, will surely post-date the setting up of the 'productive' sites.

Type 30

The 'Wodan' facing head with flaming hair, familiar to us from the Jutish Series X and its insular copies, also occurs on Type 30, paired with a two standing figures reverse. It is known in two main styles, the delicately engraved 30A, and the coarser 30B. Both obverse styles are linked into a variety of other types, in particular Type 51, and also a voided cross design.⁴⁶ There is a presumption that these are from the same workshop (and indeed there are die-links) but their style needs to be scrutinized very carefully, as there are certainly imitations. Type 30A, which has been found in the Isle of Wight, is scarce generally; Type 51 and the voided cross version, rather less so. Type 30 seems to have an essentially south-of-Thames distribution, including west Kent and Sussex (but relatively less in east Kent).⁴⁷

A comparison of the style of the 'Wodan'-heads on nos 118 and 119 (**Pl. 4, 118–19**) suggests such a close affiliation, that we are tempted to ask whether the two dies are by the same

⁴⁴ Line-drawing in Metcalf 1993–94, 289.

⁴⁵ From R.A. Chambers' excavations of the Abbey site: see Gaimster *et al.* 1990, 207.

⁴⁶ Blackburn and Bonser 1986, cat. nos 44 and 44A first recognized this important linkage. A full die-corpus of Types 30/51, which remains to be undertaken, may well yield some more links.

⁴⁷ The distribution seems to reach northwards via the Medway, and across the Thames estuary to East Tilbury and the Woodham Walter hoard.

die-cutter. Even the crosses flanking the heads, and composed here of dots, are similar. Among the insular coins of Series X found in England, this design (with a Series N reverse) is after all relatively very scarce and unusual.⁴⁸ If some specimens of insular X were indeed from the same stable as Type 30A, the implications would be thought-provoking.

Where these coins were minted is a delicate and difficult problem, for which there is still too little evidence from single finds. Thus, Type 30 is known from only about a dozen single finds from southern England, i.e. well under one per cent of single finds of sceattas.⁴⁹ It is absent at Hamwic (and at Domburg), and there are just a couple of finds from east Kent. But from the Isle of Wight we have one from Brading, one from the Carisbrooke ‘productive’ site, and a 30/41 coin certainly in the same distinctive style, from Yarmouth. From Carisbrooke there is also a voided cross coin. The numbers are, obviously, tiny. If they were matched in a larger sample, one would have to consider an attribution to the Isle of Wight, or perhaps to some undiscovered *wic* further east along the south coast. Could there have been another small province, which retained a ‘Jutish’ ethnic flavour? We do not know. The contrasting distribution-pattern of Series W, with numerous specimens from mainland Wessex, is part of the evidence. The need to find a home for Type 30 is also part of a much bigger question, concerning the number of places where sceattas were struck.

Another approach, much more speculative, would be to ask whether the obverse design of Type 30 indicates that it was minted in a ‘Jutish’ province. The alloy of Type 30, from just one or two analyses, is good, suggesting an early secondary (or even a late primary?) date. The absence of Type 30 at Shalfleet might be interpreted in support; but note the three specimens in the Woodham Walter hoard.⁵⁰ Could Type 30 even begin earlier than Series X?

At present, the Jutish connection, as reflected by sceattas of Series X, therefore is stronger, but not conspicuously stronger on the Isle of Wight than elsewhere in southern England. Jutish settlement in the island in the sixth century, and the existence of a Jutish province also in Hampshire, are sufficiently well attested by Bede, but the persistence of a Jutish sense of identity in all or part of the Isle of Wight as late as the second quarter of the eighth century, well after its conquest by Caedwalla of Wessex in 686, is only hinted at obliquely by Bede.⁵¹

The secondary porcupines include specimens from both main groups, namely varieties b–d (Rhine mouths) and e–h (Friesland). The Rhine-mouths varieties (with TOT/II) are somewhat more plentiful at Carisbrooke, and the Friesland (‘mixed grill’) varieties, on a diamond-shaped alignment, are more plentiful at Shalfleet. That could (just about) be by chance, but the probability of e.g. Frieslanders visiting one ‘productive’ site in preference to another is intriguing. An obvious point to check is whether there are any imitative porcupines that look like any of those excavated at Ribe. Only one specimen attracts attention.

The foreign sceattas found in the island, therefore, are almost all from the Netherlands or Jutland. This balance-of-payments surplus must have been matched by exports. What they were, we can only guess – but we note that in the eighteenth century, the Downs supported flocks amounting to some 40,000 head of sheep.⁵² From Merovingian Gaul (where the currency was very extensive) there is almost nothing. Nor are English sceattas, e.g. of Series H, any more plentiful in northern France. Trade across the Channel seems hardly to have existed. A Merovingian denier from Carisbrooke, which is of a variety found also at Sotteville-sous-le-Val (near Rouen) illustrates the obvious cross-Channel route. Its context may be pilgrimage or travel to Rome, rather than trade.

As regards other types of sceattas from the island, several of them, which are not generally plentiful and which are represented by just one or two specimens found in the Isle of Wight, cannot be securely attributed to a region of origin. It may be worth saying, therefore, that the

⁴⁸ Cf., for example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum CM.1759–2007 (De Wit 2008, S 408).

⁴⁹ D.M.M. work in progress, based on the current database of finds. The text specifies southern England because there is an isolated group of what seem to be local imitations of Types 30/51 on Humberside and in Yorkshire.

⁵⁰ A hoard of 108 sceattas found ‘near Maldon’, Essex, and now in the British Museum. Information courtesy of M.M. Archibald. See now *SCBI 63 British Museum*, 715–17.

⁵¹ See *HE* iv.16 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 384–5) and pp. 15–16 above.

⁵² Worsley 1781; Warner 1795.

major series known from distribution-maps to belong north of the Thames are absent or virtually absent. Like Hamwic, or possibly even more so, the island's currency comes either from the Netherlands, or from south of the Thames. Series L, M, N, O, Q, R, S, T, and U are lacking. A subsidiary theme is that a couple of varieties may be southern versions of northern types. That is almost certainly true of Series U, Type 23c. Series N, Type 41a may be a version of 41b, perhaps from east Kent. The very scarce variety reading AESE or SEDE seems also to be southern.

Series U, Type 23c: a Wessex origin?

Whereas there are dozens of single finds of Series U, Types 23b and 23d, and imitations of the same, throughout England, Type 23c is recorded from only five localities, with a focus in Wessex. They are: Shalbourne (Wilts.),⁵³ Walbury Camp (Berks.), a mini-hoard from Stourpaine (Dorset),⁵⁴ the 'productive' site near Royston – and now, Shalfleet. The statistically pronounced contrast in regional occurrence suggests that Type 23c is a local variant copying Type 23b/d, although not so closely as to be deceptive. It would seem to originate in north Wessex: in any case, not Hamwic, and not the Isle of Wight. If that conclusion is correct, Type 23c provides good evidence of the existence of minor mint-places. That is something that one may suspect quite widely throughout the sceatta series, but which is generally very difficult to prove.

A specimen excavated at Jarrow was published as a Type 23c. If it were, one would have to think of a (monastic?) traveller returning to Tyneside from the Continent, via the Solent. But the coin was misidentified. The head is indistinct, and the boat-shaped curve is much too shallow. On the reverse, the bird's body has a central whorl in the style of 23d; and the vine, which is drawn consistently on 23c, originating at 10–11 o'clock (1–2 o'clock if laterally reversed) is differently arranged. The coin is imitative, copying 23b/d.

Finally, attention must be drawn to several pairs of coins among the finds, which are either die-linked, or closely similar in style. That raises the question whether they might have arrived in the Isle of Wight together (as part of a larger batch, no doubt, of similar specimens), especially if they are of types rarely seen in the island. We may mention two primary porcupines of Variety D which seem to share a die; two of Series O, Type 38; and two of Series J, Type 37 (which may be imitative, rather than of Northumbrian origin). The association of these pairs is in each case conjectural, but if it was so, it tends to suggest that the total volume of currency in the Isle of Wight was not enormous, and/or that it did not move about with much velocity.

Early pennies

The early broad pennies again show a contrast between the Shalfleet 'productive' site and the stray finds. Among the latter there are four coins of King Offa (against five of later rulers), but there is only one Offa from the 'productive' site at Carisbrooke. At Shalfleet there are six pennies of later rulers, but none of Offa. And yet from the whole of Wessex there are 40 other single finds of pennies of Offa. Of the four stray finds of Offa, two are from fairly close to Shalfleet (Calbourne and Yarmouth), which tends to make their absence at Shalfleet seem a little more conspicuous.

If this difference is statistically significant (as to which, opinions will differ), and in light of what has been said above about other contrasts between the 'productive' sites and the stray finds, it seems probable that the sites closed down during the monetary recession which severely affected England during the third quarter of the eighth century. In the 790s, meanwhile, commercial activity returned to the island. Other 'productive' sites elsewhere in England, e.g. the site near Royston, have been suspected of showing a similar gap during the recession.⁵⁵ There

⁵³ This specimen, found only a few miles west of Walbury Camp, shows the distinctive swept-back crest and, on the obverse, two small quadrupeds with beak-like jaws, facing each other, to either side of the standing figure's head.

⁵⁴ Keen 1979, 138 and Figs 61.2. and 61.4 (very dark), and Keen 1983, 151, giving the corrected find-spot, near Lazerton or Ash Farm, ST86631030, and stating that the 23c and the Saroaldo were found together.

⁵⁵ Metcalf 2009, 30.

are even some small hints that the latest losses of sceattas, and similarly of pennies of King Offa, tend to be dispersed through the island, i.e. it would seem that monetary activity during the recession reverted to the geographical pattern of the earlier period.

The 'Shalfleet parish' site seems to have resumed its commercial function, after an abeyance of several decades, at some date later than 796: the qualification seems to be necessary, because only two of the early pennies were found fair and square within the area of the 'productive' site. The coin of Baldred, and one of Ecgbearht, came from about 200 metres further west, and the Coenwulf from substantially further west. There is one other Ecgbearht, for which the exact find-spot is not available. The pennies were mainly from the Canterbury mint, with singletons from East Anglia, and later from the Wessex mint (Winchester?), but in any case all English. This phase petered out in the 830s.

Conclusions

In or close to the decade of the 710s, the Isle of Wight was drawn into inter-regional trade, and became an exporting region, accumulating a stock of currency in return. The impetus came from the Netherlands, either directly or via Hamwic, and it seems that the change occurred rapidly. A local response was the setting-up of at least two well-located trading places ('productive' sites), where a considerable volume of money changed hands. But coinage was in use also throughout the island, from very much the same date as the emergence of the 'productive' sites (or possibly even a year or two earlier). This new monetary economy flourished greatly for just three or four decades, but then succumbed in the middle of the eighth century to a widespread monetary recession in southern England. There was a recovery, in which the whole story (including the same 'productive' sites) was repeated, at a lower level of intensity, from a date around 800, again for just three or four decades. This ninth-century trade seems to have been mediated through Kent, rather than coming directly by the Netherlands. Whether the impetus was still from the Netherlands is not clear from the numismatic evidence. The monetary affairs of the Isle of Wight in the eighth and early ninth centuries follow closely the same general pattern of 'productive' sites, etc., seen elsewhere in England, in particular the chronology. That tends to show that the commercial initiative from the Netherlands was the controlling factor. When we attempt to analyse the evidence of the coins more closely, the first question is whether the differences between the three components are such that it would be a mistake to amalgamate them. There are certainly a number of distinct differences but, based as they are on small samples, we have to judge whether they are statistically significant. Relatively large margins of statistical uncertainty attach to small samples. The best procedure is perhaps to take the evidence at face value while remaining conscious that conclusions may be modified or overturned as further coin finds are added to the corpus.

Who or what exactly facilitated the economic concentration on the two 'productive' sites has to remain open at present. Historical and topographical studies of the wider Carisbrooke area, as well as excavations, have suggested that the 'productive' site would have been connected with the evolution of a central place at nearby Carisbrooke, with elite and religious elements, as well as a market function. The site appears to have been chosen strategically to maximize access to resources from different economic zones, not too far from navigable water and next to important local transport routes.⁵⁶

Could similar circumstances and considerations have influenced the choice of location of the Shalfleet site? High-status finds from the site and foreign imports from nearby cemeteries suggest the presence of an early elite in the area. The find of the skillet, though not by itself conclusive, could point to a – at the moment admittedly rather tenuous – religious element. The site was located in an elevated position on Bembridge limestone, which is very fertile, and near at least one if not more springs, though not close to navigable water. But even more important would have been access to major local transport and crossroads: the prehistoric track on top of the chalk-ridge, traversing the island from east to west, and the route through

⁵⁶ See, amongst others, Margham 1992; Young 2000; Ulmschneider 1999, with references; Ulmschneider 2003.

the Chessell Gap – one of the few natural thoroughfares, which connects the northern harbours and wooded areas of the island with the southern crop-growing ones (see Fig. 1). Again, premium access to resources and transport routes/channels seems to have played a vital role.

The economic and historic interest of the Carisbrooke and Shalfleet sites has much more to yield in the future, for example through matching the recorded coins against specimens from the same or similar dies found elsewhere in England or in the Netherlands.

CATALOGUE

The catalogue consists of three sections, namely the finds from the Shalfleet parish ‘productive’ site, those from the Carisbrooke ‘productive’ site, and stray finds from elsewhere in the island. A few of the coins from Shalfleet and likewise from Carisbrooke have been previously published in the *Coin Register*, mentioning their provenance. The three sections create opportunities for statistical comparisons between them. In each section the coins are arranged in the following order: Earlier, gold coins; English primary-phase sceattas; Continental sceattas of the primary and secondary phases; English secondary-phase sceattas; early broad pennies.

Abbreviations: Hamwic = Metcalf 1988 and 2005b. Ashmolean = Metcalf 1993–94. wnr = weight not recorded. References to Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, and Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10 are to the catalogue unless otherwise stated.

Most of the coins are illustrated on **Pls. 1–4** (enlarged x1.5):

Pl. 1. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site

Pl. 2. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site (25–44), Shalfleet parish (50), Arreton hoard (A1–3)

Pl. 3. Carisbrooke ‘productive’ site

Pl. 4. Isle of Wight, stray finds (97 and 123 are shown actual size).

The Shalfleet ‘productive’ site

The coins are listed in two sections: 1, those from the ‘productive’ site, and 2, from its vicinity. A couple of sceattas from elsewhere within Shalfleet parish are included in the section recording stray finds, below.

1. The ‘productive’ site (1–49).

The coins were found by ten or more detectorists during rallies at the site organized by Mr Frank Basford, who photographed and weighed the finds, and recorded their exact location by GPS. The coins were then returned to the finders.

Gold coins

1. Merovingian tremissis, imitating the Visigothic ‘Victory advancing right’ type.

1.47 g. 20 February 2008.

Sixth century.

2. Merovingian tremissis, probably minted at Nantes.

1.43 g. 18 December 2011.

Obv. Bust left. *Legend* to left, (?) NAM. *Rev.* Victory advancing left. Legend, IVIO N. Belfort 1892–95, 3094.

Cf. *MEC* 460. Depeyrot 1998–2001, type 3–2E. Later sixth century.

English primary-phase sceattas.

3. Series BII.

1.16 g. 5 March 2008.

Same dies as Ashmolean 114 (from Mucking).

4. Series C1.

1.13 g. 16 February 2005.

Small head, pyramidal neck (more like C2). Otherwise, cf. Ashmolean 118. Somewhat weathered.

5. Series C2.

1.16 g. 18 September 2005.

Cf. Ashmolean 121.

6. Series C2 imitative (related to R/C2 mule?).

0.97 g. 17 September 2006.

Cf. Metcalf 2007, 64a. The runes on this specimen are indistinct, making it difficult to be certain whether they are those belonging to Series C, or R. The style of the reverse is certainly reminiscent of the R/C2 mules, and unexpected for straightforward C2 imitations. The R/C2 coins are usually debased. It might be that there is a little series of imitations which begins with Type C2 copies, as here, and later moves over to R/C2 copies. The known specimens include two from Bidford (Laight and Metcalf 2012, nos 41–2), and two from Kingston Deverill, Wilts. Against a regional origin, however, there are also finds from Essex.

7. Series R1–2, variety 1.
1.09 g. 22 October 2006.
Cf. Metcalf 2007, 1a.
8. ‘Vernus’ type. Group 1. (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3437–44 and pp. 205–14; see Fig. 7.7, coin a, at p. 207.)
1.04 g. 24 April 2011.
Possibly the same *rev.* as Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3439. Group 1 is a small group, relatively early within the ‘Vernus’ type. It is recorded in the Aston Rowant hoard and at the Royston ‘productive’ site. As Group 2 is also present at Aston Rowant, our specimen would seem to be among the earliest finds from the ‘productive’ site – at least as regards its date of minting.

Continental sceattas, of primary-phase and secondary-phase dates.

(Including imitations of uncertain geographical origin.)

9. Series D, Type 8Z.
1.11 g. 7 May 2006.
This specimen is clearly imitating Type D, 8. For the large central annulet with pellet on the obverse, cf. Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 145 (pictured on p. 42), which was found at East Knoyle in Wiltshire. The box-shaped pseudo-letter on the reverse is seen on regular coins of Type 8, e.g. corpus no. 4, the so-called ‘catapult’ variety, which is doubtless continental in origin. Another coin of Type D, 8 is at no. 50 below.
10. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 4b/c.
0.99 g. 4 March 2007.
The runes in front of the face are replaced on Variety 4 by parallel lines, and the pseudo-legend on the reverse is a mirror-image IIVI/IVII. Variety 4b is plentiful at Domburg and at Wijnaldum, etc. Variety 4c seems to be very late in the sequence, and is recorded mainly from the Aston Rowant hoard (17 out of 28 known specimens), with just three or four specimens from the Netherlands. Die-linkage is conspicuous. The metrology of Variety 4c is clearly different from 4a and 4b (see Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, pp. 53–4). Whether this all points to English imitation, or merely to a weight-reduction in the Netherlands, there is not enough evidence to say.
11. Series E (primary phase), plumed bird. Variety K.
1.11 g. 7 May 2006.
Coin Register 2007, 99, and Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0076. See no. 12 below.
12. Series E (primary phase), plumed bird. Variety L (annulets on reverse).
1.14 g. 7 May 2006.
Obv. Plump-bodied bird. *Rev.* Groups of three pellets between the annulets. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0140–2. Found on the same day as no. 11 above, but not close enough to be associated.
13. Series E (primary phase), plumed bird. Variety L.
1.15 g. 17 September 2006.
Obv. ‘Tubular’-bodied bird. *Rev.* Less tidy groups of three pellets.
14. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety b–d.
[wnr] 7 May 2006.
Sub-varieties b–d are associated with minting at Domburg or in the Rhine mouths area, while e–h (often with reverses diagonally aligned) are associated with minting in Friesland, e.g. at Wijnaldum.
15. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety d.
[wnr] 17 September 2006.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1553–6.
16. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety g.
1.14 g. 9 November 2008.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1901–40.
17. Series E, secondary phase, Sub-variety h?
1.07 g. 6 April 2008.
This coin uses the diamond-shaped alignment of the reverse design.
18. Series E, secondary phase, Sub-variety g or h.
1.06 g. 7 December 2008.
19. Series X, Variety b/B (Metcalf 1993–94, 279).
1.08 g. 17 February 2008.
Coins of Series X in this style were minted at Ribe, in Jutland.

English secondary-phase sceattas.

20. Series H, Type 39.
1.05 g. 13 April 2008.
The four annulets of the reverse design are composed of an inner wire circle and an outer circle of 18 to 20 pellets. This is contrary to all the rest of Type 39, which has an outer wire circle and an inner circle of pellets. Is this specimen early and experimental, or imitative? The bird’s head, which is not bent downwards as much as usual, perhaps suggests the former.

21. Series H, Type 39.
0.97 g. 18 January 2009.
Same dies as Hamwic 31.1 – *SCBI 20 Mack*, 355.
22. Series H, Type 49. Variety 1a.
[wnr] 31 March 2011.
Eight annulets. Cf. Hamwic 36–7, but with dots between the annulets.
23. Series H, Variety 1c.
[wnr] 14 March 2011.
Eight annulets. Rosette (indistinct) between bird's legs.
24. Series H, Variety 1b or 1c.
0.78 g. 17 September 2006.
Cf. Hamwic 40. Coin Register 2007, 143.
25. Series H, Variety 2a.
0.73 g. 24 December 2006.
Ten annulets, with pellets between. Above and below the bird's neck, a wire annulet with central pellet. Cf. Hamwic 63.3.
26. Series H, Variety 2a.
0.92 g. 18 January 2009.
Seven annulets. Cf. Hamwic 64?
27. Series H, Variety 2a.
0.99 g. 17 September 2006.
Eight annulets. Cf. Hamwic 66.7.
28. Series H, new variety 4d, with an additional annulet and pellet between the bird's legs.
1.05 g. 1 May 2006.
Nine annulets, otherwise cf. Hamwic 76, 77. Coin Register 2007, 145.
29. Series H, Type 48.
0.88 g. 17 September 2006.
Four annulets with complete outer wire circles, inner circles of 17–19 pellets. Bold central pellet partially surrounded by circle of small dots. Cf. Hamwic 31.9, 32.
30. Series H, Type 48.
0.77 g. 16 December 2008.
Cf. Hamwic 32, 33.
31. Series H, Type 48.
0.85 g. 1 May 2006.
Incomplete wire circles, joined to form outline of 'Celtic cross'. The heads in the wolf-whorl have long snouts. Untidy workmanship. Coin Register 2007, 142.
32. Series J, Type 85.
1.02 g. 16 December 2007.
On the reverse, the treatment of the bird, with a flat, horizontal back, is irregular. Hamwic 92 is not dissimilar, with bird with flat, horizontal back.
33. Series J, Type 36 (imitative?).
1.05 g. 12 March 2006.
Obv. Bust right, cross before face. London-style wreath-ties. *Rev.* Bird right, with smaller bird above. This specimen was described in Coin Register 2007, 157 as a plated Series K, Type 33. The *obv.* is irregular for Type 36.
34. Series K, Type 33.
[wnr] 18 March 2012.
Cf. Ashmolean, p. 389, top illustration. *Obv.* Bust in style C–D. *Rev.* Very similar to *SCBI 2 Hunterian*, 101. Three known provenances are from Reculver/north coast of the Isle of Thanet. See Metcalf and Walker 1967, nos 6, 7a, 7b, and 8.
35. Series K, Type 42b.
0.98 g. 14 October 2006.
Obv. Hawk in front of face. *Rev.* Foliage of var. iii behind the animal. There is a specimen of Type 42 from Hamwic.
36. 'Victory' type, var. 4 (Metcalf 1993–94, p. 442).
0.95 g. 5 May 2007.
Closely similar to the Hinton Parva, Wilts. find (= Ashmolean 350), but different dies. Abramson 2006, Vi 20 (p. 81) seems to be from the same *obv.* die.
37. Series N, Type 41a.
0.92 g. 20 January 2008.
From the same dies as the British Museum (type-) specimen. Type 41a seems to be a variant of the substantive Type 41b, and may possibly be from the Wessex area, but provenances are still needed.

38. Series U, Type 23c.
[wnr] 16 March 2011.
Rev. Bird right, i.e. not laterally reversed. Finds from Hamwic, Hanford, Dorset, and Walbury Camp, plus this one suggest a regional variant of Type 23 b/d, with its origin in the Wessex area.
39. Series V.
0.79 g. 17 September 2006.
Obv. Above the wolf, a letter C and two small groups of dots. Worn and otherwise indistinct.
40. Series X (insular).
0.68 g. 5 March 2008.
Obv. Variety H. In place of crosslets flanking the head there are semi-circles (resembling large ears). *Rev.* Grained border between inner and outer wire borders. Below the monster's chin, a group of three pellets. This and the following specimen, which in terms of their die-cutting are quite unlike most of the insular coins of Series X, would seem to be from the Wessex region. Cf. a coin with *obv.* Variety H from excavations at Wells Cathedral (Rodwell 1980, 43). It is illustrated in Ashmolean, p. 289.
41. Series X, (insular).
0.71 g. 2 March 2007.
Rev. The monster has a curly tail, a detail borrowed from an English type, e.g. Type 16/41. Grain borders. The style of engraving is very closely related to that of no. 40.
42. Series X, (insular?).
0.64 g. 18 January 2009.
Indistinct.
43. Series Z, Type 66, with beast right.
1.2 g. 11 October 2009.
Seven or more specimens are listed and discussed in Metcalf 1986, at pp. 12–13 (nos 5–11 with right-facing beast). Their distribution is concentrated in East Anglia, with none south of the Thames. Ashmolean 141 was said to be from Billingsgate (London) spoil.
(See Postscript, p. 41 below, for two new finds of secondary-phase sceattas from the Shalfleet 'productive' site.)

Merovingian denier

44. Cf. Belfort 1892–97, 5658–63.
1.22 g. 17 September 2006.
Coin Register 2007, 67.

Early broad pennies

45. Coenwulf, king of Mercia. East Anglian mint, moneyer Lul. c.800–21.
[wnr] 17 February 2008.
Naismith 2011 E.10.1f. Gilded, but with no sign of mounting. Another coin of Coenwulf at no. 51 below.
46. Baldred, king of Kent. Rochester mint. c.823–25.
0.61 g (frag.). 22 October 2006.
Naismith 2011 R.8 (p. 268).
47. Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury. c.823–25?
0.52 g (large fragment, lacking the outer circle). 25 September 2005.
Obv. Large facing head. *Rev.* DRVR/CITS. The moneyer's name is missing. (Swefherd, Wilnoth?). Naismith 2011 C.68, 69. Cf. R.C. Lockett sale Part I (Glendining, 6 June 1955), lot 335, and cf. Baldred, Naismith 2011 C.61–2 for the suggested date.
48. Ecgberht, king of Wessex. Canterbury mint (DOROB C phase). Moneyer Diormod. c.828–39.
1.01 g (chipped). 9 November 2008.
Naismith 2011 C.82 (pp. 154–7).
49. Ecgberht, king of Wessex. Winchester mint. Moneyer Weochthun. c.828–39.
1.23 g. 16 December 2007.
Naismith 2011 W.11b. See also a stray find from Wootton, below.

2. From the vicinity of the Shalfleet 'productive' site

(Note that further finds from elsewhere within Shalfleet parish (see stray finds) include the tremissis, no. 95 below.)

50. Series D, Type 8.
[wnr] 18 March 2012.
Cf. Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 38–40.
51. Coenwulf, king of Mercia. Canterbury mint, moneyer Duda.
1.22 g. 7 December 2008.
Naismith 2011 C.13.1o.

The Carisbrooke 'productive' site

The discovery and early history of the 'productive' site were somewhat opportunist, but from an early stage information was rescued by the archaeological authorities for the island, namely Mr David Motkin and his colleagues. It seems that detectorists began to find sceattas and early broad pennies in the Isle of Wight in about 1989. The authorities were able to make confidential records of finds by five detectorists, amounting to 15 sceattas and two pennies, mostly from between 1989 and 1993. Nothing can now be said about the exact varieties of some of the early finds, which have presumably been dispersed. It seems that some of them were found in the vicinity of Carisbrooke Castle, but that rests on hearsay. Seven further sceattas have been published in the Society's *Coin Register*, having been shown in the British Museum by Mr B. White. Two of these coins were the property of his friend Mr J.W. Heath. In June 1998 Mr White and Mr Heath visited D.M.M. in the Ashmolean Museum, and spoke about their experiences. Their recollection was that, over a period of eight or nine years, Mr Heath had found 18 sceattas (which are catalogued below), Mr White had found about 12, and a third detectorist known to them had found three. Mr Heath kindly allowed copies to be made of enlarged colour photographs of his 18 finds (of which the first nine had been sold), and Mr White, with equal kindness, allowed four of his recent finds to be photographed. Two of the 18 (only) had appeared in the *Coin Register*. Photographs of five other coins, found by Mr White, and submitted by him to the Archaeological Unit, had been photocopied for reference. One other coin was reported to D.M.M. quite independently in 1993, with a photo, by Mr T. Winch. Thus it was possible to examine and compare photographs of 32 out of 36 coins. As regards the other four coins, it is not impossible that they are duplicate records. In most cases the exact find-spot of each coin is known, but the localities are withheld at the express wish of the finders, to preserve the sites from unauthorized or aggravating exploitation. Many if not all of them are also confidentially recorded by Mr Motkin and his colleagues. Some of the finds are specifically stated to have come from Froglands Farm. It seems that that is where the 'productive' site lay. The nearby Little Whitcombe Farm, and Plaish Farm have also been mentioned. For the arrangement of the sceatta types, see p. 32 above.

English primary-phase sceattas.

52. Series C2.
1.06 g. Spring, 1995.
Coin Register 1995, 77.
53. Series C2 (imitative).
[wnr]
A close copy, but with runes *apa* inwards and retrograde.
54. Series F. Variety b.
1.14 g.
55. Saroaldo.
[wnr]
Cf. Ashmolean 151–3. Reported in the summer of 2001, found 'near Plaish Farm (44750870)', i.e. a quarter of a mile west of Froglands Farm.
56. Series W.
1.12 g. Found 1991–92. Metcalf 2005a, 5a.
Coin Register 1992, 246.

Continental primary and secondary-phase sceattas.

57. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 3c, with bust facing right.
[wnr] Found 1990–8.
Runes resemble KHK. Op de Velde and Metcalf 2003, 666.
58. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 3d.
1.15 g. Reported 2003.
Op de Velde and Metcalf 2003, 778.
59. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 4b.
0.86 g. Found summer 1993.
Coin Register 1993, 148.
60. Series E, primary phase. VICO variety (imitative).
1.11 g. Reported June 1998.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0319.
61. Series E, primary phase. Variety G1.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0355. Same *obv.* as BMC 340 (Aston Rowant hoard).
62. Series E, secondary phase. Variety b.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0866.
63. Series E, secondary phase. Variety b.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0960.

64. Series E, secondary phase. Variety b or c.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
65. Series E, secondary phase. Variety d.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1353.
66. Series E, secondary phase. Variety d?
[wnr]
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, –.
67. Series E, secondary phase. Variety g.
[wnr] Found 28 November 2007.
68. Series E, secondary phase. Variety h.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1973.
69. Series E, secondary phase. Variety h.
[wnr] Found October 1989.
Similar to Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 2010–17.
70. Series E, secondary phase.
No details available.
71. Series E, secondary phase.
No details available.
72. Series X, Variety b/A.
0.90 g. Found 1991/2.
Coin Register 1992, 247.

English secondary-phase sceattas.

73. Series H, Type 39.
[wnr] Found at Froglands Farm, c.1989–92.
74. Series H, Type 39.
[wnr]
There is a row of small pellets following the curve of the bird's neck. The vine is indicated by bold pellets.
Possibly from early dies?
75. Series H, Type 49, Variety 1b.
0.83 g. Found before April 1992.
Cf. Hamwic 38. Coin Register 1992, 232.
76. Series H, Type 49, Variety 1b.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Ten roundels. Cf. Hamwic 38–40.
77. Series H, Type 49, Variety 1c.
[wnr]
Eight roundels, interspersed with pellets. Cf. Hamwic 51.7.
78. Series H, Type 49, Variety 2b.
[wnr]
Hamwic 70 is from the same *obv.* die and a very similar reverse.
79. Series H, Type 49, Variety 4a.
0.78 g.
Cf. Hamwic 75–6. Coin Register 1993, 170.
80. Series H, Type 48.
0.89 g.
Cf. Hamwic 31.4, 31.6. Coin Register 1992, 231 (as Type 49).
81. Series J, Type 37.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
See no. 82.
82. Series J, Type 37.
[wnr]
Found about 50 yards from the preceding coin. This and the preceding specimen are very close to each other in style. The diadems are grained, and the individual hairs spring from pellets. There is no suggestion, however, that these coins are of local origin, as similar pieces have been found e.g. in the south midlands.
83. Series O, Type 38.
[wnr] Found at Froglands Farm, December 1991.
See no. 84.
84. Series O, Type 38.
[wnr] Found May 1992, in an adjacent or nearby field to the preceding coin.
85. Type 30A.
0.99 g.
Cf. Ashmolean 431.

86. Cf. Type 51.
1.10 g.
Same variety as Ashmolean 434, which it closely resembles. Coin Register 1993, 177.
87. Series V. Type V2b.
0.96 g.
88. Series W-related.
0.79 g. Found September 1998.
Obv. Monster left with head turned back. *Rev.* Ornamented saltire, with triple ends. See Metcalf 2005a, p. 11, Fig. 3 (line-drawing), and MacKay 2004, publishing and discussing the type. There is another specimen from Rushall, Wilts., almost certainly from the same dies, and a third, from south-west Wiltshire.
89. Series X (insular).
0.92 g.
Very similar to a find from Eynsham, Oxon., = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1766-2007; ex De Wit 2008, S 406; ex Patrick Finn, list 16 (1999), 64.
90. Series X (insular).
[wnr] Found 2007.
Obv. with three annulets in place of crosslets. Cf. Hamwic 123, and also a find from Alford, Lincs. Coin Register 2009, 225. This specimen said to be from Little Whitcombe Farm, which is next to Froglands Farm: it could be near the 'productive' site rather than actually on it, but the finder's information may be slightly misleading. The coin was initially condemned as a modern forgery.
91. Type reading AESE (Metcalf 1993–94, p. 682, from different dies).
[wnr]
Crosslets between letters, vvv in margin.

Merovingian denier.

92. *Obv.* Head left, S+VI. *Rev.* Monogram.
0.93 g.
Cf. Prou 1892, 2845, ex Nice-Cimiez. There is another similar specimen found at Sotteville-sous-le-Val (Seine-Maritime), near Rouen, in 2000: Lafaurie and Pilet Lemièrre 2003, 76.682,1.

Early broad penny.

When D.M.M. was in contact with the finders, early pennies were not discussed. One cannot rule out, therefore, that some were found, and probably sold.

93. Offa, king of Mercia. Heavy coinage, Canterbury mint, Ethelnoth.
1.22 g. Found 9 December 2007, and recorded by Mr Basford. Froglands Farm.
Cf. Chick 2010, 235 (same *rev.* as 235a and b). A find-date of 14 November 2004 is erroneous.

Stray finds

Find-spots refer to the parish within which the coin was found.

Sixth-century gold and copper coins.

94. Solidus, in the name of Anastasius I (491–518).
[wnr] 25 April 2007, found Shorwell.
Contemporary copy, with blundered symbol in the reverse left field. Probably Merovingian, sixth century. Cf. MEC 347–8.
95. Tremissis, of Visigothic type (Victory advancing right), in the name of Anastasius I.
1.21 g. 1 May 2011. Shalfleet parish.
Gold plated on copper core. Cf. Tomasini 1964, 47, Group A2.
96. Solidus, Tiberius II, 578–82. Constantinople mint.
4.48 g. 5 March 2008. Isle of Wight.
Coin Register 2009, 45.
97. Justinian (528–65), Thessalonica mint, copper 16-nummum.
4.86 g. 23 April 2008, found Newport parish.
The sigla on the reverse were described as a letter C flanked by dots. See Hahn 2000, N169f (p. 153 and pl. 29), which is, however, quite different in style. It is possible that the sigla, which are indistinct, have been misread. For a 10-nummum of Justinian excavated at Hamwic (and probably a late seventh- or eighth-century loss), see Hamwic 187.

English primary-phase sceattas.

98. Series F, Variety b.i.
1.11 g. 12 August 2012, found Brighstone.
99. Series W.
0.96 g. 4 October 2009, found Calbourne.
Apparently not the same *obv.* as Metcalf 2005a, 1a–e.

Continental primary- and secondary-phase sceattas.

100. Series D, Type 8.
1.19 g. 15 July 2007, found Shorwell.
Cf. Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 81–6.
101. Series D, Type 2c.
1.16 g. 18 September 2003, found in controlled archaeological investigation, unstratified, at Yaverland (Bembridge parish).
Coin Register 2003, 73.
102. Series E, primary phase, plumed bird.
1.12 g. 30 May, 2010, found Arreton.
Plump-bodied bird. Crosslet and pellet below bird's neck. Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0069–70, but on the reverse the pyramids of three dots point outwards.
103. Series E, primary phase, Variety G.
1.22 g. 13 February 2005, found Totland.
Cf. G1/G2, but with groups of three pellets added on the reverse. This variant, hitherto unique (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0561) is discussed and illustrated in Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, at p. 31. The question arises whether this could be a G1/plumed bird mule. The engraving is of 'official' quality.
104. Series E, primary phase, Variety G1 or G2.
1.22 g. 16 October 2005, found Yarmouth.
105. Series E, primary phase, Variety G, probably G2.
1.24 g. 10 October 2009, found Newchurch.
Badly weathered.
106. Series E, primary phase, Variety D.
[wnr] 11 March 2009, found Arreton.
This specimen is from the same dies as a coin in the Arreton hoard (below). Could it be a stray from the hoard, or could it have arrived in the Isle of Wight at the same time?
107. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety b.
0.98 g. 30 May 2008, found Yarmouth.
Added pellets on the reverse, cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 866–8. Note that 866, which is from the Carisbrooke 'productive' site, is extremely similar in style. As with the preceding coin and its pair, one will strongly suspect that this and the Carisbrooke specimen arrived in the Isle of Wight together.
108. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety b or c.
1.05 g. 1 February 2006, found Gatcombe.
109. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety e.
0.98 g. 9 November 2008, found in Shalfleet parish (not the 'productive' site).
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1682–4. In Sub-variety e, the spine on the *obv.* is normally outlined with small dots. A few are visible on this specimen, above the spine, and (faintly) below.
110. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety h.
1.19 g. 3 September 2011, found Newport.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1968–79.
111. Series E?
A coin found in 1759 is conjectured, from a verbal description only, to have been a porcupine. Found Newport.
Metcalf 1957, 205.
112. Series X, Variety d.
1.05 g. 19 October 2002, found Bembridge.
Coin Register 2005, 96.
113. Series X, Variety e?
1.07 g. 30 May 2012, found Havenstreet and Ashey parish.
114. Series X, Variety j (*obv.* laterally reversed).
0.57 g. 27 May 2009, found Yarmouth.

English secondary-phase sceattas.

115. Series H, Type 49, variety 1b.
1.07 g. Found 2007/9?, Calbourne (F3C507).
116. Series H, Type 49, Variety 4b.
0.86 g. 5 April 2005, found SZ 4487.
117. Series L, 'Hwiccan' style. Type 18.
1.02 g. 11 November 2009, found Brighstone.
Closely similar to the Chedworth find, Metcalf 1976, pl. 12, 8.
118. Type 30.
0.94 g. 16 March 2008, found Brading.
For another very similar specimen, with two facing figures, see Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum CM.1953–2007; ex De Wit 2008, S 410.

119. Series X (insular). Variety with W-shaped beard. Domed head, long moustaches.
1.16 g. 31 January 2010, found Yarmouth.
Ashmolean, p. 292. The W-shaped beard is seen on other types than Series X, where it is scarce. Possibly to be compared with a find from Hanford, Dorset, which has been published only with a rather dark photograph. If the Hanford find were of the same variety, one would begin to think of a local mint or origin.
(See Postscript, p. 41 below, for six new stray finds of primary- and secondary-phase sceattas.)

Merovingian denier?

120. E/D imitation?
0.83 g. Isle of Wight, by 2010.
Coin Register 2011, 80. A most unusual piece, which seems unlikely to have been English. The resemblance of the *obv.* to the well-known 'porcupine' design is far-fetched: if the die-engraver had wished to imitate that design, he could hardly have failed to do better than this. Possibly Merovingian?

Early broad pennies.

121. Offa, king of Mercia. Canterbury, light coinage, Babba.
1.09 g. 4 October 2009, found Calbourne.
Cf. Chick 2010, 89. Another specimen of this variety is Hamwic 130.
122. Offa of Mercia. Canterbury, light coinage, Tirwald.
1.21 g. 1 April 2004, found Shorwell.
Chick 2010, 132b (this coin). Coin Register 2005, 143.
123. Offa of Mercia. Canterbury, light coinage, Tirwald.
1.09 g. 9 January 2011, found Yarmouth parish.
New type, cf. Chick 2010, 133, but with large R at centre of *obv.*
124. Offa of Mercia. Canterbury, heavy coinage, Ethelmod.
1.01 g (chipped). 14 November 2004, found Fishbourne.
Cf. Chick 2010, 229–30.
125. Coenwulf, king of Mercia, 796–821. Canterbury mint, moneyer Duda.
[wnr] 21 September 2005, found Yarmouth.
Naismith 2011 C40.
126. Baldred, king of Kent, c.823–25. Canterbury mint, moneyer Sigestef.
1.2 g. 22 June 2004, found near Arreton.
Naismith 2011 C63.2f (this coin).
127. Baldred of Kent, c.823–25. Canterbury, moneyer Werheard.
1.16 g. 27 November 2011, found Calbourne.
Naismith 2011 66.
128. Ecgbert, king of Wessex, 828–39. Canterbury mint, moneyer Diormod.
1.01 g (chipped). 9 November 2008, found Newport.
Naismith 2011 C821 (this coin).
129. Ecgbert of Wessex, 828–39. Canterbury mint, Diormod.
0.85 g (chipped). 2 March 2012, found Havenstreet and Ashey parish.
Naismith 2011 C82. Similar to the preceding specimen.
130. Ecgbert of Wessex, 828–39. Wessex mint, moneyer Pechtun.
1.23 g. 1 September 2007, found Wootton.
Naismith 2011 W11. (Another, from Shalfleet, above.)

Carolingian denier.

131. Charles the Bald, 840–77? Mint of Melle.
1.35 g. 21 August 2006, found Calbourne.
Deniers such as this in the name of Charles appear to have become an immobilized type at Melle, i.e. they cannot easily be closely dated. This specimen may be contemporary with the broad pennies listed above, or it may be somewhat later.

The Arreton hoard

Three coins, found by different detectorists, but in close proximity and on the same day (18 May 2011). It was deemed likely that they had been concealed together. A fourth coin may have been associated, but further finds from Arreton (see Postscript) make this less likely.

1. Series E, primary phase. Variety VICO.
[wnr]
2. Series E, primary phase. Variety D.
[wnr]
Cf. 105 above, from the same dies, and also found at Arreton. Could it be a stray from the hoard?

3. Series C (imitative).

1.07 g.

The distinctive reverse, with the letters T aligned diagonally, is very scarce. It is seen, for example in the Vernus type, Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3484–6 (incorrectly numbered on pl. 93). The hoard suggests, *prima facie*, that it is of primary-phase or very early secondary-phase date.

POSTSCRIPT

In the interval between submitting this paper and its return to the authors for final corrections, no fewer than eight more sceattas have been recorded from the Isle of Wight. Two are from the Shalfleet ‘productive’ site, from the northern and southern sectors respectively. They are of Series H/49 and Series X, i.e. more of the same. The remainder are welcome single finds from around the island. Four of these are primary-phase issues, of which three are from the Netherlands. Two of them are of type D/8, reinforcing what was suggested about the D/8 to D/2c ratio and about the gathering in of monetary exchanges to the ‘productive’ sites. A specimen of Type C2 from Freshwater parish is extremely close in style to cat. no. 5. Another Series X, from Newport parish, is in insular style. The most intriguing of the new finds is a Series W, from Arreton parish (three among the eight are from Arreton, from where a small hoard was reported). It is of the variety where the profile of the head is reminiscent of Series U. If that detail is derivative, the Arreton find will necessarily be of (early) secondary date. Whether it marks a resumption of minting at the original mint-place of Series W, or is an imitation from elsewhere (? locally), is an open question.

1. Secondary phase. Series X, Variety A/c.

0.81 g. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site, 29 May 2013.

2. Secondary phase. Series H, Type 49.

0.76 g. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site, 29 May 2013.

3. Primary phase. Series C, Type 2c.

1.06 g. Freshwater parish, 20 March 2013.

4. Primary phase. Series D, Type 8.

0.98 g. Arreton parish, 16 June 2013. (See no. 6)

5. Primary phase. Series D, Type 8.

1.01 g. Havenstreet and Ashley parish, 27 February 2013.

6. Primary phase. Series E, primary Variety D.

1.03 g. Found Arreton parish on the same day as no. 4, but not in proximity – GPS record of find-spot to nearest metre, 16 June 2013.

7. Secondary phase. Series W, cf. Metcalf 2005a, no. 9.

1.27 g. Arreton parish, 21 October 2012.

8. Secondary phase. Series X, *obv.* Type C, rev. laterally reversed. (Insular).

1.06 g. Newport parish, 3 April 2013.

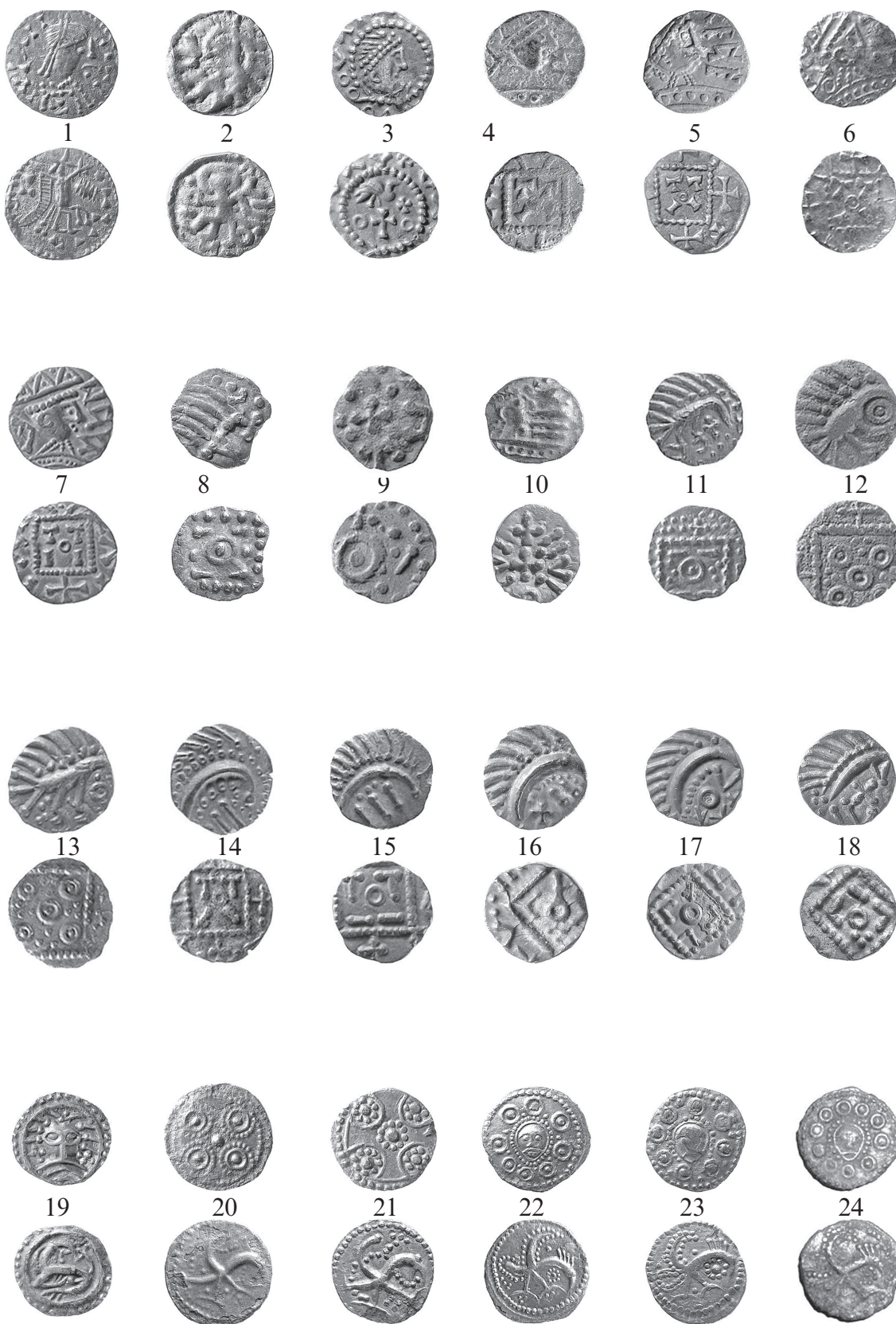
In general, the new finds are such as to confirm the conclusions sketched above. We hope to publish a full account of the addenda in two or three years’ time. As ever, our grateful thanks go to Frank Basford for all his skill and diplomacy.

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ULMSCHNEIDER AND METCALF: SCEATTAS AND PENNIES (1)

PLATE 2



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A1



A2

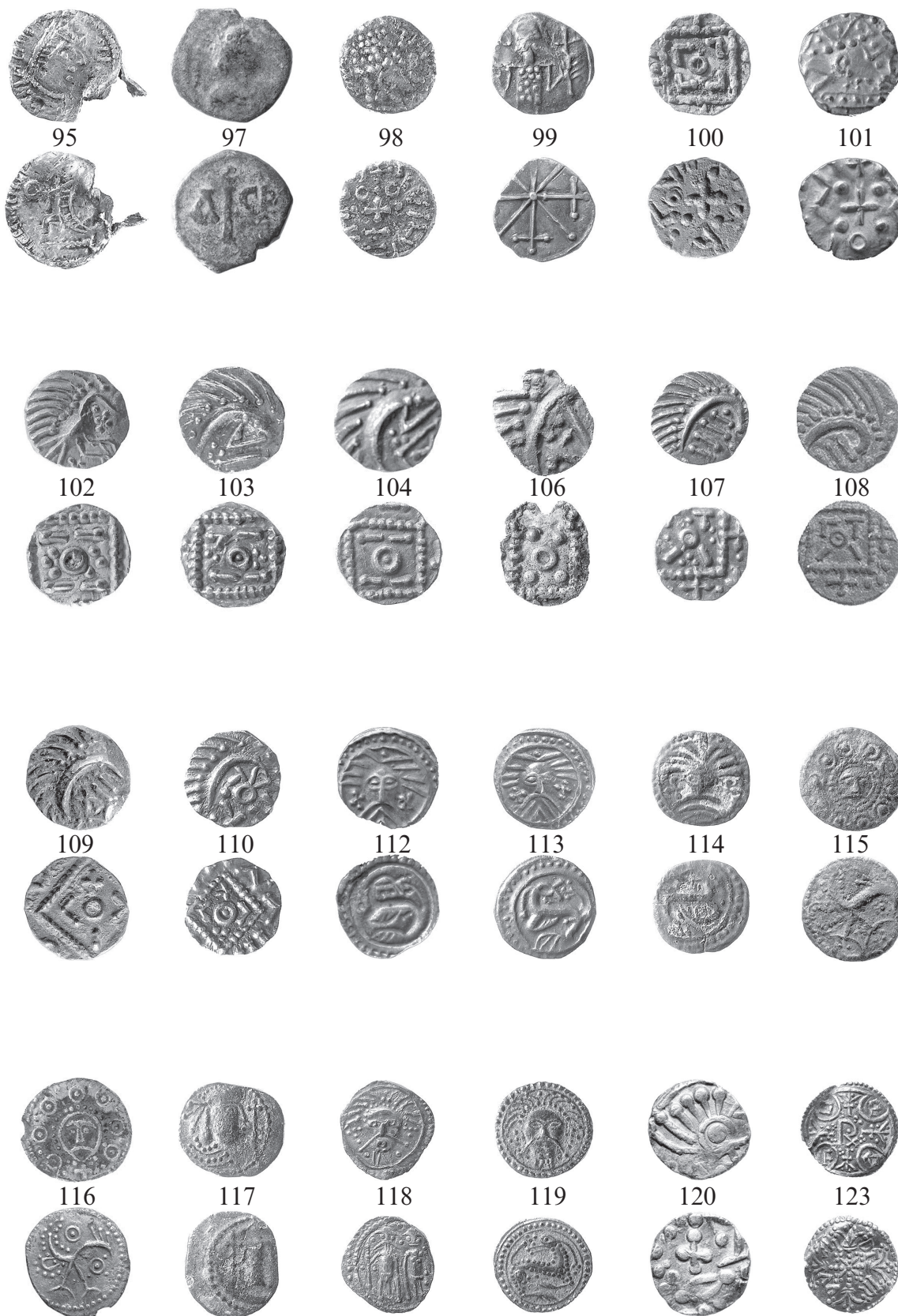


A3





PLATE 4



LONDON AND ITS MINT *c.*880–1066: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

RORY NAISMITH

IN their classic survey *London 800–1216: the Shaping of a City*, Christopher Brooke and Gillian Keir began by stating both the importance of the period under consideration, and the problems it posed. As they put it,

during the[se] centuries ... London again became, in the fullest sense of the word, a great city, and in some senses the political capital of England and the commercial capital of a large area of north-western Europe. Here is an exciting subject; but also a sharp challenge, for while some of the story has been told and retold, for the rest the material is unequal and often baffling and demands a long detective enterprise to make sense of it.¹

Almost forty years of subsequent research have added a great many new clues to the detective's case-file, all of them building towards the same central point that Brooke and Keir had already advanced: that London's medieval 'foundations ... were laid in the period between Alfred and Henry II.'² The lion's share of recent success in furthering this story can be credited to archaeologists, but already in the 1970s Brooke and Keir recognized the part coins had to play. They stressed the importance of collecting information on coin-finds from the city, and also London's gradual emergence in the course of the eleventh century as the focal point of England's complex web of mint-places. This part of their work, however, remained relatively brief, notwithstanding the provision of detailed notes by Lord Stewartby on London's numismatic history and representation among Scandinavian coin-collections, printed as an appendix.³

Work since the 1970s has made the need for a more detailed study of the late Anglo-Saxon mint of London increasingly apparent. 'Mint' in this context must be understood as shorthand for all the moneymen operating more or less separately in London at one time: there is no indication that there was ever a single mint-building as such in early medieval London, or any other major Anglo-Saxon town. Mint-studies based on the total output of a location's moneymen are now available for the three other leading mint-towns of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Lincoln, Winchester and York).⁴ In these, all known surviving coins are brought together and used to reach important conclusions about the cities' roles and development. Minute study of how coin-production worked at major towns across England is therefore now feasible, as well as more detailed scrutiny of circulation at home and abroad, thanks to the ever-growing body of single-finds and hoard material.⁵ As studies of these mint-towns and their place in the national administration and economy have progressed, the absence of comparable data for London has become conspicuous. Simple calculations based on major collections leave no doubt that overall London dwarfed the other English mint-towns. The first fifty-one volumes of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, for example, list 2635, 2453 and 1143 coins of York, Lincoln and Winchester respectively, minted between *c.*973 and 1066. They list 4164 of London from the same period. Similar statistics can be reached by other means, all pointing to the same conclusion – that London was a powerhouse of coin-production in late Anglo-Saxon England. There can be no question about the value of a full understanding of how the

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to John Blair, Stewart Lyon and George Molyneaux, who read and commented on a draft of this paper. Any errors which remain are of course my own.

¹ Brooke and Keir 1975, xiii.

² *Ibid.*, 361.

³ *Ibid.*, 377–80.

⁴ The data on productivity for the three are conveniently collected together in Lyon 2012.

⁵ Metcalf 1998; Naismith 2013.

city came to hold such a position, and how its contribution to the coinage waxed and waned. Unfortunately, the scale of London's activity is also its undoing: the overwhelming number of surviving coins has so far been sufficient to deter comprehensive analysis.

The present paper in no way aims to take the place of such an investigation, and it is to be hoped that a more ambitious venture might one day complete a full mint-study of London. For the moment, the aim is to lay out some preliminary signposts for the course London's development followed in the period from Alfred's London Monogram coinage (and especially Edgar's *c.*973 reform) to the Norman conquest, using more immediately accessible statistics and tentative estimates extrapolated from samples. The criteria used here will be familiar to most students of Anglo-Saxon monetary history: representation among single-finds; the numbers of moneymen employed; and estimates of output in number of dies used. These suggest that the pre-eminence of London – for these purposes also embracing its suburb at Southwark⁶ – was quite a sudden creation, belonging to the years after *c.*980. Prior to this it had been a major, but by no means dominant, player in the Anglo-Saxon monetary economy. During the last years of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh, however, London enjoyed a truly spectacular burst of activity. On this all the different means of analysis are in agreement, mutually supporting one another in compelling fashion. No less importantly, the date assigned to the inception of this period of frenetic monetary activity parallels that which archaeologists and historians have arrived at independently for the general growth of London: their evidence suggests that the decades leading up to the millennium were pivotal in the rise of the city's economic and political profile.⁷ Later, however, the numismatic conclusions diverge from the prevailing account of the city's history. According to all other historical and archaeological assessments, London went from strength to strength over the eleventh century; certainly there is no evidence for diminution in its vitality or prestige. But from around 1040–50 London as a mint entered relative decline. At first it still remained superior to the other major English mint-towns; by the 1060s, however, London was again comparable in scale to Lincoln or York. Even so, there was never any question of London disappearing from among England's leading monetary centres. By 1066, London's place in the first rank of English mint-towns was secure.

Background: the history and archaeology of Anglo-Saxon London

Minting never went on in an economic, cultural or administrative vacuum: its intensity and organization were at all times dictated by specific historical circumstances. The whys and wherefores of London's changing fortune as a mint must be understood in the context of its evolution as a city, and as part of a larger political and economic whole. Even in the Anglo-Saxon period London possessed a special status which went beyond its (often formidable) economic importance. The roots of this go back to ancient times, but the tenth and eleventh centuries were to prove especially crucial for London's rise as the hub of the new kingdom of England. As such, it is appropriate to begin with consideration of the setting in which the mint operated: that of the city of London itself.

Early Anglo-Saxon London and Lundenwic

The beginnings of London's settlement can be traced back to before the Roman conquest of Britain, but it was thanks to development after the invasion of AD 43 that the city first acquired great wealth, size and status. It became a provincial and (in the fourth century) diocesan capital. This early success – manifested in construction of walls and monumental buildings, and a position at the epicentre of the Roman road network – left a lasting impression even after the collapse of urban life in fifth-century Britain. London, like other cities, at this time stood

⁶ Reasons for considering London and Southwark together are laid out on pp. 59–60.

⁷ See below, pp. 48–9.

largely empty; however, early Anglo-Saxon settlements in the vicinity have been recorded, discounting earlier claims of a Romano-British enclave.⁸

When Christian missionaries from Rome, led by St Augustine and sent by Pope Gregory I the Great (590–604), arrived in Britain in 597, their original plan – doubtless founded on records of late Roman administrative geography – was for London to be the leading metropolitan see of Britain, with a second and subordinate northern province centred on York.⁹ Political conditions in England made it expedient for Augustine instead to remain at Canterbury, but London was among the earliest bishoprics to be re-established: in 604 the Italian Mellitus was consecrated as its first incumbent, ministering to the kingdom of the East Saxons. St Paul's was founded at this time, under the aegis of the overlord of southern England, Æthelberht I of Kent (d. 616), but there is no clear evidence of any substantial settlement, production or trade yet taking place in London. Although never attaining the status first intended by Pope Gregory, London was to remain a prominent ecclesiastical centre until 1066 and after, and locations in the vicinity of London such as Brentford and Chelsea were favoured sites for Church councils between the seventh and ninth centuries.¹⁰

The first signs of anything approaching urban life in or near the city appeared in the course of the seventh century. By 679 it was a place where slaves could be sold to Frisian merchants, and a law-code issued by Hlothhere and Eadric, kings of Kent, in the years 673–c.685, refers to men of Kent buying property in London, where a port-reeve and a king's hall could be found.¹¹ Another charter of the 670s, issued by Frithuwald, *subregulus* of Surrey, mentions a grant of land adjacent to the *portus Lundoniae*.¹² Gold coins from earlier in the seventh century, some of them in the name of the Kentish king, Eadbald (616–40), named London as their mint-place.¹³ Mint-names were at this time a great rarity, and so might suggest particular significance deriving from production in London. By the early eighth century, famously, the venerable Bede could describe London as a *civitas* ('city', usually of Roman background in Bede's usage) and 'a market for many peoples coming by land and sea',¹⁴ and it was the point of departure for St Boniface in both 716 and 718.¹⁵ Within the Roman walls of *Londinium*, however, archaeological traces of habitation remain slim: the regeneration of Anglo-Saxon London came on a site to the west of the old city, around what is now Covent Garden and along the Strand. The discovery of this major settlement since the 1970s has lent new weight to the testimony of Bede, the laws and the coins, and cemented conclusions about London's status in the Middle Saxon period.¹⁶

This large extramural settlement, which may have covered up to 50–60 hectares, has come to be known as *Lundenwic*: a term found in Hlothhere and Eadric's law-code and Willibald's *vita* of St Boniface, and perhaps alluded to with the Latin *vicus Lundoniae* used in charters and on the famous Coenwulf mancus (struck c.805–10),¹⁷ though both terms could also refer to the whole of London (Roman and extramural) or specifically to the king's estate.¹⁸ London at this time was a major political and economic concern, and over the seventh century it fell under the overlordship of Kentish, Northumbrian and West Saxon rulers. By the early eighth century it had definitively come within the sphere of the Mercian kings. Æthelbald, king of the Mercians (716–57), was able to issue to several churches exemptions from tolls his agents charged on ships in London,¹⁹ and it became one of a select few royal mint-towns under Offa

⁸ General surveys of London's history and archaeology from the Roman empire to the Middle Ages can be found in Haynes, Sheldon and Hannigan 2000; Vince 1989; Keene 2000.

⁹ Bede, *HE* i.29 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 104–5).

¹⁰ Cubitt 1995, 27–31; Whitelock 1974; Kelly 2004, 1–49.

¹¹ Bede, *HE* iv.22 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 401–5); Hlothhere and Eadric, c. 16–16.2 (Liebermann 1903–16 I, 11).

¹² S 1165 (BCS 34). For context see Blair 1989.

¹³ Sutherland 1948, no. 77 (and cf. nos 45–7).

¹⁴ 'Multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium': Bede, *HE* ii.3 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 142–3).

¹⁵ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 4 and 5 (Levison 1905, 16 and 20).

¹⁶ On this settlement, see Maddicott 2005, 8–24; Cowie 2001; Vince 1989, 13–25.

¹⁷ Naismith 2011, no. G2a.

¹⁸ Naismith 2012, 114–16.

¹⁹ Kelly 1992.

and his Mercian successors.²⁰ Already by this stage it seems to have rivalled Canterbury in the scale of its output. However, minting in London declined sharply around the year 800, possibly as a result of fires in the city.²¹ By the 830s pennies from London were scarce. A temporary revival came under Berhtwulf (840–52), and a more secure restoration of the city's minting activity occurred in the reign of Burgred (854–74), during which London is presumed to have been the (or at least a principal) source of the prolific Lunettes coinage.²²

Lundenburh c.880–1066

The heyday of *Lundenwic* was in the eighth century; the ninth century witnessed a return to settlement within the Roman walls.²³ Already in 829–30 coins produced during Egbert's (802–39) brief conquest of the kingdom of Mercia advertised that they had been produced in LVNDONIA CIVIT[as], which is suggestive of production within the walled Roman city.²⁴ Maps of coin-finds from London also reveal a shift at this time: *sceattas* and pennies of Offa tend to be found in the area of the Strand settlement, whereas pennies of Alfred and his successors are more often found in the Roman city.²⁵ Archaeological excavations at Queenhithe and around St Paul's have produced evidence for riverside redevelopment in the reign of Alfred,²⁶ and substantial portions of the street system were probably laid between this time and the late tenth century.²⁷ Charters of Alfred's reign indicate episcopal and secular interest in the acquisition of holdings within London.²⁸ Most famously – and contentiously – the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports that in 886 Alfred *gesette* ('established') *Lundenburh*, after which all the English not living under Danish control gave him their allegiance, and Alfred assigned control over the city to Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians.²⁹ There can be little doubt that this was a momentous occasion, and again a link between mastery of London and wider claims to power is clear, but it is unlikely that the events of 886 really constituted a (re)conquest of London: Alfred had probably enjoyed power over the city since the mid-870s, albeit perhaps with some interruptions, for instance in 883 or a year around that time, when the Vikings within London were apparently besieged by Alfred.³⁰

The revival of Alfred's reign was maintained if not much expanded upon during most of the tenth century. Queenhithe continued to be occupied and to provide a setting for international trade.³¹ At Regis House (EC4) a group of sunken-featured buildings has been found, probably dating to the mid-tenth century, certainly to some point before more securely dated late tenth-century refuse pits.³² The Burghal Hidage – probably to be associated with the early tenth century – provides the first mention of Southwark's existence, although no archaeological evidence for occupation on the south bank of the river at this time has yet been discovered.³³ Nevertheless, London was still a place of major significance: one of the most prominent and historically significant towns in the kingdom, if not yet its unrivalled leader in economic affairs. Æthelstan, Edmund and Edgar (the latter possibly multiple times) issued charters and law-codes in the city.³⁴ One law-code of Edgar stipulates that weight standards for coins were

²⁰ Chick 2010; Naismith 2010, 78–84.

²¹ *Historia regum* s.a. 798 and 801 (Arnold 1882, II, 59 and 66; trans. Whitelock 1979, 275–6).

²² Naismith 2012, 187–92.

²³ For the transition see Hobley 1988.

²⁴ Naismith 2011, no. L30a.

²⁵ Graphically shown by the maps in Stott 1991, 283–94.

²⁶ Ayre, Wroe-Brown and Malt 1996; Schofield 2011, 58–9; Wroe-Brown 1999, 13–14.

²⁷ Horsman, Milne and Milne 1988, 113. Cf. Tatton-Brown 1986. A stronger view of Alfredian involvement in the layout of London's streets is presented in Haslam 2010, 112–19.

²⁸ S 346 (BCS 561); S 1628 (BCS 577–8). See Dyson 1978; Keene 2003, 244–5.

²⁹ On Alfred and London see Dyson 1990; Keene 2003. A somewhat different view is presented in Haslam 2010.

³⁰ Keene 2003, 240–3; for more detail Keynes 1998, 12–25. For the case that the 883 annal is a misplaced reference to events associated with 886 see Dyson 1990; Vince 1989, 84–5.

³¹ Wroe-Brown 1999, 13–14. For an older, more cautious assessment see Astill 1991, 108.

³² Brigham, Dyson and Watson 2010.

³³ Hill 1996, 218–19. On this period and later development in Southwark see Watson 2009, esp. 148; Sharp and Watson 2011; also Dawson 2011 on defences; Carlin 1996, 13–18.

³⁴ Details summarized in Wormald 1999, 431–4; Keynes 1980, 271–2.

to follow those in use at Winchester and London, though London was probably an addition from the time of Wulfstan, and occurs in only one of three manuscripts.³⁵ A fire in 962 (which gutted St Paul's) was worthy of mention in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; another came in 982. Under Æthelstan (924–39) the city was home to a well-developed community of reeves and bishops who between them established a series of legal customs, recorded in the law-code VI Æthelstan. The concerns of this text are not obviously urban, however: the prime concern is theft, particularly of cattle, and its prosecution. Whatever the state of trade and commerce in the city, Londoners of the 920s and 930s still shared many of the cares and trappings of rural life.³⁶

A range of archaeological and documentary sources combine to suggest that the last decades of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh saw great expansion in London,³⁷ as at many English towns.³⁸ In the case of London development went far enough at this time that it began to acquire *de facto* capital status.³⁹ The first wooden remains of London Bridge are from this period, and include timbers dendrochronologically dated to 987–1032; the earliest written references to the bridge can be found in *Heimskringla* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, belonging to descriptions of 1014 and 1016 respectively.⁴⁰ Signs of habitation in the area around the northern end of London Bridge begin to emerge around the same time, and elsewhere in the city settlement increased in extent and intensity.⁴¹ Much of medieval London's street system probably came into being during the late Anglo-Saxon period.⁴² Development spilled over the river into Southwark for the first time: some of the timbers used for the settlement's formidable defences were felled as early as 953.⁴³ Sections of riverfront in various locations were reclaimed from the Thames and reinforced, using structural elements from a mid-tenth-century high-status building, pieces of a ship from the Low Countries and also a range of local timber, pieces of which have been dated to between the late tenth century and the 1040s.⁴⁴ A wrecked vessel found at Tiel in the Netherlands has been shown to have originated in the London area between 971 and 1008.⁴⁵ Finds of coins also start to mount up around this time, following a pattern seen across England.⁴⁶ In short, the city's sinews and muscles were beginning to form around an already robust underlying skeleton.

Some of the social and political context of this development can be fleshed out by turning to contemporary written sources, which tell of a city renowned already in the late tenth century for its size and wealth.⁴⁷ The burgeoning population of late tenth-century London was referred to quite casually by the hagiographer of St Dunstan known only as 'B', at some point in the period 996–1002.⁴⁸ His near contemporary, an anonymous author whose work is preserved in the C, D, E and F manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, presents a famously detailed and lurid account of events in the reign of King Æthelred II (978–1016) within which London features prominently; so much so that Simon Keynes has suggested that the chronicler may

³⁵ III Edgar 8.1 (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 204–5); Wormald 1999, 189 and 314.

³⁶ VI Æthelstan (Liebermann 1903–16 I, 173–84).

³⁷ See in general Vince 1989, 26–37 and 1991b, 420–35; Hobley 1988, 73–80.

³⁸ Astill 1991, 103–12 and 2000, 38–42.

³⁹ Keynes 2001, 255.

⁴⁰ Keene 2000, 143–4; Watson 1999, 17–18; Watson, Brigham and Dyson 2001, 52–82. It should be noted that both sources were written somewhat later: the Chronicle probably c. 1020; *Heimskringla* in the thirteenth century, though incorporating poetry of much earlier date (including the passage on London).

⁴¹ Hobley 1988, 76–7; Watson, Brigham and Dyson 2001, 52–7; Horsman, Milne and Milne 1988, 13–21 and 113; Milne 1992, 37; Steedman, Dyson and Schofield 1992, 23–9 and 123–8.

⁴² Keene 2004, 32.

⁴³ Watson 2009, 149; Dawson 2011.

⁴⁴ Wroe-Brown 1999, 14–15; Steedman, Dyson and Schofield 1992, 48–57; Horsman, Milne and Milne 1988, 133–4; Hobley 1988, 77–8.

⁴⁵ Bihrer 2012, 61–2.

⁴⁶ Stott 1991, 288–300.

⁴⁷ One source commonly cited in support of London's burgeoning trade c. 1000 is the law-code known to modern scholarship as IV Æthelred (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 232–7). However, there is some reason to believe that the relevant part of the text dates to the twelfth century rather than the age of Æthelred II and Cnut, and the text's status remains uncertain. For different views see Wormald 1999, 325–6; Lawson 2004, 186–7; Keene 2008, 93–4.

⁴⁸ '... for the large population of that city' ('... quo plurimo ciuitatis illius populo'): 'B', *Vita Dunstani*, c. 25.4 (Winterbottom and Lapidge 2012, 78–9).

have been a Londoner himself.⁴⁹ London was the target of Viking raids in 994, 1009 and 1016, and on all three occasions the city was, according to the chronicler, preserved through the staunchness of its defenders and the aid of God and His saints – although it was a close-run thing, especially in 1016. In that year the Vikings dug a ditch wide and deep enough to take their ships around Southwark and attack by river from the west. Eventually the whole city was enclosed by Cnut's ditches, but still held out. A collection of probably Viking axe-heads, spear-points and other metal artefacts (including a grappling hook) found at the north end of London Bridge might well be detritus from one of these attacks.⁵⁰ In Æthelred's reign it is clear that London became a focal point of national government and military organization.⁵¹ It served as the base for naval campaigns in 992 and 1009, and the assembly-point for tribute payment in 1012. Royal assemblies took place in the city on at least three occasions during the 970s and four in the 980s.⁵² By 1013 London was the king's personal base of choice, and the last major stronghold in the kingdom to submit to the invasion of Swein, king of the Danes (986/7–1014). Æthelred remained secure in London during his final days, plagued by ill-health, until his death on 23 April 1016. He rests in London still, buried with full dignity in St Paul's cathedral.

London's close association with Æthelred's regime won it an ambiguous position during the subsequent decades of Danish rule.⁵³ Some policies, especially under Cnut himself, suggest punitive measures against the city. In 1018 London was forced to pay £10,500 in tribute, in addition to the £72,000 owed by the kingdom at large. In 1023 the body of St Ælfheah (Alphege), the archbishop of Canterbury martyred by the Danes in 1012, was translated from St Paul's (whither it had been brought in the immediate aftermath of his death at Greenwich) to Canterbury, quite probably with Cnut's approval.⁵⁴ Yet there was no avoiding the prominent role the city had won in the kingdom. In the 1030s the London Husting's reckoning was the standard for silver across England,⁵⁵ while for the Flemish writer of the *Encomium Emmae reginae* in 1041/2, London was the 'most populous ... capital of the kingdom'.⁵⁶ Its prominence induced a certain measure of wariness in the new ruling dynasty. By 1035 London was home to the *scipmen*: hardened Scandinavian mercenaries in the service of the king whose presence helped secure the loyalties of the Londoners.⁵⁷ One of them may have been buried beneath a celebrated eleventh-century tombstone carved with Ringerike-style ornamentation and a Scandinavian runic inscription, found in the churchyard of St Paul's.⁵⁸ The *scipmen* – together with the other inhabitants of London – played a significant part in the complex politics of the mid-eleventh century. London featured in the succession of both of Cnut's sons, Harold I and Harthacnut, and of Edward the Confessor in 1042. During the latter's reign London again became a favoured royal haunt, and early in his reign the king confirmed the rights of the gild of English *cnihtas* in the city, as (allegedly) had been done under Cnut, Æthelred II and Edgar.⁵⁹ At a royal council in London in 1051 Robert of Jumièges was chosen as archbishop of Canterbury, and later that year, when a confrontation arose between those loyal to the king and those aligned with Earl Godwine and his sons, it was to London that Edward summoned the earl for arbitration. He and his offspring stayed at an estate (*mansio*)

⁴⁹ Keynes 1978, 232 and 1991, 95–8.

⁵⁰ Mortimer Wheeler 1927, 18–23.

⁵¹ The rise of London's profile under Æthelred II is discussed in Keynes 2012, 137–44. For London's association with Æthelred's widow Ælfifu/Emma in 1016/17, see Stafford 1997, 22–3.

⁵² Wormald 1999, 432–4; Keynes 1980, 271–2.

⁵³ Nightingale 1987.

⁵⁴ Keynes 2012, 146–7. It should be noted that the vivid account of Osbern of Canterbury's *Translatio sancti Ælfegi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martiris* (Rumble 1994), in which the translation is accomplished only with subterfuge on the part of Cnut's men and in the face of resistance from the Londoners, is not necessarily reliable.

⁵⁵ S 1809 (B 1060) and 1465 (K 745), with comment in Nightingale 1987.

⁵⁶ 'Metropoli[s] terrae ... populosissima': *Encomium Emmae reginae*, II.7 (ed. Campbell 1998, 22–3).

⁵⁷ As believed by the encomiast (*ibid.* II.7).

⁵⁸ Graham-Campbell 1980, 148; Stocker 2011, 257–9 (and 254–5 for a second gravestone of similar style found at an unknown location in the City of London by 1884).

⁵⁹ S 1103. See Brooke and Keir 1975, 96–8; Harmer 1952, 231–4 and 466–8.

they owned in Southwark.⁶⁰ Edward was in London again in 1052 when Godwine returned from exile: stealing up the Thames with more force and haste than had perhaps been anticipated, Godwine laid up in Southwark at low tide, soothed the citizens with promises, and then skilfully steered his ships through London Bridge as the tide rose. The earl won a strong enough position that he and his sons were reinstated without condition when another meeting was held with King Edward on the shores of the Thames.⁶¹

Edward's great personal project was of course the abbey of Westminster, very close to London, which was consecrated on 28 December 1065, and hosted the king's own burial just a few days later following his death on 6 January 1066. London continued to be a focal point throughout the well-known events of 1066. Harold gathered troops there before moving against William, and, after the English defeat at Hastings, the latter made for London, where surviving English leaders had proclaimed Edgar the Ætheling as king. Repulsed at Southwark in October, William took a more circuitous route to the city via Wallingford and the Chilterns.⁶² London's siege in late 1066 drew several Norman chroniclers to comment on the standing and defences of the city. Just a few years after the Conquest, William of Poitiers wrote in the *Gesta Guillelmi* of Duke William's approach to London from the west:

he took up a position not far from London, where he heard that [the English elite] most often held their meetings. The river Thames flows past this city, carrying foreign riches from a sea port. Even when only its citizens are there, it has a large and famously warlike population. At that time, indeed, a crowd of warriors from elsewhere had flocked thither, and the city, in spite of its great size, could scarcely accommodate them.⁶³

The *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, probably written by Guy, bishop of Amiens (1049–74/5), goes into yet more detail on the stout defence of London, led by the grizzled veteran Ansgar the Staller: 'the king struck camp and directed his steps to where teeming London shines bright. It is a most spacious city, full of evil inhabitants, and richer than anywhere else in the kingdom. Protected on the left by walls and on the right by the river, it fears neither armies nor capture by guile'.⁶⁴ Duke William's eventual entry into London, and coronation by Archbishop Ealdred at Westminster on Christmas day 1066, was a major step in his conquest of the English.⁶⁵ These Norman writers had various axes to grind against the Anglo-Saxons, but what they say concerning London chimes with the message of other sources dating back to the end of the tenth century: that the city was outstanding for its size, belligerence, wealth and eminence in the kingdom as a whole.⁶⁶

London's status as the heart of the kingdom of England was thus well established by the eleventh century. Since the seventh century it had enjoyed prominence and privilege, at least in part inherited from being the geographical and administrative linchpin of Roman Britain. The growth of *Lundenwic* in the period c. 650–850 restored the city's economic as well as symbolic importance, although between the reigns of Alfred and Æthelred the Unready it remained only one of several significant towns within England. Canterbury, Winchester and York in particular loomed at least as large in ecclesiastical, political and economic affairs respectively. But in the last years of the tenth century and in the eleventh, London's profile rose swiftly.

⁶⁰ *Vita Ædwardi regis*, I.3 (Barlow 1992, 34–5). Godwine and his sons had extensive property and strong support in London and Southwark: Fleming 1993, 10 and 13–14.

⁶¹ The best modern account of these events (derived largely from details in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) is Barlow 1997, 104–25.

⁶² Freeman 1867–79, III, 523–62; Mills 1996.

⁶³ '... ubi frequentiore audiuit eorum conuentum, non longe a Lundonia consedit. Praeterluit eum urbem fluius Tamesis, peregrinas e portu marino diuitias aduectans. Cum solos ciues habeat, copioso ac praestantia militari famoso incolatu abundat. Tum uero confluerat ad ipsam hospes turba propugnatorum, quam licet ambitu nimis ampla non facile capiebat': William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ii.28 (ed. and trans. Davis and Chibnall 1998, 146–7). See also ii.34 (*ibid.*, 160–3): '[the king left] London while fortifications were being completed in the city as a defence against the inconstancy of the numerous and hostile inhabitants. For he saw that it was of the first importance to constrain the Londoners strictly' ('egressus e Lundonia ... dum firmamenta quaedam in urbe contra mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi perficerentur. Uidit enim in primis necessarium magnopere Lundonienses coerceri').

⁶⁴ 'Rex ... tentoria fixare soluit; quo populosa nitet Londona uertit iter. Urbs est ampla nimis, peruersio plena colonis, et regni reliquis dicior est opibus a leua muris, a dextra flumine tuta, hostes nec metuit nec pauet arte capi': Guy of Amiens, *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* II. 635–40 (ed. and trans. Barlow 1999, 38–9).

⁶⁵ On the sequence of events from Alfred to the Conquest, see Brooke and Keir 1975, 20–9.

⁶⁶ Cf. Stenton 1971, 538–41.

Soon it became the preferred place for royal coronations and, often, for the royal residence,⁶⁷ and outstripped other towns in size and economic importance. By 1066 it was without question the political hub of the kingdom.

London's coinage c.880–973

The coins have a major part to play in illustrating London's development during the Anglo-Saxon period, but it must be admitted that their contribution is more limited for the first century considered here. The coinages issued between Alfred's London Monogram type and Edgar's reform remain some of the most problematic in the whole Anglo-Saxon series, above all where southern England is concerned. The majority of coins bear no mint-signature, raising obvious problems of attribution; most relevant hoards come from northern England, Ireland or Scotland, and contain few coins from the south; and single-finds, despite additions thanks to the activities of metal-detectorists, are still relatively few. For all these reasons it is impossible to present a coherent or detailed history of London's coinage during this time. However, this relatively nebulous and uncertain period is punctuated by three clearer episodes: Alfred's London Monogram coinage; and the Circumscription and Bust Crowned coinages produced under Æthelstan, and later under Edgar. Together, these coinages help to sketch the history of a substantial but by no means pre-eminent mint.

Alfred's attractive London Monogram coinage has been used to illustrate this extraordinary ruler's achievements since John Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (1611), which was adorned with a specimen from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631).⁶⁸ Attempts by numismatists to date this coin and others like it were constructed around the accepted historical narrative, which had London under Viking occupation between the early 870s and 886, and was complicated by the discovery in the Cuerdale hoard of a coin with the same reverse design seemingly in the name of the Viking ruler Halfdan.⁶⁹ consequently, scholars for a long time supposed that the London Monogram design originated under the Vikings, perhaps being revived by Alfred in 886.⁷⁰ In 1961 Michael Dolley and D.M. Metcalf reversed the order of the coins, so that the Halfdan specimen and other Viking imitations came instead to be seen as derived from pennies of Alfred. The latter were still thought to belong to 886.⁷¹ Reassessment by historians and numismatists in the 1980s and 1990s has pushed Alfred's involvement with London back to an earlier date, however, thanks in large part to the evidence of coins. Several of the Cross and Lozenge coins of the 870s in Alfred's name probably belong to London, as do other rare issues of the same decade.⁷² In other words, there is every reason to believe that the city had been under Alfred's control, at least intermittently, since approximately 874. The London Monogram coins are more likely to belong somewhat earlier than 886, and can be dated with some confidence to c.880, between the Cross and Lozenge and Two-Line types, as there are several moneyers whose careers span both issues.⁷³

Despite their impressive design, which suggests a return to original Roman models for the bust, the surviving London Monogram pennies probably do not represent a large or long-lived issue.⁷⁴ Leaving Danelaw imitations to one side, the official issue is known to have consisted of two principal groups: one with the monogram occupying the whole of the reverse; the other bearing the name of the moneyer Tilwine. Four other coins survive with the names of different moneyers, but it is uncertain whether these represent official issues. Most surviving specimens clearly of the official types stem from a small number of hoards, including

⁶⁷ See above and also Biddle 1986, 56 and 69; also Mason 1991.

⁶⁸ Speed 1611, 384 (Cf. Harvey and Harvey 2003). On the interpretation of the coin, especially its monogram, see the important comments of Pegge 1772, 92–106.

⁶⁹ Now in the British Museum (Brooke 1925, no. 300); cf. Williams 2011, 48.

⁷⁰ Haigh 1870, 27–30; *BMC* II, xxxiv and xxxvii; Brooke 1950, 33–4 and 47.

⁷¹ Dolley and Blunt 1961, 82–3 and 89–90.

⁷² Blackburn 1998, 108–20.

⁷³ Blackburn 1998, 110–11 and 120–2; Archibald 1991, no. 265.

⁷⁴ Keynes 1998, 30.

Cuerdale, Stamford, a small nineteenth-century group from Kent⁷⁵ and two poorly-known finds from London. One of these, a hoard found at Bucklersbury in 1872, may have included as many as sixty coins of the Monogram type, although records are sketchy;⁷⁶ the other, still more poorly known, included some seventeen coins of Alfred.⁷⁷ Single-finds have proven relatively scarce, and only eight are known (five of them from London). Surviving specimens are quite closely die-linked, suggesting a relatively small, tight-knit original output: among a sample of seventy coins (of the regular and Tilwine types), 17 obverse and 27 reverse dies are represented.⁷⁸

The continuation of moneyers from the London Monogram issue suggests that coins were also made there in the last two decades of the ninth century when the Two-Line type of Alfred prevailed. However, there is reason to believe that operations at London and Canterbury declined in the last years of the century, to the extent that at the beginning of Edward the Elder's reign Winchester was probably the dominant mint in southern England. Just one moneyer probably of London can be traced from Alfred's reign into the early phase of Edward's.⁷⁹ Stewart Lyon has proposed that this nadir in the fortunes of the southeast might be related to the plague that afflicted the kingdom in the years 893–6.⁸⁰ However, a modest revival had begun by c.905–10. Three moneyers at this stage probably worked in London, and a significant expansion took place later in Edward's reign, c.915 and after. By this point it is necessary to work backwards from the next period when mint-places are named: the Circumscription Cross and Bust Crowned types of Æthelstan (924–39). Eight moneyers named at London under Æthelstan are certainly known from dies of appropriate style late in Edward's reign; three others may, less certainly, also have been active at this time.⁸¹

The important changes to the coinage introduced in the decade after about 927 have been surveyed in detail by Christopher Blunt, and are complemented by the famous laws on minting in the text known as II Æthelstan.⁸² London figures prominently in this document, with eight moneyers permitted to the city. Surviving coins suggest that this quota is broadly accurate. Eleven moneyers are known at London in Circumscription Cross and ten in Bust Crowned; seven moneyers are named in both. All eleven of the Circumscription Cross moneyers are certainly or probably recorded in earlier coinages; nine of the Bust Crowned moneyers in later issues (see Table 1). As discussed below, numbers of moneyers are not an infallible guide to the size or significance of a mint-place; nevertheless, by this reckoning London's likely complement of about eight moneyers at any one time placed it among the most active mints in the kingdom.

TABLE 1. Numbers of moneyers recorded at London in the reign of Æthelstan.
Abbreviations: Æth Æthelstan, EdE Edward the Elder.

<i>No. of moneyers in II Æth</i>	<i>No. of moneyers recurring under EdE</i>	<i>No. of moneyers recurring in early Æth</i>	<i>No. of moneyers named in Æth CC</i>	<i>No. of moneyers named in Æth BC</i>	<i>Change CC–BC</i>	<i>No. of moneyers recurring in later issues</i>
8	11	11	11	10	–4; +3	9

⁷⁵ On the Kentish find (from Erith) see Grierson 1957, 480–1.

⁷⁶ This hoard is known solely from references in two nineteenth-century sale catalogues: see Blunt and Dolley 1959, 234–5.

⁷⁷ This find is known from notes in a manuscript of the collection of Thomas Bliss (d. 1914). Five of Bliss's twenty-three coins of Alfred were noted as having been 'found in Thames St., near London Bridge', and twelve others on the next folio may well also belong to the same find (although this is not explicitly stated). A further note in a section of the manuscript listing acquisitions and finds includes the entry 'Alfred pennies found at Fresh[?] Wharf, Thames Street' under November 1880 (which might refer either to the date of the find or the date of acquisition). The seventeen coins attributed to the find include six regular London Monogram pennies, six of Tilwine, four Two-Line pennies and a fragment of an *Ohsnaforda* (Oxford) penny. Details of this hoard are reproduced from notes gathered by Mark Blackburn, based on information supplied by Edward Besly and Hugh Pagan. See also Pagan 1983.

⁷⁸ These details also derive from unpublished notes made by Mark Blackburn.

⁷⁹ Blackburn 1998, 111–12.

⁸⁰ Lyon 2001, 75; Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 21.

⁸¹ Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 30–2 and 48–9.

⁸² Blackburn 1996. It is clear that the Grately provisions on minting and other matters connected with boroughs belong to an earlier text, though how much earlier is unclear: Molyneux 2010, 111–25; Naismith forthcoming.

After the death of Æthelstan, London and most other English mint-places reverted for twenty years to coin-types which did not reveal where they were struck. Some impression of its continuing importance during this period is given by the strong London element in the Forum hoard, found in the House of the Vestal Virgins with inscribed tags indicating its c.840 coins were a gift to Pope Marinus II (942–6).⁸³ Under Edgar, however, before the famous reform of c.973, there was already a trend towards the revival of designs and practices instituted under Æthelstan, including use of mint-names. At London, this custom began especially early, with a unique and important coin of Eadwig (955–9), Edgar's elder brother, whose rule over the whole kingdom was curtailed in 957 when the magnates from north of the Thames nominated Edgar as king to rule over the Mercians and Northumbrians.⁸⁴ London henceforward fell within Edgar's territory. There is no firm evidence that Edgar's rule was initially recognized on the coinage, so the Eadwig Bust Crowned coin may have been produced under Edgar's auspices, foreshadowing his later revival of the type and of mint-names. In the earlier part of Edgar's reign there was also a brief resurrection of the London Monogram type of Alfred, which appeared on the reverse of rare halfpennies, replacing the name of the moneyer.⁸⁵ However, it is equally possible that the spate of monetary innovations in the 950s and 960s began at a local level rather than with any specific royal initiative, for the return to Circumscription types started under Eadwig at mints in the southwest.⁸⁶

In Edgar's coinage as a whole, eight moneyers are known from London: six struck Circumscription coins, four Bust Crowned coins and two struck both. Just three of these moneyers are known in earlier coinages (Table 2), and only four are known to have survived into the Reform period.

TABLE 2. Numbers of moneyers at London under Eadwig and Edgar.

<i>No. of moneyers</i>				
Eadwig	1			
	<i>No. of moneyers known in earlier coinages</i>	<i>No. of moneyers in Edgar CC</i>	<i>Change CC–BC</i>	<i>No. of moneyers in Edgar BC</i>
Edgar	2 (3)	6	–4; +2	4

As in the reign of Æthelstan, London figures among the leading English mints, but nothing more. Chester, Winchester and York were home to as many or more pre-reform moneyers of Edgar: nineteen, fifteen⁸⁷ and eight respectively. On the eve of Edgar's reform, London was – as far as both the coins and the other sources indicate – by no means the outstanding metropolis of the English kingdom.

London as a die-cutting centre

In the period after Alfred's London Monogram coinage (from c.880), London seems to have already been one of at least four centres involved in the production and distribution of dies, along with Canterbury, Winchester and one or more centres in the west midlands. Coins were at this point rarely mint-signed, so it is only through the survival of securely attributed moneyers that dies can be associated with particular regions or centres. It should be stressed that this is a matter of die-cutting style rather than mint-attribution: London may have already been supplying multiple mint-places, so use of London-style dies need not denote presence at

⁸³ Naismith and Tinti forthcoming.

⁸⁴ Keynes 1999, 476–9; Jayakumar 2008; Winterbottom and Lapidge 2012, xxxiv–vii.

⁸⁵ Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 204.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁸⁷ Thirteen moneyers are named in the main catalogue of Biddle 2012, another at 55 (Marscalc), and a fifteenth has recently come to light (Leofric: EMC 2012.0123).

London.⁸⁸ Even so, the production and distribution of dies are an important gauge of London's importance across the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The beginning of this story is not so propitious, however. London declined as a die-cutting centre in the last years of the ninth century, its few moneyers probably receiving their dies from Winchester. But it recovered to a considerable extent by the latter part of Edward the Elder's reign: eventually London was entirely self-sufficient.⁸⁹ Research into die-distribution under Æthelstan by D.M. Metcalf reinforces this impression of London's prominence. It seems to have been one of just four or five places which supplied dies to eastern and southern England: other mints which received its products included Maldon and Hertford, and occasionally Canterbury and Rochester.⁹⁰ For the three decades after Æthelstan's reign, one can do little more than note that London was active on a scale comparable to other major mint-towns of the day, and presume that this was reflected in die-manufacture and -distribution.

Greater clarity emerges in the period c.973–1066. Indeed, for the latter year Domesday Book provides explicit evidence for the leading role played by London. In the lines devoted to Worcester in 1066, it states that 'when the coinage was changed each moneyer would give twenty shillings at London for receiving coin-dies'.⁹¹ Further corroboration of London's special place in the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman monetary system comes in the form of two other sources. One is an exceptional archaeological find of four reverse coin-dies of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, discovered during excavations on the 'Thames Exchange' site on the London waterfront, near Upper Thames Street. These might reasonably be accepted as part of the detritus associated with a die-cutting workshop or storehouse of some sort.⁹² The four dies span the period from Cnut to Stephen and, importantly, not one is a die of the London mint: that of Cnut names Norwich; the others name Wareham, Southwark and Northampton. They provide tangible evidence that London was the centre where dies were, apparently by the first half of the eleventh century, being made and repaired for large tracts of the kingdom, as specified by Domesday Book.⁹³ The second source is, in a sense, the ghost of movements of dies like those implied by the Thames Exchange finds and the Domesday text for Worcester. Inter-mint obverse die-links have been found now in most late Anglo-Saxon coin-types.⁹⁴ Several circumstances could lie behind them. When die-links connect coins of the same moneyer operating at different locations, they can probably be explained as movement of the die along with a moneyer or his subordinates.⁹⁵ The same may also be true in the case of die-links between different moneyers at nearby mints, especially those which shared a persistent connection like Southampton and Winchester.⁹⁶ Yet there are also some die-links between very distant mint-places – for instance London and York, Huntingdon and Rochester or Exeter and Cambridge. Some of these could reflect long-distance movements of moneyers,⁹⁷ but many might derive from the peregrinations of dies sent out from a central die-cutting centre (often presumably London), returned after a period of use, then subsequently sent out again, perhaps after being repaired. It would be imprudent to assume that all such inter-mint die-links have been identified, or even that the selection of them known in all types is representative. Nonetheless, on the basis of a list compiled by Stewart Lyon and Bill Lean, London's centrality in the web of obverse die-links is striking, above all in those types (such as Æthelred II Long Cross) for which numerous die-links are known, and even links

⁸⁸ Blackburn 2011, 169–70 and 180–2; Dolley and Blunt 1961, 85.

⁸⁹ Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 30–2.

⁹⁰ Metcalf 1992, 83–9.

⁹¹ 'Quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat 20 solidos ad Lundeniam pro cuneis monetæ accipiendis': DB I, f. 172. For discussion see Grierson 1985.

⁹² Allen 2012, 112–13.

⁹³ Archibald, Lang and Milne 1995.

⁹⁴ Selected references include Dolley and van der Meer 1959.

⁹⁵ As in the case of the moneyer Boiga, whose issues at London and Dover in Æthelred II's Helmet type share an obverse die: Dolley and van der Meer 1959.

⁹⁶ Lyon 2012, 15–16.

⁹⁷ One such case involving the moneyer Leofwine in Æthelred II's Last Small Cross coinage is discussed in Lyon 1970, 202–3.

which do not include a London mint-signature on the reverse may represent dies which passed through the city.⁹⁸

An array of highly specific witnesses to London's development as a centre of die-cutting and die-distribution can thus be marshalled. To follow this story more widely requires careful and cautious use of stylistic analysis. Only select types have been examined in detail, though the outline is known for the whole period after Edgar's reform.⁹⁹ From c.973 until the middle of Cnut's reign arrangements for die-production took particularly flexible and complex form. A common pattern, seen in the initial Reform type and also in the Second Hand, Crux, Long Cross and Helmet types, saw relative centralization at the outset of a coinage gradually give way to more localized production. Initially, Winchester appears to have been the centre for 'national' distribution, but London apparently took up the bulk of this task by the beginning of Æthelred II's reign.¹⁰⁰ Dies of these 'national' styles were used alongside local or regional products at certain mints even before Edgar's death, and the trend towards localized die-production spread under Edward the Martyr and in Æthelred's First Small Cross coinage. In the latter issue two regional styles (in addition to the 'national' style) have been identified at a number of eastern mints which may have derived from London.¹⁰¹

Even by 978, therefore, London had probably come to occupy a leading position in the manufacture of coin dies. In subsequent coinages its role remained significant. During the First Hand type either it or Winchester was probably the source of dies distributed across much of southern England.¹⁰² London and Winchester probably shared the duty of supplying the southern part of England with early Second Hand dies,¹⁰³ and both centres are likely to have played a prominent role in die-distribution at various times during the issue of the Crux, Long Cross and Helmet types.¹⁰⁴ A surprising deviation occurred in the Agnus Dei type of Æthelred II and in the earliest phase of the Last Small Cross type, both probably to be dated to 1009.¹⁰⁵ At this stage, London's role was apparently curtailed, and its earliest products were made using obverse dies supplied from a workshop tentatively associated with Gloucester. Viking incursions in the southeast of England in the late summer and autumn of 1009 may lie behind these difficulties. Whatever their cause, these problems were quickly overcome, and for the rest of the Last Small Cross coinage London was a significant regional source of dies for eastern England. Towards the end of the type it was especially dynamic, essaying one subtle variation on the Last Small Cross design,¹⁰⁶ and another much more radical one, in which the king's bust was adorned with a pointed helmet; this may later have served as a model for the Pointed Helmet issue of Cnut in the 1020s.¹⁰⁷ In Cnut's first (Quatrefoil) type London was home to multiple workshops which supplied numerous mints in the southeast, though the more regionalized pattern of Last Small Cross prevailed.¹⁰⁸ Significant changes came with the Helmet and Small Cross types of Cnut (usually dated c. 1023–9 and c. 1029–35 respectively), in which greater centralization based (it is reasonably presumed) on London became more standard.¹⁰⁹ During the Jewel Cross type of Harold I and Harthacnut die-production seems, unusually, to have been related to political divisions, with one die-cutting centre (cautiously associated with Winchester) initially supplying mint-towns south of the Thames, while at least two sources (one or both probably in London) provided all dies used north of the Thames save at Lincoln, and also gradually took over the supply of mint-places further south.¹¹⁰ Work by

⁹⁸ The list (and an article discussing the implications of certain inter-mint die-links in the Last Small Cross type) has not yet been published: the author acknowledges the kindness of Dr Lyon and Mr Lean for permission to cite their work here.

⁹⁹ General comments include Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 223–5; Jonsson 1987, 86–7; Allen 2012, 115–16.

¹⁰⁰ Jonsson 1987, 87–9.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 89–95.

¹⁰² Dolley and Talvio 1977, 62–3.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁰⁴ Stafford 1978, 45–6 and 48. Intermediate Small Cross dies can more confidently be associated with Winchester.

¹⁰⁵ Lyon 1998, 21–2; Keynes and Naismith 2012, 192.

¹⁰⁶ Lyon 1962 and 1998, 28–30.

¹⁰⁷ *SCBI* 65, no. 1096. For comment see Lyon 1970, 201.

¹⁰⁸ Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 244–6.

¹⁰⁹ Jonsson 1994, 204–5. Two distinct national styles were identified in Cnut's Pointed Helmet type in Dolley and Ingold 1961.

¹¹⁰ Talvio 1986.

Hugh Pagan and Tuukka Talvio on style and die-distribution in the coinages of Edward the Confessor and Harold II has suggested that one or more workshops in London generally provided the large majority of dies for the whole kingdom, as Domesday Book states was the norm.¹¹¹

In the course of the two centuries from about 880 to the Norman Conquest, London went from being one among several significant centres for the making and distribution of dies, to the clear leader throughout the kingdom. Much remains uncertain about this process, especially before Edgar's reform. But there can be little doubt that in and after the 970s, London quickly emerged – initially along with Winchester – as one of the key nodes in the monetary system, and in the time of Cnut regional and local production declined in favour of centralization at London. Moneyers and their servants from as far afield as York, Lincoln, Chester and Exeter must have been regular customers of eleventh-century London's die-cutters, as they would continue to be for centuries.¹¹² Details of what these visitors found when they arrived, and of how London's monetary significance was reflected in actual output and contribution to the currency, must be approached by other means.

London and the English currency c.973–1066: the evidence of single-finds

For the century between Edgar's major reform and the Norman conquest, the Anglo-Saxon coinage presents a picture of impressive cohesion and stability. Over a hundred mints, London among them, issued some twenty-six major sequential types, each lasting just a few years, and every coin bore the names of moneyer and mint-place as well as of the king. Generations of scholars have advanced understanding of this phase of the English currency to a very sophisticated level, and even without a complete corpus, it is nevertheless possible to examine several indices of London's changing profile.

The first is the newest source for the currency of the period: representation of London among single-finds discovered in England. As has recently been explored elsewhere, single-finds are a source of particular value for one aspect of the Anglo-Saxon monetary economy: the level of coin-use in domestic circulation.¹¹³ London's representation in single-finds might be taken as some gauge of its importance specifically within England, with the caveat that single-finds do not reflect the potentially large proportion of output which may have left England or been reminted,¹¹⁴ and of course that the precise figures will of course change as additional coins are found.¹¹⁵ At this stage, however, the coin finds of various mints, types and regional locations have become numerous enough that the overall conclusions are unlikely to be shaken.

Table 3 gives the number of coins of London (and Southwark)¹¹⁶ found in each type, and the percentage they represent of the total number of known finds of that type, as of March 2012 (when the sample stood at 1329 finds, based on the coins recorded in EMC and PAS). For comparison, the numbers of finds of coins from the four other leading mints are given – Lincoln, York, Winchester and Stamford – along with the amalgamated total from all other mints. Figure 1 illustrates the changing percentage of all finds accounted for by these mints in each type. It should be stressed that these totals are based on all finds from within the bounds of medieval England; no attempt has been made here at analysis of the geographical distribution of London's output, as this has recently been considered elsewhere.¹¹⁷ To summarize, its coins were numerous and widespread in circulation. London and Southwark contributed

¹¹¹ Talvio forthcoming; Pagan 1990, 181–3 and 2011, 20–3.

¹¹² For a survey of later developments see Allen 2012, 116–30.

¹¹³ Naismith 2012, 199–202 and 2013; Metcalf 1998.

¹¹⁴ These and other meaningful imbalances in the Scandinavian material are discussed in Metcalf 2006; Moesgaard 2006.

¹¹⁵ For earlier discussion see Metcalf 1998, 53 and 223–6.

¹¹⁶ Here and for other purposes London and Southwark are treated as a single unit. Reasons for doing so are discussed below, pp. 59–60.

¹¹⁷ Naismith 2013; Metcalf 1998, 21–3.

25–30 per cent of all known single-finds, and account for 30–45 per cent of finds even in regions as distant as the Danelaw and Wessex.

TABLE 3. Representation of mints among English single-finds, arranged by type, number of finds and percentage within each type.

<i>Type</i>	<i>London</i>		<i>Lincoln</i>		<i>York</i>		<i>Winchester</i>		<i>Stamford</i>		<i>Others</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Reform	11	12	10	11	24	26	2	2	14	15	32	34
Hand	40	37	8	7	18	17	6	6	1	1	35	32
Crux	18	21	17	20	6	7	5	6	2	2	37	44
Long Cross	43	40	14	13	15	14	1	1	4	4	31	29
Helmet	12	35	6	18	2	6	0	0	1	3	13	38
Last Small Cross	12	27	7	16	3	7	6	13	2	4	15	33
Quatrefoil	5	10	13	27	4	8	5	10	0	0	22	45
Pointed Helmet	18	40	4	9	7	16	5	11	0	0	11	24
Short Cross	44	25	33	19	24	14	5	3	15	9	52	30
Jewel Cross	15	20	10	13	11	14	0	0	4	5	36	47
Fleur de Lys	9	29	5	16	1	3	1	3	2	6	13	42
Arm & Sceptre	4	33	3	25	0	0	0	0	1	8	4	33
Pacx	4	20	4	20	3	15	0	0	2	10	7	35
Radiate/Small Cross	10	20	9	18	2	4	1	2	6	12	21	43
Trefoil/Quadrilateral	8	38	4	19	1	5	3	14	1	5	4	19
Small Flan	15	24	3	5	6	10	6	10	5	8	27	44
Expanding Cross	23	28	10	12	3	4	2	2	4	5	39	48
Pointed Helmet	7	16	8	18	4	9	5	11	1	2	20	44
Sovereign/Eagles	5	15	2	6	3	9	1	3	2	6	21	62
Hammer Cross	3	7	5	11	7	16	1	2	0	0	29	64
Facing Bust	4	8	8	16	9	18	2	4	0	0	28	55
Pyramids	6	22	3	11	2	7	1	4	0	0	15	56
Pax	5	14	4	11	3	9	1	3	1	3	21	60
TOTAL	321		190		158		59		68		533	
% of all 1329 finds		24.2		14.3		11.9		4.4		5.1		40.1

London's share of the coinage was, with relatively few exceptions, higher than that of any other individual mint. At times – for instance during the currency of Long Cross (*c.* 997–1003), Pointed Helmet (*c.* 1023–9) and Trefoil/Quadrilateral (*c.* 1046–8) – it accounted for about 40 per cent of all coins lost in England. Also instructive are the types in which it was surpassed by other mints. In the Reform type (*c.* 973–9) London's share of the currency was noticeably small: Stamford and York contributed substantially more, and Lincoln was almost level with London. A dramatic step-up in London's contribution came in the Hand types (*c.* 979–91), though it should be noted that for these purposes the First, Second and Benediction Hand types have all been amalgamated, and, as is well known, York and Lincoln produced virtually no Second Hand coins.¹¹⁸ Yet London's surge at this time was no fluke, and the mint retained a very high share of the currency for much of the period down to the end of Expanding Cross (*c.* 1053).¹¹⁹ Thereafter, it put in a strong showing compared to the other major individual mints, but all of them were less dominant than in the past. By the last years of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, London was again comparable in contribution to the other leading mints of the kingdom.

The critical feature of the latter part of the period is the collective decline of the major mints after Trefoil/Quadrilateral (*c.* 1046–8). During the two decades before the Conquest, the lesser mints came to account for a consistently larger share of the currency circulating in England. This trend might be related to a tendency, observed at Lincoln, Winchester and York, for the ratio of single-finds to estimated output to increase during the same period.¹²⁰ In

¹¹⁸ Petersson 1969, 81–4; Lyon 1976, 197–200; Stewart 1990, 471–4.

¹¹⁹ For the possible reasons behind this, see below, p. 69.

¹²⁰ Naismith 2012, 13–15.

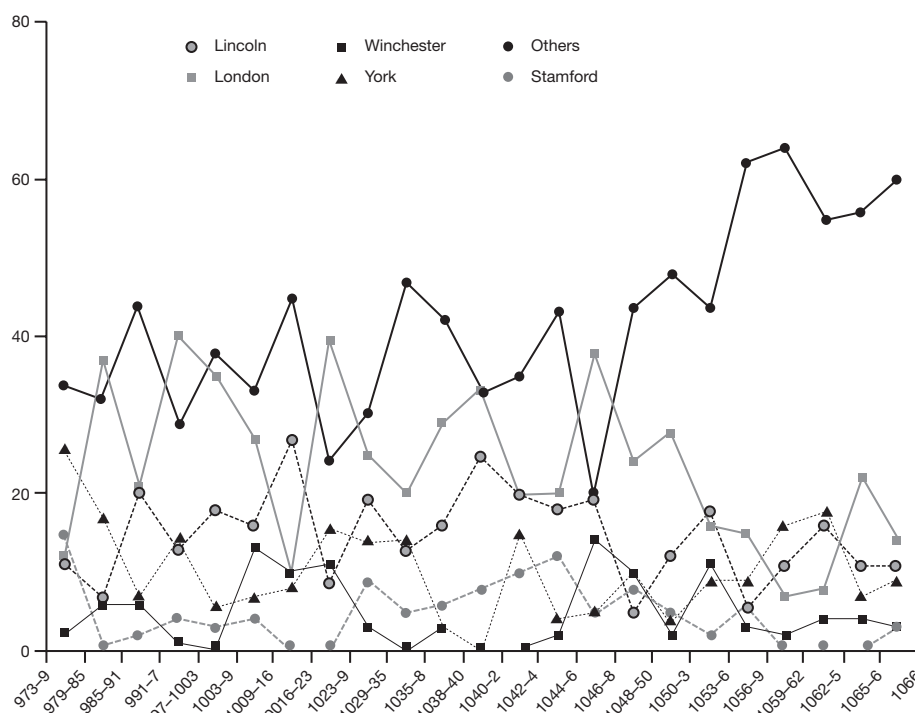


Fig. 1. Representation of mints among English single-finds, arranged by type and percentage.

other words, the major mints produced less, and more of the coins they made perhaps went into domestic circulation. As output perhaps came to be focused more on local than on international needs, the small and mid-size mints came to provide a collectively larger share of the currency.¹²¹ This shift coincides broadly with eleventh-century urban expansion at a number of locations, as indicated by archaeological excavations.¹²² Corroborative studies of production at small and mid-size mints are now needed, to determine how widely production may have changed in relation to the rising share of domestic currency the lesser mints now provided.¹²³ These will equip scholars to approach with greater confidence the question of what wider economic changes might lie behind this shift in the makeup of the currency.¹²⁴

London, Southwark and their moneyers

An important characteristic of Anglo-Saxon mint-towns from the mid-eighth century onwards was their basis not in a single mint building, but in a number of moneyers: craftsmen, officials and entrepreneurs who each oversaw an individual minting operation. The best evidence for how Anglo-Saxon moneyers operated comes from Winchester in the eleventh century, yet there is good reason to believe that its model of moneyers dotted in separate premises across the city applied to other Anglo-Saxon mints,¹²⁵ London among them.¹²⁶ Several locations of Norman mint-buildings and die-cutting workshops in London have been suggested;¹²⁷ whether these bear any relation to earlier arrangements is uncertain.

¹²¹ See below, pp. 68–70, for the changing role of London as a mint in the eleventh century.

¹²² Blair 2000, 256; Astill 1991, esp. 104–14, 2000, 41–2; Hall 2011, 613–15.

¹²³ Numbers of moneyers under Edward the Confessor do indeed suggest little or no decline within small and mid-size mints in the midlands, southeast and East Anglia: Stewart 1992, 73; Freeman 1985, 55–8 and 531–4. For one case-study of a mid-level mint marked by relative stability under Edward, see Eaglen 1999 (Huntingdon).

¹²⁴ For further discussion of how tribute payments may have affected London's coinage, see below, pp. 68–9.

¹²⁵ Biddle and Keene 1976, 396–422; Metcalf 2001. See now Biddle 2012.

¹²⁶ For an attempt to draw links between late Anglo-Saxon moneyers in London and figures surviving into the early Norman period, see Nightingale 1982, 39–43.

¹²⁷ Allen 2012, 112–13 and 117; Vince 1989, 116.

The frequent changes of type in late Anglo-Saxon England mean that it is comparatively straightforward to construct a list of the moneyers active at any mint-place during a period of just a few years. Among the dozens of places coins were made *c.* 973–1066, there was massive variation in number of moneyers, and London was – in most late Anglo-Saxon coin-types – home to more of them than any other individual location, although Lincoln and York, and at times Winchester, Stamford and other towns, housed an impressive number of moneyers as well.¹²⁸ London was also unique among late Anglo-Saxon mints in having a second mint quite literally a few hundred yards away at Southwark, on the southern end of London Bridge. Southwark was at this time a series of islands surrounded by marsh which had, since the early tenth century, served as a *burh*. Signs of extensive habitation can only be detected archaeologically from about the late tenth century: its growth was closely connected to revival on the opposite shore of the Thames and the reconstruction of London Bridge.¹²⁹ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Southwark's first identifiable coin-issues belong to this period (the Crux type, conventionally dated *c.* 991–7).¹³⁰ Minting continued at Southwark into the twelfth century. Its activity in the late Anglo-Saxon period was erratic. No coins are known to survive of Southwark for several substantive types (Æthelred II's Helmet type and Harold I's Fleur de Lys type),¹³¹ and the number of moneyers rose and fell dramatically: seventeen are recorded in Crux and three in the subsequent Long Cross type; twenty-three in Quatrefoil and seven in Pointed Helmet, for example. Under Edward the Confessor greater stability was the rule, albeit with a small complement of between one and three moneyers per type.

There can be little question that this unusual pattern reflects Southwark's status as essentially an appendage of London. It may at times have served a supplementary role when demand was especially great, such as during the great surges of activity in Crux and Quatrefoil. The evidence of die-distribution under Cnut is particularly suggestive. In the Quatrefoil type, Southwark moneyers are not known to have used any dies of 'London C' style, but solely those of 'London A' and 'London B', which were associated with the early stages of the coinage.¹³² In other words, Southwark's activity had fallen off by the latter part of the type. Otherwise its role seems generally to have been as an outpost of London. Relations with London were always close, and frequently extended to the exchange of obverse dies. At least five dies crossed the river in Quatrefoil, which (as discussed below) was researched in detail during the preparation of this paper. Bill Lean and Stewart Lyon have noted further die-links between London and Southwark in Crux (eight dies), Long Cross (nine dies), Last Small Cross (one die), Pointed Helmet (one die) and Jewel Cross (two dies). Closely related to this was regular interchange of moneyers across the Thames. Moneyers made this trip freely, such that during all types issued *c.* 991–1066 at least half and often all of Southwark's moneyers were also known at London in either the same or an adjacent type.¹³³ Southwark's total complement of moneyers, and the number also known at London, are shown below in Table 4. Anthony Freeman, after close examination of the mint's relationship with London under Edward the Confessor, was able to suggest certain developments in its status. His conclusion was that Southwark began the reign as little more than a supplementary part of London, where moneyers from the larger mint would work briefly and in swift rotation. Such seems to have been the case long before 1042. Most moneyers were Londoners who worked temporarily south of the river. Even those few moneyers from the 990s onwards who seem to have

¹²⁸ Stenton 1971, 537.

¹²⁹ Above, n.43.

¹³⁰ Southwark's burst of activity in this type can be paralleled at other mints in the vicinity of London, such as Colchester, Maldon and Hertford – though London itself experienced no major change at this time. Details and possible explanations are discussed in Lyon 1976, 197; Blackburn 1991, 162.

¹³¹ Historically there have been difficulties in distinguishing products of Southwark and Sudbury, though these have now been largely resolved: Dolley 1955–7.

¹³² Blackburn and Lyon 1986, 248–9. There are reasons, discussed by Blackburn and Lyon, against seeing 'London B' as a product of a Southwark-based die-cutter.

¹³³ Freeman (1985, 185–90) notes that out of twelve moneyers named at Southwark under Edward the Confessor only one did not also work at London – and even this case is contentious (see also Bye 1967).

worked solely at Southwark were, with precious few exceptions,¹³⁴ known only in one type, implying that the mint had relatively little persistent identity or coherence of its own. This was to some extent rectified in the decade or so before the Norman Conquest. From Edward's Pointed Helmet type of the early 1050s a moneyer Osmund was persistently named at Southwark, sometimes joined by other moneyers, but providing a strand of continuity. In all types he was also named on coins of London.¹³⁵

It has therefore seemed reasonable to consider London and Southwark as a single unit for most purposes. Finds of coins from the two mints were considered together above, and in Table 5 a figure has been provided which factors in the combined total of London and Southwark moneyers in any given type (though moneyers known from both mints are only counted once).

TABLE 4. Numbers of moneyers recorded at Southwark c.991–1066.

<i>Type</i>	<i>No. of moneyers</i>	<i>No. of new moneyers</i>	<i>No. of moneyers continuing into next type</i>	<i>Maximum continuity into next type(s)</i>	<i>Moneyers also known at London in same type</i>	<i>Moneyers also known at London in adjacent types</i>	<i>%</i>
Crux	17	17	3	4	13	1	82.4
Long Cross	3	0	0	2	3	0	100
Helmet	0	0	0	2			
Last Small Cross	4	2	3	3	2	0	50
Quatrefoil	23	19	2	4	14	1	65.2
Pointed Helmet	7	5	2	4	7	0	100
Short Cross	3	0	1	3	3	0	100
Jewel Cross	3	1	0	1	3	0	100
Fleur de Lys	0	0	0	1			
Arm and Sceptre	4	3	3	3	1	1	50
Pax	5	2	3	3	2	3	100
Radiate/ Small Cross	3	0	0	0	1	2	100
Trefoil/Quadrilateral	1	1	1	1	1	0	100
Small Flan	2	1	0	0	2	0	100
Expanding Cross	1	1	1	1	1	0	100
Pointed Helmet	3	2	1	2	3	0	100
Sovereign/Eagles	2	1	1	2	1	1	100
Hammer Cross	2	0	1	1	1	1	100
Facing Bust	2	1	1	1	2	0	100
Pyramids	1	0	1	1	1	0	100
Pax	1	0	1	1	1	0	100

The number of moneyers recorded in London itself during each type is listed in Table 5 below. The 'maximum continuity' column found in Tables 4 and 5 supplements the number of known moneyers continuing into the next type with those who recur (before 1035) after a gap of one type or (after 1035) two types, and who might have continued to operate in between. Note that this figure may therefore sometimes exceed the number of known moneyers in one or both adjacent types.

London's status as the largest minting establishment in England is brought home when these totals are put alongside those from other leading mints of the period in Figure 2.¹³⁶ Its development can be broken down into four phases. The first of these is the shortest, and consists solely of the Reform type (c.973–9). At this time London did not possess an exceptional number of moneyers, at least compared to other major mint-places – indeed, of the four mints shown in Figure 2 London had the fewest moneyers in this type. In terms of moneyer activity, London in the 970s essentially followed the same trajectory as it had earlier in the tenth century: that of significance, but hardly pre-eminence. This was to change dramatically in the Hand

¹³⁴ One exception to this rule is the moneyer Tunman, who appeared at Southwark (not London) in both Crux and Last Small Cross.

¹³⁵ Freeman 1985, 185–92.

¹³⁶ Figures for numbers of moneyers at Lincoln, Winchester and York are drawn from Lyon 2012, 44–5.

TABLE 5. Number of moneyers recorded at London in each type c.973–1066.

Type	London and Southwark	Total no. of London moneyers	No. of new moneyers	No. of moneyers continuing into next type	Maximum continuity into next type
Reform	10	10	7	6	8
First Hand	31	31	23	20	28
Second Hand	27	27	16	22	30
Crux	54	50	21	25	39
Long Cross	38	38	12	23	40
Helmet	36	36	7	28	43
Last Small Cross	68	66	22	47	58
Quatrefoil	79	69	22	44	50
Pointed Helmet	70	69	23	40	41
Short Cross	56	56	13	26	33
Jewel Cross	47	47	19	21	31
Fleur de Lys	26	26	3	15	23
Arm and Sceptre	28	25	5	18	21
Pacx	32	29	7	21	23
Radiate/Small Cross	42	41	20	24	33
Trefoil/Quadrilateral	35	35	7	24	37
Small Flan	40	40	11	22	33
Expanding Cross	34	34	7	22	28
Pointed Helmet	34	34	6	16	22
Sovereign/Eagles	32	31	2	12	16
Hammer Cross	18	17	5	7	11
Facing Bust	12	12	6	9	10
Pyramids	11	11	1	7	9
Pax	8	8	1	6	8

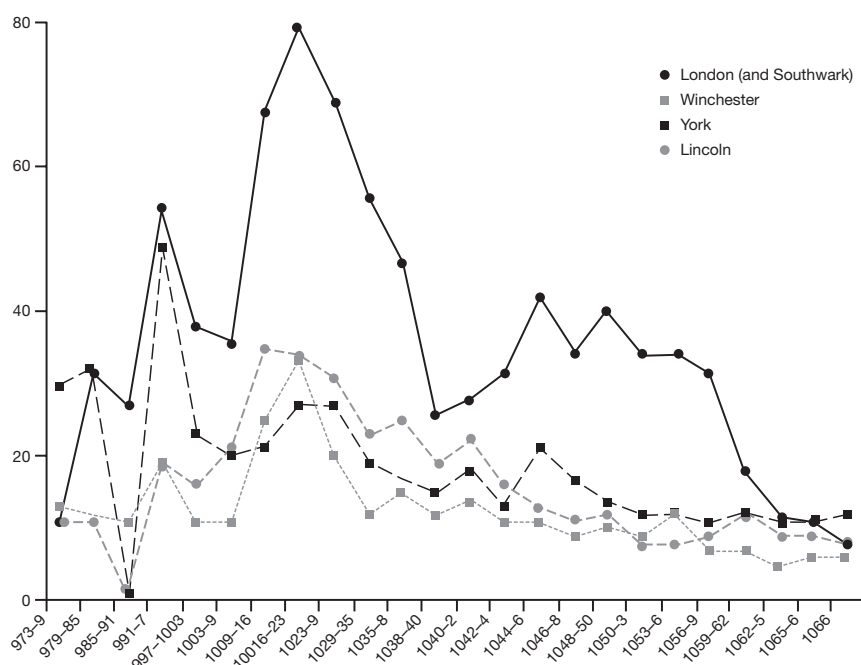


Fig. 2. Numbers of moneyers at Lincoln, London, Winchester and York.

types (c.979–91).¹³⁷ While the other three leading English mints stayed more or less static in their complement of moneyers between Reform and First Hand, London soared from ten to thirty-one moneyers. Only York (with thirty-two) retained a slight lead. By the time of Crux, however, London was beginning to set itself apart as in a different league even compared to

¹³⁷ Metcalf 1998, 224.

the next three mints down. From Crux to Jewel Cross (c.991–1038) it far outstripped them, peaking in Quatrefoil with a total of seventy-nine moneyers.¹³⁸ This is more than double the number at the next best represented mint (Lincoln, with thirty-four). Even in Jewel Cross it was home to forty-seven moneyers, although from the middle of Cnut's reign there was a significant decline in the overall number of moneyers at London and elsewhere.¹³⁹

The third phase highlighted by London's changing profile of moneyers was in essence a limited continuation of the second: a period of some two decades from the Fleur de Lys type of Harold I (c.1038–40) to Edward the Confessor's Sovereign/Eagles type (c.1056–9) during which London remained clearly the leading mint in the kingdom, albeit by a significantly smaller margin. Low points in this phase came in the Fleur de Lys and Arm and Sceptre types, when fewer than thirty moneyers per type are recorded for the first time since the 970s; thereafter the number of moneyers in each type revived somewhat. The plateau London reached at this time can be paralleled at the other major mints, suggesting that the downturn was a national phenomenon, probably associated on some level with the changes in the domestic currency discussed above.¹⁴⁰ The balance of production and contribution to the currency in England had begun to shift away from the major mints.

The final few coin-types before the Norman Conquest saw the number of moneyers at London fall sharply. Between Sovereign/Eagles and Hammer Cross (c.1059–62) the total almost halved, from thirty-two in a type to eighteen. By Harold II's brief reign London and Southwark were apparently home to only eight moneyers. This last decline brought the city full circle to the position it had occupied in the 970s and before: that of one among several significant English mints, all comparable in size. York had more moneyers than London in 1066; Lincoln the same number. At these other mints (together with Winchester) there had been a more steady long-term decline than at London, though with a similar conclusion. This national trend away from having very many moneyers – and by implication great demand and output – at just a few major mints is matched by relative stability and even modest expansion at smaller mints, particularly in the vicinity of London.¹⁴¹ Again, the mid-eleventh century emerges as a time of significant change in the monetary economy, with a shift towards a more geographically dispersed currency. One is reminded that minting activity should in no way be read a straightforward reflection of economic status, for there is no indication that London (or indeed any of the other major towns) experienced a noticeable contraction in population or business at this time; if anything quite the opposite. The coinage, in other words, answered to a wider range of demands.

The output of the London mint c.973–1066

The number of London's moneyers and their contribution to English single-finds provide two valuable indices of the city's standing within the kingdom relative to other mints. A further, and in many ways more penetrating, insight would be derived from a full die-study, of the sort now available for Lincoln, Winchester and York. The sheer volume of the surviving material, however, is a severe obstacle: the projects on Lincoln, Winchester and York all required many years of dedicated effort to complete, and broad estimates suggest that London and Southwark were responsible for about twice as many surviving coins as even the largest of these three other major mints. The present paper uses selective analysis of a few types, combined with statistical calculation, to reach an estimate of London's overall output. The results obtained by these estimates are, it should be noted, projected numbers of dies used, not actual coins produced. Great uncertainty still surrounds the average number of coins a pair of early medieval

¹³⁸ Numbers of moneyers under Cnut are also tabulated in Jonsson 1994, 219–22.

¹³⁹ It could be argued that this reflects a general policy of reducing the number of moneyers: such is demanded in IV Æthelred, c. 9 (Liebermann 1903–16, I, 236), though London and other major mints evidently still kept many more than the three moneyers permitted to each *summus portus*. This section of the code (which, it should be stressed, is not part of the passage possibly dating to the twelfth century: see above n.47) has been assigned to the reign of Cnut by Michael Lawson and others: Lawson 2004, 186–7; Seebohm 1902, 337–44; Kinsey 1958–9, 19–22.

¹⁴⁰ See above, pp. 57–8.

¹⁴¹ Freeman 1985, 55–8 and 182–5.

or ancient dies could be expected to produce, and there is of course no guarantee that all dies were used to capacity.¹⁴² That said, at major mint-towns such as London there was more chance of high and comparatively constant demand for coin.¹⁴³ Consequently the relative measure of number of dies between mints retains some value, even if the results must be used with care.

Work by Kenneth Jonsson and Hugh Pagan has already made available die-studies for two late Anglo-Saxon coin types including London (Reform and Pacx).¹⁴⁴ These offer important glimpses of London's activity at either end of the late Anglo-Saxon period, and to augment the picture of the middle – the peak of London's contribution – this author has conducted a die-study of over 1,200 pennies of London and Southwark in the Quatrefoil type.¹⁴⁵ The total numbers of coins, dies and singletons in these types are given in Table 6, along with the results of calculations of obverse and reverse output using the equations of Warren Esty.¹⁴⁶

TABLE 6. Estimated output at London and Southwark in Reform, Quatrefoil and Pacx types.

	<i>Reform (c.973–9)</i>			<i>Quatrefoil (1016/17–c.1023)</i>			<i>Pacx (1042–c.1044)</i>		
	34 coins	25 obv. dies (18 singletons)	26 rev. dies (21 singletons)	1233 coins	532 obv. dies (257 singletons)	634 rev. dies (328 singletons)	187 coins	131 obv. dies (111 singletons)	132 rev. dies (103 singletons)
Est. coverage		0.47	0.38		0.79	0.73		0.406	0.449
Point estimate		72	95		834	1087		459	413
(95% lower estimate)		39	49		781	1008		334	306
(95% upper estimate)		141	205		892	1173		632	559

These figures in themselves prove instructive when compared with those of other mints; importantly, they broadly corroborate the level of activity suggested by the number of moneyers. Figure 3 puts the London figures alongside similar (reverse) point estimates for Lincoln, Winchester and York.¹⁴⁷ In both Quatrefoil and Pacx, London seems to have been more than twice as productive as the next most active mint-town in the kingdom.

On the (relatively) reliable basis of estimates grounded in formal die-studies, this is as far as the evidence from London may be taken at present. What follows is an attempt to quantify London's output in other phases of the coinage based on the numbers of moneyers.

Totals of moneyers have often been used as a rough gauge for the activity of Anglo-Saxon mints,¹⁴⁸ but the limitations these numbers hold as a measure of minting activity, let alone for the economic standing of a town, are well known.¹⁴⁹ In particular, there is no way to be sure that all moneyers in all types are known. There might also be uncertainties caused by ambiguity in the names of some individuals. Furthermore, even once a provisional total for a type has been arrived at, there is no means of determining how many of those moneyers were active at

¹⁴² For comment on techniques and a survey of relevant literature see Naismith 2012, 184–8.

¹⁴³ Demand for minting surely fluctuated significantly across the year: later medieval evidence from England and Venice suggests that spring and summer, when travel was easiest, were probably peak times (Cassidy 2011, 110–12; Stahl 2000, 99). Smaller mint-towns were probably only active during periods of recoinage.

¹⁴⁴ Jonsson 1987; Pagan 2011. Pagan (1990) has also published details of Harold II's Pax type, although because precise details of die representation are not given, it has not been included here. Out of 69 die-checked coins of this type from London and Southwark, some 42 obverse and 51 reverse dies are known.

¹⁴⁵ This sample includes all coins in the systematic collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, as well as those from SCBI (including the forthcoming Norwegian volumes by Elina Screen), the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Lyon collection, EMC and major auction catalogues. The total cannot be described as definitive, but probably constitutes a large enough portion of surviving coins to provide a representative view. For similar estimates, in relation to the surviving material from other mints, see Jonsson 1994, 216–19.

¹⁴⁶ Esty 2006. General discussion of methodology and a summary of previous research is available in Allen 2012, 295–304; see also Lyon 2012, 12–13.

¹⁴⁷ A concise table of estimated output from these three mints is available in Lyon 2012, 46–7.

¹⁴⁸ Hill 1981, 130.

¹⁴⁹ Metcalf 1978, 165.

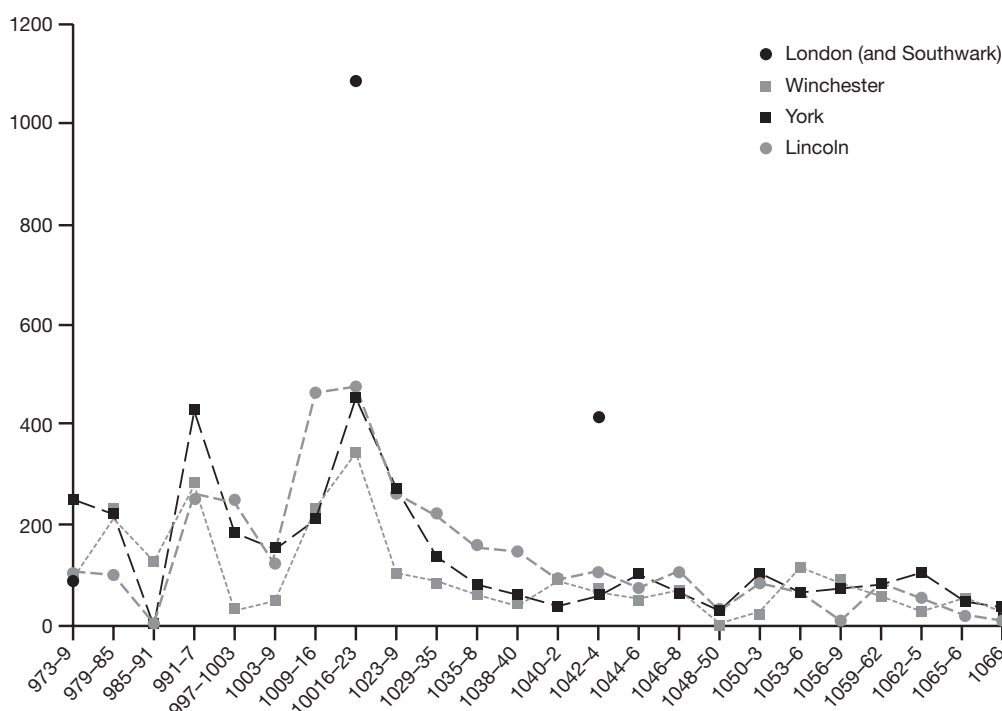


Fig. 3. Point estimates of reverse dies used at Lincoln, London/Southwark, Winchester and York.

any one time; many, even in large mints, might have worked part-time or only during periods of great demand. Some guide to the complement of moneyers active at the start or end of a type might be provided by those surviving from a previous issue or continuing into the next, but this may understate the impact of intervening spurts of production. On average, 31 per cent of London and Southwark moneyers in any one type were new, and an average of 61 per cent of moneyers in any type continued into the next period of coinage (82 per cent if one includes likely continuity across one or (after 1035) two types). Finally, one should not assume that output was constant between moneyers or between types. Die-studies of Lincoln, Winchester and York have demonstrated wide disparities in moneyer output.¹⁵⁰ Some simply produced far more than others, regardless of longevity.

In short, the number of moneyers can never be expected to provide an exact measure for the size of a mint, but it still retains value as a broad and relative indicator of activity. Comparison of Figures 2 and 3 shows that at London and elsewhere there was a general correlation between periods of high output and periods of numerous moneyers. Scrutiny of the number of moneyers at London might, therefore, provide the basis for a tentative estimate of productivity, and there are ways to offset some of the difficulties laid out above. In particular, variation in average output per moneyer between types can to some extent be overcome with reference to the data for productivity at Lincoln, Winchester and York. The average number of projected reverse dies per moneyer varied considerably between types but, significantly, tended to go up or down at approximately the same time at all three mints. The fluctuation is given in Table 7 and Figure 4.

One may provisionally assume that the common trend of Lincoln, Winchester and York, at opposite ends of the kingdom, was also characteristic of London.¹⁵¹ By averaging the number of estimated reverse dies per moneyer at these other major mints, postulated high and low output multipliers (based on 95 per cent confidence intervals) are reached. One can then apply these to the number of moneyers known at London and Southwark to obtain an estimate of output. An additional margin of ± 15 per cent is used to take some account of vagaries of moneyers, modelled on the overall average proportion of new and continuing moneyers per

¹⁵⁰ Biddle 2012; Mossop 1970; Freeman 1985, 40–2.

¹⁵¹ However, see below, p. 68.

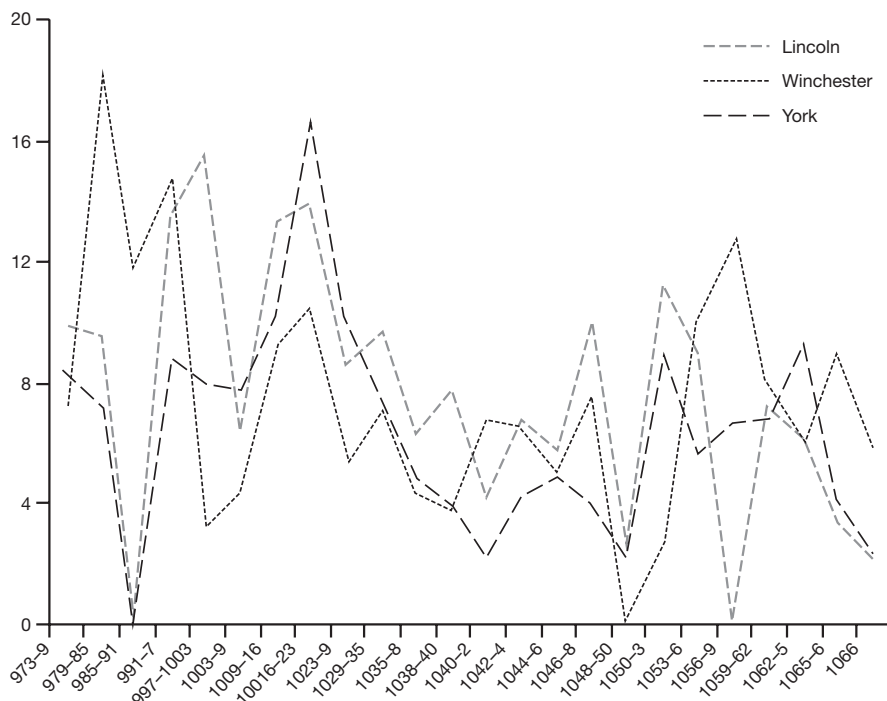


Fig. 4. Average number of reverse dies used per moneyer at Lincoln, Winchester and York; note that for the sake of clarity this graph uses the point estimate of reverse die output, not the 95 % confidence intervals.

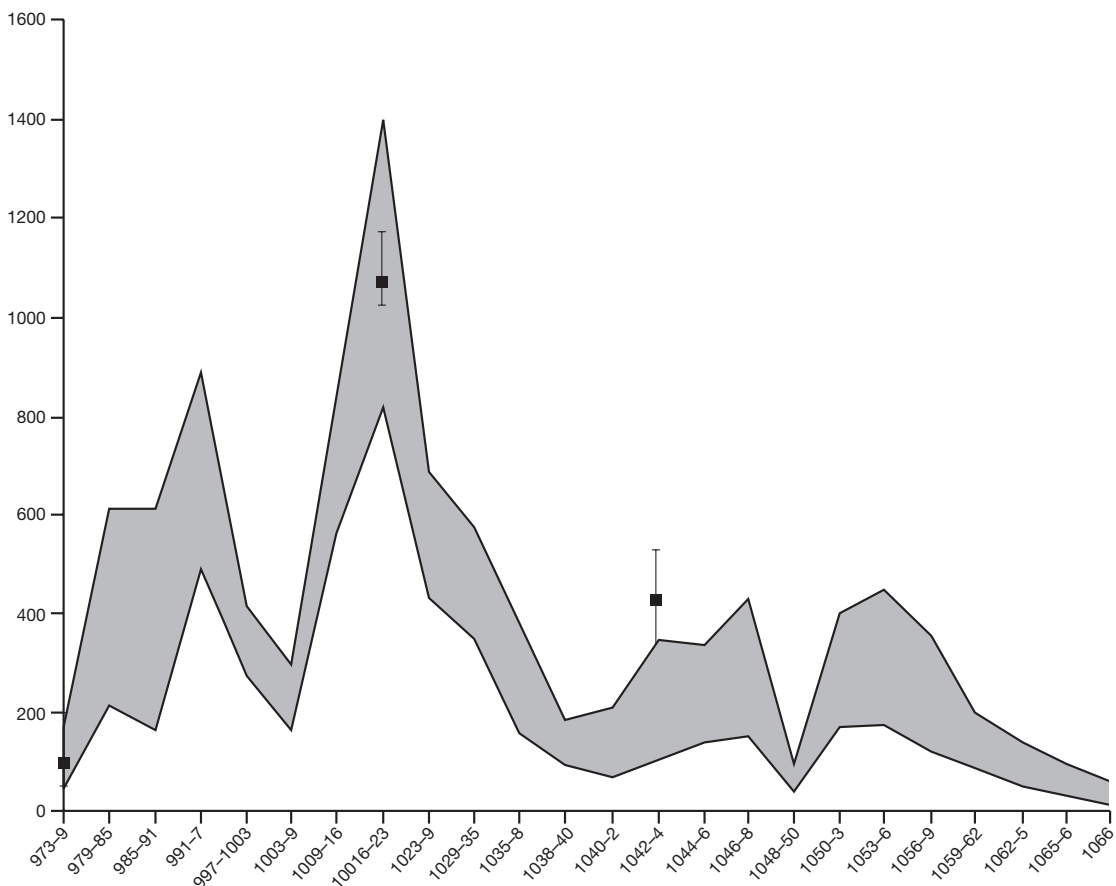


Fig. 5. Estimated output (in reverse dies) of London c.973-1066 as extrapolated from number of moneyers. Estimates derived from die-studies in Reform, Quatrefoil and Pax (with 95 % confidence spreads) are included for reference.

TABLE 7. Details leading to extrapolation of London output estimates from average number of dies used per moneyer.

Note: The columns for Lincoln, Winchester and York offer (respectively) the number of known moneyers per type (M); the average number of reverse dies per moneyer using the upper 95 % confidence interval (Av 95 %+); and the average number of reverse dies per moneyer using the lower 95 % confidence interval (Av 95 %-). Thereafter follows the average of all three mints for both upper and lower estimates, and the application of these averages to the number of moneyers known for London and Southwark. The final two columns show these totals with a final addition/subtraction of 15 % to allow for fluctuations in moneyer activity.

Type	Lincoln			Winchester			York			Average			London and Southwark			Max +supp. 15%
	M	Av 95 %+	Av 95 %-	M	Av 95 %+	Av 95 %-	M	Av 95 %+	Av 95 %-	95 %+	95 %-	M	95 %+	95 %-	Min -supp. 15 %	
Reform	11	15.18	6.55	13	12.46	4.38	30	12.60	5.63	13.41	5.52	10	55.21	134.14	46.93	154.26
First Hand	11	17.64	5.45	12	24.42	13.75	32	9.94	5.25	17.33	8.15	31	252.70	537.24	214.80	617.83
Second Hand	0	0.00	0.00	11	19.64	7.18	1	0.00	0.00	19.63	7.18	27	193.86	530.01	164.78	609.51
Crux	19	16.74	11.21	19	16.00	13.84	49	10.47	7.35	14.40	10.80	54	583.19	777.71	495.71	894.37
Long Cross	16	16.81	14.63	11	3.36	3.09	23	8.70	7.43	9.62	8.38	38	318.58	365.71	270.79	420.57
Helmet	21	7.67	5.24	11	4.91	3.82	20	8.85	6.90	7.14	5.32	36	191.48	257.11	162.76	295.68
Last Small Cross	35	14.86	12.09	25	10.08	8.72	21	11.14	9.33	12.03	10.05	68	683.15	817.81	580.68	940.48
Quatrefoil	34	15.82	12.50	33	12.03	9.21	27	18.48	15.11	15.45	12.27	79	969.68	1220.16	824.23	1403.18
Pointed Helmet	31	9.35	7.81	20	5.95	4.85	27	10.70	9.70	8.67	7.45	70	521.74	606.87	453.69	697.90
Short Cross	23	10.65	9.00	12	8.42	6.25	19	7.84	6.95	8.97	7.40	56	414.35	502.34	352.20	577.69
Jewel Cross	25	7.80	5.12	15	6.27	3.07	17	5.65	4.12	6.57	4.10	47	192.77	308.85	163.85	355.18
Fleur de Lys	19	9.84	6.37	12	4.92	2.92	15	4.47	3.53	6.41	4.27	26	111.09	166.62	94.43	191.61
Arm & Sceptre	22	5.45	3.18	14	11.07	4.21	18	2.89	1.89	6.47	3.09	28	86.66	181.21	73.66	208.39
Pax	16	9.44	4.94	11	12.18	3.73	13	6.62	2.85	9.41	3.84	32	122.78	301.17	104.36	346.35
Radiate/Small Cross	13	7.46	4.46	11	7.73	3.45	21	5.76	4.29	6.98	4.07	42	170.83	293.31	145.21	337.31
Trefoil/Quadrilateral	11	13.64	7.64	9	14.22	4.22	17	4.76	3.47	10.87	5.11	35	178.84	380.61	152.01	437.70
Small Flan	12	3.50	1.83	10	0.00	0.00	14	2.50	1.86	2.00	1.23	40	49.21	80.00	41.83	92.00
Expanding Cross	8	15.50	8.50	9	3.78	2.11	12	11.25	7.33	10.18	5.98	34	203.37	345.98	172.86	397.88
Pointed Helmet	8	13.88	6.00	12	14.08	7.42	12	6.33	5.08	11.43	6.17	34	209.67	388.64	178.22	446.94
Sovereign/Eagles	9	0.00	0.00	7	20.86	8.14	11	8.36	5.36	9.74	4.50	32	144.07	311.69	122.46	358.44
Hammer Cross	12	10.42	5.17	7	11.57	5.71	12	7.67	6.08	9.88	5.65	18	101.79	177.93	86.52	204.62
Facing Bust	9	10.89	3.67	5	9.80	3.80	11	10.36	8.45	10.35	5.31	12	63.68	124.21	54.13	142.84
Pyramids	9	6.89	1.78	6	12.33	6.50	11	4.64	3.82	7.95	4.03	11	44.35	87.48	37.70	100.60
Pax	8	3.38	1.75	6	11.67	3.33	12	2.83	1.83	5.96	2.31	8	18.44	47.67	15.67	54.82

type at London and Southwark. The results are presented in Figure 5. These calculations must remain highly speculative and provisional,¹⁵² but command a certain amount of confidence, as – in all three cases for which die-studies are available – the estimate embraces the actual results suggested by Esty's formulae. In particular, the upper and lower estimates for Quatrefoil (which has the highest estimated coverage) lie entirely within the postulated output as extrapolated from the number of moneys. That for Reform mostly does so, though the Pax estimate is somewhat less close: it only falls within the spread suggested in Figure 5 by a small margin, and if anything suggests that the moneyer-based estimate is too low. It serves as a reminder that the number of moneys surely does not allow reconstruction of the full picture of minting activity at London, and additional work will doubtless refine the results presented here.

These estimates per type embrace issues of different duration; in particular, those produced before 1035 are likely to have lasted for approximately six years each, as opposed to two or three years for most issues thereafter. The absolute chronology of late Anglo-Saxon coin types in most cases remains a mystery, but it is nevertheless valuable to illustrate the estimated output in reverse types *per annum* in each type based on the received estimate of the chronology (Figure 6).

Figure 6 illustrates that the apparent surge of output in the period after *c.* 980 may not have given way to real decline until significantly later than the number of moneys and the proportion of single-finds would apparently suggest. Indeed, the decade *c.* 1040–50 seems to have seen a peak in productivity and a revival relative to the preceding twenty or so years – though there was a marked reduction thereafter. The significance of these results is, however, limited by the very nature of late Anglo-Saxon currency. If (as is generally believed) the majority of new types were effectively recoinages intended to re-mint most or all of the circulating medium, one

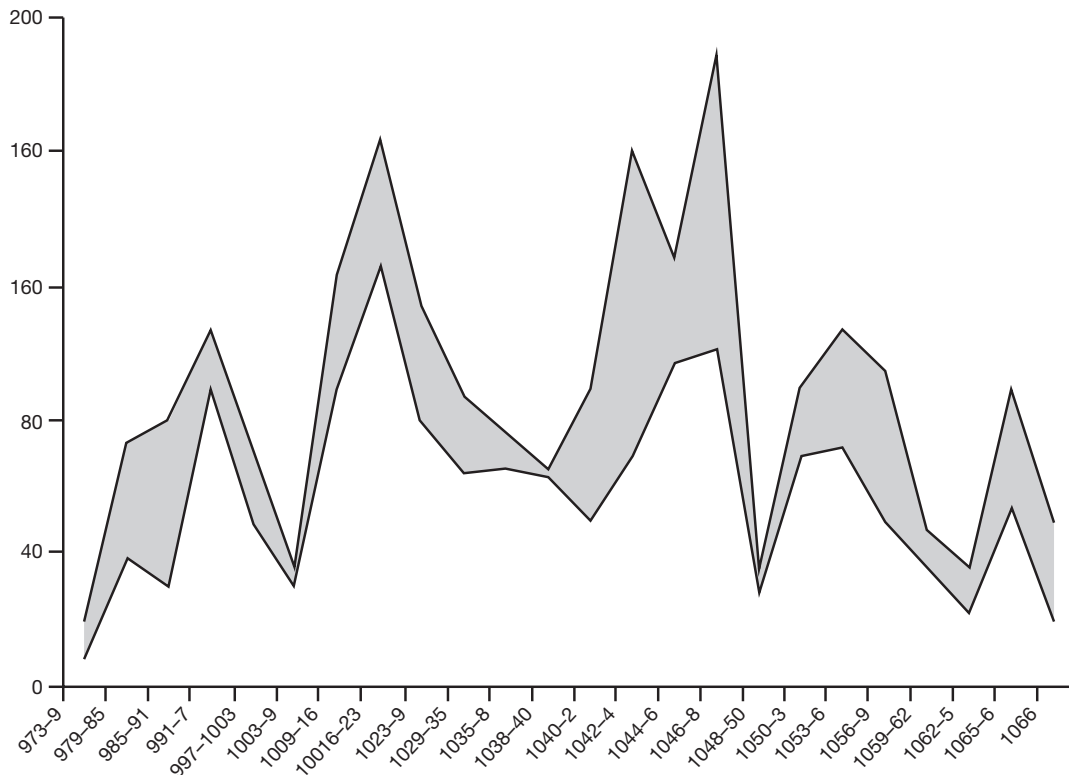


Fig. 6. Estimated output of reverse dies *per annum* at London and Southwark. The central line represents an average between the upper and lower estimates from Table 7 – not a statistically calculated point estimate.

¹⁵² This technique should not necessarily be applied to smaller mints, although one might cautiously presume a broadly similar overall rate of activity during any one type at other major mint-towns such as Lincoln, Stamford, Winchester and York.

would expect a recurring and substantial burst of production during the opening year or so of a type. For this reason, even coinages of relatively brief duration will enjoy comparatively high output if viewed on a *per annum* basis. Figure 6 must therefore be read with some caution.

If the pattern of Figures 5 and (to a lesser extent) 6 are accepted as broadly indicative of the actual level of London's activity c.973–1066, the key point that emerges is the enormous scale on which it operated, above all c.980–1035/40 (and perhaps until as late as c.1050). During this period its moneyers often worked their way through the equivalent of well over 100 reverse dies *per annum*, which was double or more the usage of any other English mint, and probably not to be matched or surpassed anywhere until the end of the twelfth century.¹⁵³ London's burgeoning output was, in many respects, subject to the same developments as seen elsewhere. Like Lincoln, Winchester and York, it apparently experienced a relative decline in output during the decade or so around 1000 followed by a resurgence c.1010–25 and a more lasting contraction after c.1050.¹⁵⁴ A temporary fall to an especially low level of productivity apparently came in the Small Flan type (c.1048–50), as at all the other major mints. In the years which followed, leading up to the Conquest, London's output apparently continued to fall gradually until, by 1066, it had lost its former prominence. In most ways, London was a full participant in the ebbs and flows of the broader English monetary economy. The major difference in London's development relative to other major mint-towns was a greater step up in productivity early in the period, and a steeper decline in later decades. It followed a sharpened variant of the wider national trends in output during the years c.973–1066.

Conclusions

London's moneyers and die-cutters were assuredly a major element of its importance in late Anglo-Saxon government and economic life. The coins, to an impressive degree, speak for themselves; but when placed alongside the archaeological and historical evidence for London's central importance to the late Anglo-Saxon kingdom, they truly speak volumes. At its peak London accounted for up to 40 per cent of all the circulating currency, and supported more than twice as many moneyers as anywhere else. This high-point in its activity came in the years c.980–1035/40: essentially the reign of Æthelred II and the years of the 'Anglo-Danish' regime. Prior to this, and in the last decades before the Conquest, London did not particularly stand out as a mint beyond other leading cities in the kingdom. Crucially, a mutually supportive story is told by all the forms of evidence considered here: die-cutting, single-finds, moneyers and estimates of output. Together they do seem to indicate the general trajectory of London's minting activity in the years c.880–1066; what remains is to consider the forces which affected the city's production and contribution to the currency.

It is unlikely to be coincidence that the extraordinary surge in London's activity after about 980 was a time of intense Viking aggression against England, frequently countered by payments of tribute.¹⁵⁵ Occasional handovers of thousands of pounds in *gafol* to the Vikings took place between 991 and 1018, and from 1012 until at least 1051 there were also annual payments of *heregeld* to support Scandinavian mercenaries.¹⁵⁶ Precisely what form these payments took is not usually stated – though they certainly included some gold as well as silver – and neither is there any guarantee that all of the many finds of Anglo-Saxon pennies from Scandinavia represent the proceeds of such payments. Nevertheless, it is very probable that tribute and *heregeld* stimulated minting activity in England for several decades in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.¹⁵⁷ During this period London was one of the most promi-

¹⁵³ Allen 2004 and 2012, 295–316 and 404–24.

¹⁵⁴ Patterns noted in Allen 2012, 299–300.

¹⁵⁵ It was also noted in Vince 1989, 115–16.

¹⁵⁶ Keynes 1980, 1991, 98–102 and 1997, 78.

¹⁵⁷ Metcalf 1998, 22–7, 1990a and 1990b. For historical context see Keynes 1991; the scale and reliability of the payments was discussed in Lawson 1984, 1989, 1990; Gillingham 1989 and 1990. On directions and causes of export from England (tending towards a more commercial than tributary explanation) see Metcalf 2006; Moesgaard 2006, esp. 412–19; Jonsson 1993; Gullbekk 1991.

ment royal strongholds in the kingdom, and played a central part in funding and rallying resistance to the Vikings.¹⁵⁸ If any city might have experienced a boost in mint-output as a result of the tribute payments, it was London. The city's status was shaken but ultimately not diminished by the conquest of Swein and Cnut, and indeed the *liðsmen* who received payments of *heregeld* were based in the city, perhaps creating one significant need for cash in London until at least the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁵⁹ Finds of English coins in Scandinavia remained numerous for the duration of these Viking payments (c.990–1050),¹⁶⁰ and one might add that the type with the most moneyers and highest output of all – Quatrefoil – was a low point in London's share of English single-finds. During the currency-period of this coinage, when London alone was forced to pay £10,500 in tribute, most of the city's output may well have been directed towards Scandinavia. Conversely, decline in the number of moneyers and single-finds accounted for by London and (to a lesser extent) other major mints in the mid-eleventh century could be linked to the fall-off of English finds in Scandinavia, and perhaps also the hiatus in payments of *heregeld* signalled by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 1051.

Yet military and political circumstances cannot by themselves straightforwardly explain the changing levels of minting activity at London.¹⁶¹ The *heregeld* was probably reinstituted soon after 1051 (later becoming known as *Danegeld*), and it is not clear whether payments of *heregeld* and *gafol* before or after that year were regularly shipped back to Scandinavia.¹⁶² It is, in other words, simply not helpful to see the currency simply as a mechanism for extracting and paying large-scale tributes. A role in furnishing cash for tribute payments could have indirectly galvanized more intense domestic exchange, for example, which may in part explain why, during the period c.980–1035/40, London also accounted for such a sizeable proportion of the domestic currency. Other developments, for instance in overseas trade, mechanisms for recoinage and local trade and urbanization, undoubtedly also shaped the changes which took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries. London's burst of productivity coincides closely with the era when Rammelsberg silver was most plentiful (c.990–1040), and a strong and steady flow of bullion from overseas was surely one contributory factor to the port-city's success as a mint.¹⁶³ It is also worth recalling that London's profile had begun to rise already in the 980s, before Viking tribute could have been a consideration, and when supplies of German silver were still picking up in volume. At this stage much of the moneyers' activity must have stemmed from the renewal of large-scale urban life in London.¹⁶⁴ New habitations were being erected, trade was quickening and London Bridge was being rebuilt. Other towns large and small show similar signs of expansion at much the same time. Boom at the mint was part and parcel of this regenerative process, and it was doubtless one of the principal factors behind London's truly outstanding level of productivity c.980–1035/40.

The key point is that not one of these factors by itself can suffice as an explanation for London's surge in minting activity. A broader, multi-causal view of the various forces at work, and of vicissitudes within the city's history, is essential. London's heyday of frenetic productivity embraced a period of some fifty or sixty years. Even within this there were ups and downs, and times when indices of its activity diverge. Outside its era of outstanding activity, London was still a mint-place of some significance, but by no means as impressive in the scale of its contribution. Under Alfred and his successors down to the 970s this doubtless reflected the city's status as just one among several important towns housing numerous moneyers. More interesting in many respects is the later phase of London's development, between about 1035/40 and the Norman Conquest. At first it retained its status as the pre-eminent mint, and was certainly in no state of general urban decay. Even in the years after 1066 it was acknowledged by Norman observers as the dangerous but wealthy epicentre of the kingdom, just as

¹⁵⁸ See above, pp. 48–9.

¹⁵⁹ Nightingale 1987, 566–70.

¹⁶⁰ Blackburn and Jonsson 1981, 153.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Metcalf 1978, 171–3.

¹⁶² See above, n.156.

¹⁶³ Spufford 1988, 95–7. On the wider economic ramifications see Sawyer 1965, esp. 159–64; Jones 1991, 599–604.

¹⁶⁴ Metcalf 1978, 183–4.

it had been decades earlier. Moneyers from across England looked to London for supply of dies, and it continued to house a relatively large complement of moneyers. But its special standing within the kingdom's monetary system had weakened considerably. London's relative decline as a mint was part of a general downturn in output and contribution to the currency seen at all the major mint-towns, but on the banks of the Thames the process was especially severe, and eventually brought London back to parity with Lincoln, York and Winchester. By the mid-eleventh century, London's status as a mint was, if anything, probably only partially bound to its standing as a centre of commerce, government and population. Developments in minting thus were closely but not inseparably tied to the economic wellbeing of the city, and must be seen as the nexus of a complex host of demands: military, fiscal, domestic, foreign and others.

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WEIGHT, COINAGE, AND THE NATION 973–1200

NORMAN BIGGS

Introduction

FROM the earliest times there has been a close relationship between weight and coinage. But in medieval England this relationship was confused, to say the least. In a previous article I outlined the problems and offered an explanation of how they were resolved in the critical period 1344–1421.¹ In this article I shall focus on the evolution of central control over weight and coinage, from the tenth to twelfth centuries.

The foundations for this study were laid by Stewart Lyon in the 1960s.² Subsequent work by Pamela Nightingale provided new perspectives,³ but both authors relied to a great extent on the evidence of the coinage. For some periods the coins are plentiful, and numismatists have studied them in great detail. But unfortunately neither the coins nor the numismatists have been persuaded to speak with one voice. Some documentary evidence exists, but it is fragmentary and was not written for the purpose of explaining medieval practices to modern scholars. This is particularly true of the legal codes, where Patrick Wormald's fundamental re-evaluation has recently been applied to the numismatic evidence by Elina Screen.⁴

Another new perspective comes from the increase in artefactual evidence in the form of weight-objects. Much of this material was not available in 1987 when Robin Connor wrote his *Weights and Measures of England*,⁵ and in some cases it points to quite different conclusions. However, it cannot be claimed that the story is now clear in all its details. The account to be given here will avoid speculation about mechanisms that we do not understand, and may never understand fully. One very specific conclusion is that standard weight-systems probably did not exist before the thirteenth century, so there can be little hope of 'identifying' an isolated weight-object simply by checking its mass. By asking better questions we can hope to throw more light on what actually happened.

1. The first millennium

The part played by Athelstan in the unification of the land we call England is described in detail in Sarah Foot's recent study.⁶ The code of laws known as II Athelstan (c.930) or the Grately Code is probably a fair summary of his intentions, although it would be rash to make too many assumptions about its effectiveness in practice. One of these laws asserted that there should be 'one money' throughout the king's realm.⁷

During Athelstan's reign there was some progress towards establishing machinery that could ensure observance of his laws. It was generally accepted that the king had sole rights over the coinage, and that the right to hold a market must be confirmed by a royal charter. However, there were significant limitations on the king's power. Control of Northumbria was

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¹ Biggs 2011.

² Lyon 1969. He has returned to the subject on several occasions; see particularly Lyon 2006 and Lyon 2008.

³ Nightingale 1983, 1984, 1985. These papers are collected in Nightingale 2007. See also Nightingale 2008 and, for the commercial background, Nightingale 1995.

⁴ Wormald 1999, Screen 2007. The latter contains a useful collection of the laws relating to money and trade, as well as a new perspective on their content.

⁵ Connor 1987. His conclusions about pre-Conquest weight-systems were mainly based on a few isolated objects and some of his views were revised in Connor and Simpson 2004.

⁶ Foot 2011.

⁷ Screen 2007, 165.

achieved in 927, but lost again in 939. Other parts of the country were nominally under Athelstan's control, but in some places there was either no effective local authority, or an authority that did not readily conform to the king's wishes. Another limitation was more subtle and technical: there were many different customary measures of value and weight. Consequently, even if the king had the power to levy a tax or impose fines, he could not predict the income that might result. For example, a 'shilling' did not mean the same thing in Mercia as it did in Wessex.⁸

A basic problem was that the precious metals were assessed by several different weight-systems, with Roman, Saxon, Islamic, and Viking elements. These elements will be reviewed here by looking at some examples of the weights that were in use before about 950. The objects illustrated below have been selected because we can make intelligent guesses as to their purpose. The story is by no means clear, but these objects are our best hope of progress towards understanding what happened subsequently.

The object shown in Figure 1 is a Romano-British weight, made of lead. This example was found in the vicinity of Chester, and many others of the same type have been found in that area.⁹ It may have been used for checking the portions of salt (salary) issued to the soldiers. The mass is 53 g, which is consistent with the accepted value of about 27 g for a Roman ounce (*uncia*). Although there must have been minor variations throughout the Roman world, this value is remarkably constant over a wide area and for a long period.



Fig. 1. A Romano-British lead weight; mass 53.0 g, diameter 32 mm, thickness 6 mm. Private collection.

The shift of government from Rome to Byzantium did not immediately lead to an alteration in the magnitude of the Roman ounce. For weighing precious metals, square bronze weights were used in many parts of the Roman-Byzantine trading area.¹⁰ A common denomination was the nomisma, equal to one-sixth of an ounce. The objects shown in Figure 2 are simple bronze weights of this type, inscribed with dots and lines. These are casual finds from England, and they were almost certainly used for weighing gold. The denominations are: N = 1 nomisma and H = 8 siliquae = $\frac{1}{3}$ nomisma. Similar examples have been found in archaeological excavations of sixth to seventh-century graves at Gilton in Kent and Watchfield in Oxfordshire.¹¹

Although the mass of the Byzantine nomisma was originally around 4.5 g, the examples shown in Figure 2 (and many others) are somewhat lighter. The decline may have been due to the influence (especially in North Africa and Western Europe) of the Islamic coinage-standard, specifically the change in mass of the dinar, which was reduced from 4.5 g to about 4.25 g at the end of the seventh century. The objects shown in Figure 3 are bronze weights with designs in a style that appears rather more Islamic than Byzantine. These too are English finds from unrecorded find-spots, and they may date from the eighth or ninth centuries. If so, they could have been used for checking gold bullion in mancus-units (see Section 2, p. 81).

⁸ Lyon 1969, 209–12.

⁹ Collingwood and Wright 1991. See, for example, items 2412.62, 2412.65, 2412.77.

¹⁰ Bendall 1996 provides a convenient synopsis of Byzantine weights.

¹¹ Scull 1990, 192 and 201.

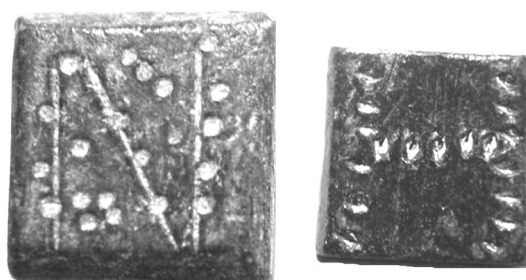


Fig. 2. Two Byzantine-style weights; mass 4.17 g and 1.39 g, size 12×12 mm, 10×10 mm. Private collection.



Fig. 3. Two square bronze weights; mass 4.17 g and 4.08 g, size 11×11 mm, 12×12 mm. Private collection.

The influence of Islamic weight-standards in England is still a matter of debate, particularly in the matter of the coinage. Many years ago it was thought that the eighth-century English silver penny had a mass of about 1.4 g,¹² and this was intended to correspond with an Islamic standard. The difficulty of coming to a definite conclusion on such matters is plain. Often the number of coins available for study is small, and many of them are in poor condition. New finds can significantly alter the metrological estimates; for example recent work on the coinage of Offa (757–96) suggests that his early coins were struck at about 1.3 g, with the later coinage around 1.4 g–1.45 g.¹³

A related problem is that there is little evidence to suggest that the mass of each individual coin was closely controlled. The presumed method of production was to cut flans for broad pennies from a thin sheet of silver. It would have been relatively easy to ensure that the flans were all of the same area (by using a standard cutting tool), but more difficult to ensure that the sheet of silver was of uniform thickness. Hence the flans would vary in mass. It would be possible (as happened much later) to check the mass of each coin individually, but is more likely that the practice was based on averaging: that is, checking that a given number of coins had a given mass. Unfortunately, both the ‘given number’ and the ‘given mass’ are unknown, so the arithmetic can support several different conclusions.¹⁴ There are several candidates for the ‘given number’, as we shall see in due course. And if the given mass was an ounce, it could have been any one of three Islamic ‘ounces’, or a Roman ounce, or a Byzantine version of the Roman ounce, or something else altogether.

At that time the Roman ounce was not forgotten in England. Together with its fractions and multiples it had been described in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, copies of which were kept in many monastic centres of learning.¹⁵ These documents were only tables of relative proportions, but there is one piece of evidence that might indicate that the Roman system

¹² Skinner 1967. Skinner made a serious attempt to rationalize the traditional quaint theories about links between ancient weight-systems and the supposed system of the Anglo-Saxons, but he died before the work was finished.

¹³ Chick 2010. See also Naismith 2011.

¹⁴ The equation is of the form $nx = y$, where n is a whole number, but x and y are not. If only one of these values is known, there are many possible solutions for the unknowns.

¹⁵ For Isidore, see Barney *et al.* 2006. The extract in Hall and Nicholas 1929, 1, is typical. Further discussion will be found in Section 3 below, p. 92.

was being used as an ‘absolute’ standard. The object known as the ‘Alfred weight’ has often been described.¹⁶ It is a block of lead stamped with the coin-dies of one of Alfred’s earlier pennies (from the late 870s), and could have been used to control the average mass of pennies produced at a mint. Its mass is approximately six Roman ounces, or half a pound (163 g). If we assume 20 pennies to the ounce (240 pennies to the ‘pound’), then 120 pennies minted from 163 g of silver would each weigh slightly less than 1.4 g, which does indeed fit in with the observed mass of the relevant issue.¹⁷ After Alfred’s reform of c.880 the mass of the penny was increased to between 1.5 g to 1.6 g, and the higher standard was maintained (very broadly) in the tenth century by Edward the Elder and Athelstan.¹⁸

Islamic standards play another part in English metrological history, because of their influence on the weights used by the Viking invaders. The Viking *ora* was roughly 25 g, and appears to correspond to six Islamic dinars; eight of these oras made a *mark* of about 200 g. The object shown in Figure 4 is a lead weight from the Viking period, found on the north bank of the Humber.¹⁹ Embedded in the lead is a bronze object showing four dots. It is in fact a weight itself, one of the truncated-cube types often found in Scandinavia and England, and which have been carefully studied.²⁰ It was used here to indicate that the main object has a mass of four oras, equal to half a mark in the Viking system.



Fig. 4. A Viking weight from England; mass 102 g, diameter 27 mm, height 23 mm. Private collection.

In recent years, many Viking weights have been found in England.²¹ Some of them, such as the small bronze truncated-cube types, are also found in the Viking homelands. They correspond roughly to fractions of the *ora*, but there is some variation, suggesting that they were used by individual traders on a custom-and-practice basis. A more characteristic Anglo-Viking type is the series of lead weights with embedded objects, such as a piece of ornamental metalwork, or a coin. The object shown in Figure 5 is a typical example. The embedded object is a Northumbrian *styca* of the moneyer Leofthegn, minted in the middle of the ninth century.²² The weight was probably intended for checking two oras of silver bullion.

It must not be thought that the selection of weights illustrated above exhausts all the types of first-millennium weights found in England. Most of them are single finds, and even the few

¹⁶ Price 1841; Connor 1987, 108; Archibald 1991.

¹⁷ Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 141.

¹⁸ Blunt, Lyon and Stewart 1989, 235–47, Tables 12–14.

¹⁹ Biggs and Withers 2000, item 22.

²⁰ Sperber 1996; Steuer 1997.

²¹ Blackburn 2009, 48. See also Blackburn 2011.

²² Pirie 2000, 25–9 contains a brief survey of weights inset with a *styca*. See also Williams 2000.



Fig. 5. A Viking weight from England; mass 47.2 g, diameter 21 mm, height 14 mm. Private collection.

objects found in controlled archaeological excavations are not always easy to date and identify. Small bronze weights like those shown in Figures 2 and 3 continued to be made and used in England, in various forms, throughout the high Middle Ages, but it is not until the fifteenth century that we can be confident about their identification. For example, the objects shown in Figure 6 are, broadly speaking, in the tradition of the Byzantine and Islamic types. They all weigh less than two grams, which probably means that they were used for checking gold, or possibly a silver penny. However, in the current state of knowledge it would be futile to try to assign them to a specific century, or a specific weight-system.



Fig. 6. Five small bronze weights found in England. Private collection.

Design features can also be misleading. One common element is the ring-and-dot motif, sometimes referred to as the 'pelleted annulet' or 'bird's eye'. It is often seen on Islamic weights, such as the first object in Figure 7. It was found in Sussex, but might have turned up almost anywhere in North Africa, Europe or the Middle East.²³ The other objects in Figure 7 are clearly weights of some kind: all are reliably reported as English finds, but we cannot say much about them. They may have been made in England, or they may be foreign imports. Even the



Fig. 7. Five weights with ring-and-dot marks, found in England. Private collection.

²³ Holland 2009 gives a reliable account of various types of weights found at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, including (pp. 41–51) many with the ring-and-dot motif. See also Holland 1986.

suggestion that the number of ring-and-dot marks indicates a specific number of weight-units turns out to be quite wrong. The last one is probably part of a set of cup-weights from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries,²⁴ and represents one-eighth of an ounce. Apart from that, all that can safely be said is that the users of these objects knew exactly what their purpose was, and it was probably related to the weighing of precious metal in some form.

These examples are sufficient to make the point that it is unwise to seek uniformity in the weight-objects that were used in England in the first millennium AD. Weights were used for different purposes, in different places, and by people with different traditions. Even if we had perfect understanding of the events and influences operating in England at that time, we should still have to admit that the metrological picture was baroque in its complexity. From the first two hundred years of the second millennium we have more documentary evidence, and now (2012) a rapidly increasing accumulation of artefacts. This article is written in the belief that it is time to start assessing that evidence as a whole.

2. From Reform to Conquest

Around 973 King Edgar began to issue pennies of a new style, known to numismatists as the Reform Type. That there was a reform of some kind is beyond doubt, but its original purpose and scope remain controversial. Some have seen it simply as another stage in Athelstan's programme to achieve 'one money' throughout the kingdom,²⁵ while others have argued that from the outset there was a complex master-plan, involving periodic recoinages and subtle variations in the mass of the coins.²⁶ For our purposes, speculation about exotic mechanisms that might explain some of the observed features is unnecessary, and it would only complicate the story. Perhaps the most significant point is that, for the first time in England since the departure of the Romans, it was possible for the authorities to insist that coins should pass at their face value, whatever their actual weight.

It is convenient to begin with the evidence from documents. In the law code III Edgar, promulgated in the 960s, the reference to 'one money' is reiterated, and is followed by the assertion that 'there shall be one system of measurement and one standard of weights, such as is in use in London and in Winchester'. It is now thought that the phrase about weights is not original,²⁷ but was added in the eleventh century by Archbishop Wulfstan, of whom we shall have more to say later. It may well be argued that Wulfstan was merely elaborating on what he believed to have been Edgar's intentions, but the wording is significant, particularly the mention of a standard.

Another difficulty arising from the law codes concerns the use of the word *shilling*. The word occurs in some of the old laws from Kent, Mercia and Wessex, usually in connection with the fines for certain offences. Initially it seems to have signified a definite weight of gold, then it was a gold coin of that weight. Latterly it was a unit of account – unfortunately, differing from place to place.²⁸ Possibly the latest such occurrences are in the law codes VIII Æthelred and II Cnut, dated to around 1014 and 1020 respectively. In the first of these it is clear from the context that a shilling represents a small number of pence, probably five.²⁹ This may be an example of a 'frozen' conventional unit (rather like the guinea in modern times), which no longer had practical significance. By this time the word 'shilling' was also being used in practice to denote twelve pence as a unit of account, as stated explicitly by Byrthferth of Ramsey in 1011.³⁰ Thus the Carolingian accounting system (1 pound = 20 shillings, 1 shilling = 12 pence) had finally taken root in parts of England, and was to persist for almost an entire millennium.

²⁴ Biggs 2011, 141. See also the comment at the end of Section 4 below, p. 97.

²⁵ Brand 1984.

²⁶ Allen 2012, 35–40. Dolley never published a full account of his theory.

²⁷ Screen 2007, 152.

²⁸ Grierson 1961; Lyon 1969, 210–12.

²⁹ Whitelock 1996, 448.

³⁰ Crawford 1929, 67. See also Nightingale 1984, 236, and Baker and Lapidge 2001.

Unfortunately pounds, shillings, and pence were not the only accounting units used at the beginning of the second millennium. The case of the *mancus* is particularly relevant, because it illustrates the kind of semantic evolution that creates problems for the numismatists and historians of today. At least four distinct meanings can be assigned to the word.

1. The Islamic gold dinar is sometimes referred to as the *dinar manqûsh*, meaning literally an inscribed coin. These coins circulated widely in Europe. In Spain and Italy they were known by forms of the name 'mancus', and the word would have been familiar to English merchants trading in those places.³¹
2. From the eighth century onwards the word 'mancus' appears in wills and charters as a unit of mass for gold bullion. Its magnitude must have been roughly the same as the Islamic coin, 4.25 g. (Weights that fit this description are shown in Figure 3.)

Because payments in gold were not always practicable, the same word could be applied to an equivalent amount of silver. This gave rise to two further interpretations.

3. Thirty silver pennies were equivalent in value to a mancus of gold, and so the word came to be used as an accounting unit for 30 pence.
4. Although the mass of a silver penny varied over time, the word was also used to denote 30 pennies of the current issue. Weights for checking a mancus-worth of silver would therefore vary in mass, as did the penny. The lead weight with an embedded bronze stud shown in Figure 8 is typical; it could be an eleventh-century survival of the Viking style. Similar examples have been found in many parts of England, and they vary considerably in size and shape. Another example is shown in Figure 9 – a lead weight struck with an impression from a die of Edward the Confessor's Small Flan penny (c.1048–50). Some other examples of this style have been discussed by Archibald.³²

It is also possible that some extremely rare Anglo-Saxon gold coins were minted mancuses, thus adding a fifth meaning to the list. The minting of gold mancuses is stipulated in the will of King Eadred,³³ but no coins of that issue are known.



Fig. 8. A lead weight, possibly for checking a mancus-worth of silver pence: mass 39.7 g, diameter 25 mm, thickness 8 mm. PAS: NMS-561B93. Private collection.



Fig. 9. Another weight, possibly for checking a mancus-worth of silver pence; mass 37.5 g, diameter 18 mm, height 16 mm. Private collection.

Documentary references to the *mancus* appear to die out around 1030, but there is one from around the time of the Norman conquest.³⁴ Even if the word itself was no longer used, the 30-pence denomination would have remained useful in commerce, and this may explain the weight shown in Figure 9.

³¹ Spufford 1988, 50. For finds of dinars in England, see the discussion in Blackburn and Bonser 1987, 92–4.

³² Archibald 1991.

³³ Whitelock 1996, 107.

³⁴ Thorpe 1865, 596.

Other customary units also created confusion. The Roman ounce of about 27 g has already been mentioned. The word *uncia* literally means one-twelfth, so the ounce was one-twelfth of the Roman pound-of-weight, and the word 'ounce' could also mean one-twelfth of a pound-of-account. In the eleventh century it would have contained 20 pence-of-account, thus providing a second way of dividing the pound of 240 pence: 1 pound = 12 ounces, 1 ounce = 20 pence.

Alongside the penny, shilling, mancus, ounce and pound, there was a further complication, created by the Viking weight-system of oras and marks. As mentioned above (see Figure 4 for example) the Viking ora was originally a bullion weight of about 25 g, certainly less than a Roman ounce of 27 g. So the mark of 8 oras was about 200 g. This system was used extensively in the Danelaw, and following the arrival of Cnut in 1015–16 it must have been even more widespread. In Figure 10 there is a lead weight with an embedded bronze 'Saxon cross', which shows traces of gilding. This could have been used for checking payments of a mark in hacksilver, or in silver coins.



Fig. 10. A lead weight: mass 195 g, diameter 43 mm, thickness 15 mm. Private collection.

As with the mancus and the ounce, the distinction between the mark as a unit of mass and as a unit of account became blurred. There is clear evidence that, before the Norman conquest, the ora and the mark were being used as accounting-units, alongside the shilling and the pound. In some cases the two systems were used in parallel and it can be reliably deduced that 3 oras were equivalent to 4 shillings.³⁵ Thus 16 pence-of-account made one ora, and the accounting mark was 128 pence. The multitude of accounting systems used in the first half of the eleventh century is shown in Figure 11.

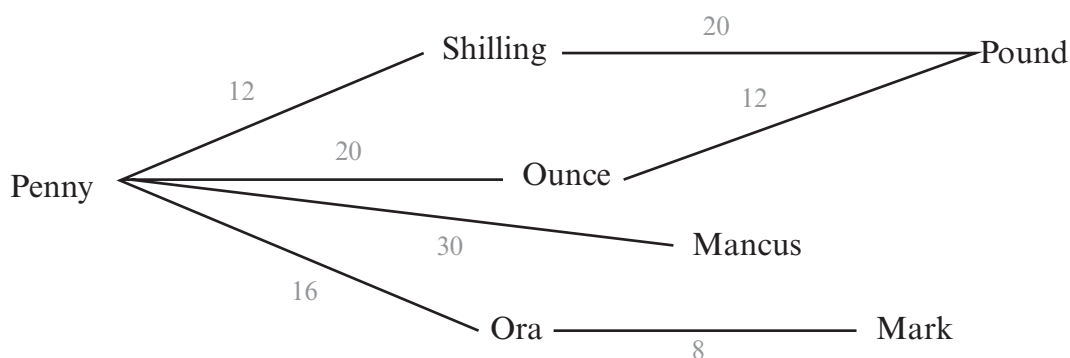


Fig. 11. Units of account in the first half of the eleventh century.

The diagram indicates that the relationship between theory (the units) and practice (the coinage) was rather unsatisfactory. As a unit of mass the ora was about 25 g, and if 16 pence weigh that much, then the penny must weigh nearly 1.6 g. In the early eleventh century some

³⁵ Lyon 1969, 210.

issues of pennies were indeed minted at (or above) this level, but subsequent issues were much lighter.

It is unfortunate that the largest body of evidence bequeathed to us by Anglo-Saxons – the coinage from Edgar to the Norman conquest – is also the most baffling. For this period, the coins have survived in large numbers, and we might hope that a pattern would emerge in statistical terms, even if the underlying reasons remain obscure. There is now available a metrological study of over 44,000 English coins minted between *c.*973 and *c.*1090,³⁶ and Metcalf has written a very useful commentary on it.³⁷ The data are revealing in many respects, but sadly fail to provide satisfactory answers to some big questions. In particular: what weight-standards were used, and how were they communicated to the mints? It is clear that periodic recoinages were happening by the turn of the millennium, and they can only have been instigated by a central authority. The evidence suggests that the average mass of the penny sometimes varied markedly from one issue to the next, which might indicate that the central authority had adopted new weight-standards, for example after the arrival of Cnut.³⁸ However, some features of the data do not support this suggestion. In practice the standard varied from place to place, and there was a gradual decline throughout the period of each issue, although it was not applied uniformly. It is hard to reconcile these features with the idea that a national standard was being rigidly imposed. The over-riding impression is that the king had the power to direct that there should be a new issue of pennies, but he was not able to control how the finer details of his directive were implemented.

One new feature of Edgar's Reform Type was that the place of minting was specified, as well as the name of the moneyer. It is tempting to read into this development the idea that the coins minted at Ipswich (say) should be subject to regulation from an authority located in or near Ipswich. Some such authorities certainly existed in the eleventh century, but their form and effectiveness is a matter of conjecture. It could be that the shires, hundreds, and boroughs played a part in the regulation of coinage, associated with their role in the tax-gathering process. It is possible that coins minted at a certain place were intended only to circulate in the region under the jurisdiction of the relevant local authority. But if that were the intention, it certainly did not happen in practice, because we know that many coins have been found in places very remote from their mints.

The hypothesis of some local control, specifically in the matter of weight-standards, is made more attractive by the complete lack of evidence of any central mechanism. Stewartby summarises what we know about the methods of coin-production, but he concedes that nothing is known about how the mints controlled the mass of the coins they produced.³⁹ Indeed, it is hard to envisage how the smaller eleventh-century mints could have operated a really effective mechanism for monitoring the mass of individual coins. But even in the smallest mints the hammer-men must surely have been instructed that a certain number of coins should contain a fixed amount of silver. The fixed amount might have been determined by a single physical object, a 'mint pound', copies of which were distributed from the centre to all mints. But there is no documentary evidence of this practice, and there are no artefacts that might be the local copies. Of course, historians will tell us not to equate 'absence of evidence' with 'evidence of absence', but in this case the metrological studies also suggest that there was no common standard. For that reason we must consider the alternative possibility that the mass of the coins was determined by the weight-standards customarily used in the locality of the mint. Wulfstan's recommendation for 'one standard of weights, such as is in use in London and in Winchester' is pertinent here.

We do know that a local weight-standard existed in London. Of course, this cannot be taken as a typical example, but it is worthy of note. The will of Æthelgifu (which may date from the late tenth century, although the extant copy is later) mentions a gift of two silver

³⁶ Petersson 1990. See also Jonsson 1977.

³⁷ Metcalf 1998.

³⁸ Nightingale 1984, 197–8.

³⁹ Stewartby 1992, esp. 81.

cups, *ad pondus Hustingae Londonensis*.⁴⁰ This is the first known mention of the husting, an assembly that was later to meet weekly, and which had jurisdiction over commercial matters such as weights and measures. The origin of the husting is very likely to be found in Cnut's establishment of a centre of government in London, rather than the Anglo-Saxon capital of Winchester. A document reliably dated to 1032 records the sale of land for 180 marks of white silver *be hustinges gewihte*.⁴¹

It may be significant that the unit of mass used in these documents is the mark, rather than the ounce, allowing the possibility that the husting-weight was not the same as the one used for the king's coinage, at least after the Danes had left. It is beyond doubt that the citizens of London claimed to have separate jurisdiction over weights and measures in the later medieval period.⁴² In fact, remnants of their jurisdiction survived until the nineteenth century, in the form of the special privileges accorded to the Company of Founders. It would be unwise to rely too much on backward inference to the period before the conquest, but there is at least a suggestion that the distinctive status of London began at that time.

Outside London, we can only begin to guess at the mechanisms by which standards of weight were maintained. Fairs and markets had been held for centuries, and surely the practice of weighing was commonplace. The goods themselves were, in some cases, bought and sold by weight, and we shall have more to say about that later. For the moment, our concern is with weighing the coins and bullion used to pay for the goods, and the means by which an agreed standard was established.

Although the details are unclear, we can make a reasonable guess as to how the common practice evolved. Originally, a payment in precious metal would be assessed by using weights that were approved by the major buyers and sellers, some possibly from abroad. In due course, formal authorities of various kinds (shire and hundred courts, manorial courts, borough courts, religious houses) would take over the existing practice and try to maintain it equitably, for their own sake as well as that of the participants. And when the king realised that trade was something he could tax, he would want to impose a uniform standard that would guarantee his income. The various stages in this process can be traced over many centuries.

We have already mentioned a key figure in the administration during the first part of the eleventh century – Wulfstan, Bishop of London (996–1002) and Archbishop of York (1002–23). He not only copied the old laws of Edgar and Æthelred, but amended them, probably with the aim of providing continuity for the new laws of Cnut. He was clearly concerned to establish the doctrines of 'one money' and 'one weight', but in some respects it seems that his aims were akin to those of his *Homilies*, for which he is better known. A relevant document, possibly written by Wulfstan himself, is known as the *Episcopus*. It outlines the duties of a bishop, emphasising that a bishop must encourage good behaviour in secular matters, as well as moral ones. In particular, he must ensure that the weights and measures used in his diocese are correct. The relevant passage, as given by Liebermann in the original Anglo-Saxon, is the following:

*Ne sceall he gepafian anig unriht ne wih gemet ne fals gewiht; ac hit gebyreð, þæt [b]e his ræde fare be his gewitnesse aghwyle lahriht, ge burhriht ge landriht; æle burghemet æle wægpundern beo be his dihte gescift swiðe rihte, þe læs anig, man ordum misbeode ðourh þæt syngige ealles to swyþe.*⁴³

Loyn provides a summary in modern English:

[A bishop] was to be active in the economic field as well as in the legal, to see by his counsel and witness that each legal right was done according to borough-right and according to land-right, and also to see that each borough-weight and pound-weight was true according to his instructions. Good faith in business was the bishop's concern.

⁴⁰ Whitelock 1930, 100; Thorpe 1865, 533.

⁴¹ Robertson 1956, 170–1.

⁴² Sharpe's *Calendar of Letter Books* (1899–1912) contains several examples of the anomalous relationship between the national standards and those of London. In 1434 (K, 184–6) the Mayor refused to swear to observe the statute 11 H.6 c.8 concerning weights and measures, on the grounds that 'from time immemorial' the standards of the king had been those kept in the City, rather than those in the Exchequer. Indeed, in 1325 (E, 203–4) the king had ordered that the Londoners should make new weights for weighing tin in Cornwall, in order that they should be consistent with the 'standard of London'.

⁴³ Liebermann 1903–16, vol. I, 477–9.

He was to know his flock well, to exhort them to cling to the right and to shun wrong, and to work with the secular judges in drawing up laws that would prevent injustice from arising.⁴⁴

Any attempt to make a verbatim translation would require several questionable assumptions, and might lead us into the trap of thinking that the passage can be understood in the context of the mechanisms of local government in modern times. Loyn gives us an indication of what the author might have meant by *lahriht*, *burhriht*, and *landriht*, but the exact mechanisms are unknown.⁴⁵ All that can be said is that they were forms of social imperative, probably comprehending 'custom and practice' as well as 'law'. The bishop must use his moral authority to ensure that they are implemented consistently. The reference to *æle burghemet æle wægþundern* suggests that local standards of measure and mass were part of the process. Ideally, the local standards should be uniform throughout the kingdom, but the evidence (from the coinage in particular) suggests that they were not.

This is not a new idea, and it is now being taken seriously in mainstream numismatics. For example, with reference to the heavier Expanding Cross type of the Confessor, Metcalf remarks that 'at each mint-place the moneyers put the directive into effect according to their own understanding of its meaning'.⁴⁶ Looking ahead to the Type 7 coins of 1153/4–58, Allen asserts that 'it is possible that there was some real regional variation in the application of the national standard'.⁴⁷

We can now return to the complications arising from the array of accounting units that the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to use in the first half of the eleventh century (Figure 11). Although the mancus was apparently becoming obsolete as a unit of account, the shilling, the ounce, and the ora were still very much alive. It is not clear if the complications were resolved as the result of a definite plan, or if it was just a matter of convenience, but the artefactual and documentary evidence provides a fairly clear picture of how the situation had changed by the early decades of the twelfth century. The traditional approach to these matters has been to examine the fine detail of the coinage, on the assumption that what has survived is a fair representation of what actually existed. Here I shall take a holistic view, and try to show how one simple change could have led to all the observed consequences.

The root of the problem was the uncomfortable relationship between the mark and the pound. The systems shown in Figure 11 implied that the mark was equal to 128 penny-units, of which 240 made a pound. So, in its simplest terms, the mark:pound ratio was 8:15, a rather awkward value. Lyon has analysed some data relating to payments for Danish ships in the reign of Harthacnut (c.1040),⁴⁸ and these confirm that 15 marks were equivalent to 8 pounds as a measure of weight for silver.

Furthermore, the accounting units did not correspond with the reality of the coinage, because for many years 128 pennies did not weigh as much as a mark (about 200 g). However, *if the ora and the ounce were equal*, then both difficulties would be resolved (Figure 12).

First, the mark would become 160 pence, giving a simple mark:pound ratio of 2:3. Secondly, if the ounce-of-weight were given its traditional (Roman) value of about 27 g, then it would correspond to 20 pennies of about 1.35 g, much closer to the usual value in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

With respect to the process of transition, in particular the implementation of the change in the units as quantities of silver, the most troublesome feature would have been that the new ora had 20 pence, whereas the old one had only 16. In the historical record there is an episode that could be interpreted as a botched attempt to deal with this difficulty. Around 1052, the size of Edward's Expanding Cross penny was significantly increased, so that, in most places, it weighed about 1.67 g.⁴⁹ Effectively, this meant that 16 pennies weighed about 27 g, the conjectured mass of the new ora/ounce. The traditional belief was that the issue of the heavy

⁴⁴ Loyn 1962, 238.

⁴⁵ Loyn 1962, 139–45. The Anglo-Saxon approach to 'law' is clearly described by Lambert 2012.

⁴⁶ Metcalf 1998, 160. An early reference to the possibility of regional variation is Jonsson 1977.

⁴⁷ Allen 2006, 263.

⁴⁸ Lyon 2006, 238.

⁴⁹ Metcalf 1998, 158.

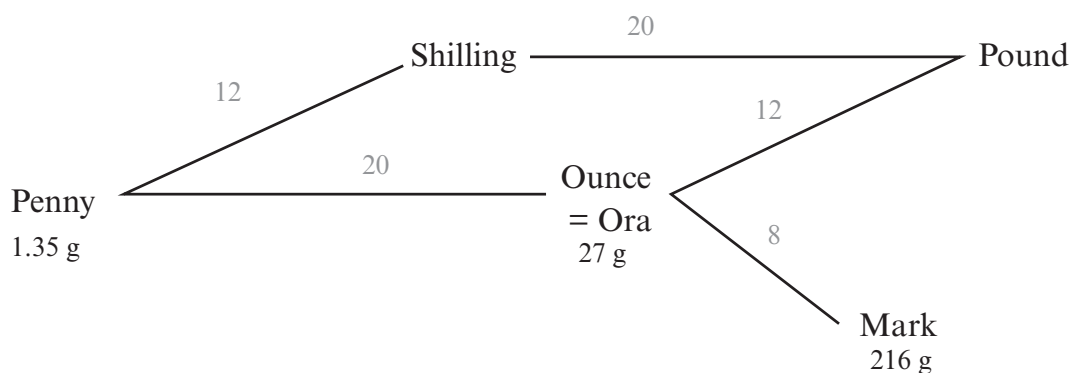


Fig. 12. Units of account and mass, second half of the eleventh century.

coins was linked to the abolition of the heregeld in 1051. On the other hand, Metcalf suggests that it may have been ‘the monetary equivalent of a huge sigh of relief’,⁵⁰ following the reconciliation between Edward and Earl Godwine in 1052. Neither explanation is inconsistent with the administrative reform suggested here. The restoration of a ‘new Roman’ 27 g ounce/ora as the standard might be compared with the return to the Gold Standard in the 1920s, as a proud assertion of the nation’s survival and its renewed strength.

Of course, national pride is not necessarily the best guide in financial matters. We can only guess at the fate of the new heavy pennies, but common sense suggests that they were hoarded by those lucky enough to get hold of them. It must have quickly become obvious that the number of pence minted from one new Roman ounce/ora of silver ought to be 20 not 16, in agreement with the rule that 12 ounces make a pound of 240 pence. This step was implemented with the issue of the Pointed Helmet pennies (*c.*1053). These have an observed average weight of 1.32 g, so that 20 of them weighed nearly 27 g. (In eastern counties the new pennies were lighter, which may indicate the survival of the old ora of about 25 g.)

The details of the process by which the transition to (or restoration of) an ora/ounce of 27 g may never be completely clear. But it is worth reiterating that its consequences are undisputed facts. In the first part of the twelfth century the accounting mark was clearly understood to be 160*d.*, witness many entries in the Pipe Roll of 1130 and elsewhere.⁵¹ Also, despite many periodic changes of type and regional variations, the mass of the minted penny would eventually hover between 1.3 g and 1.4 g.

One piece of evidence for the new ounce/ora is a rather unusual weight (Figure 13). This object is inscribed VN and I I, undoubtedly signifying two ounces. Since its mass is 53.5 g it would appear that the ounces are Roman, and at first it was thought that the object belonged



Fig. 13. A weight for two ora/ounces, eleventh–twelfth century? Private collection.

⁵⁰ Metcalf 1998, 159.

⁵¹ Hunter 1833.

to the Romano-British period. Several bronze ‘cheese-shaped’ weights from that period have been recorded,⁵² but they differ in two very significant ways from the one illustrated here. First, the denomination is indicated by a classical abbreviation; in this case it would be a form of the letters *upsilon beta*. Secondly, they are made of solid bronze, whereas this one has only a bronze casing, with a core that rattles when the object is shaken. This mode of construction is typical of certain weights from the Viking period that are found throughout north-west Europe, including England.⁵³ The Viking weights have an iron core, whereas the weight in Figure 13 is non-magnetic, and is therefore presumed to have a core of lead rather than iron. In Section 3 we shall discuss several other lead weights covered with a bronze sheath (pp. 89–90). This style is definitely not Romano-British, and it is therefore suggested that the object shown in Figure 13 is a medieval weight, associated with the restoration of the 27 g ounce/ora in the eleventh century.

The penny with a mass in the range 1.3–1.4 g appears to have been sustained, subject to only minor drifting and local variations, throughout the final years of the Anglo-Saxons and the coming of the Normans. At one time it was thought that a significant alteration had been made around 1077/8, but that is not supported by the current evidence. For example, Lyon discusses the evidence from a sample of the Paxs pennies and concludes that the average for that issue was 1.37 g.⁵⁴ In the next section we shall look more closely at how the Normans coped with the Anglo-Saxon legacy.

3. From Conquest to Anarchy

It is said that Duke William of Normandy regarded himself as the rightful successor to Edward the Confessor. In his eyes the activities of Harold Godwinson in 1066, like those of Harold’s father in 1051, were simply attempts to disturb the proper order. Clearly, William wished to begin by acting as the leader who would preserve the customs of his saintly predecessor. In matters of weight and coinage, that presented a few problems.

It was not that the Normans were strangers to these matters. Duke William and his followers were very familiar with the so-called ‘denarial economy’, in which all payments, however large, had to be made in silver pennies. But the coinage of Normandy itself was in decline by 1066, the medium of exchange there being mainly coins from other parts of France, and possibly England.⁵⁵ It is also very likely that the Normans were accustomed to systems of weights and measures that varied from place to place. Nevertheless, they must have been rather bemused by some of the Anglo-Saxon practices. The system of coinage could be described as a mixture of sophistication and chaos. There were periodic recoinages to be sure, even if their regularity and dating were not as rigid as some modern numismatists would have us believe. But some of the methods and practices for implementing the recoinages were probably as mysterious to the Normans as they are to us. They had little option but to work with the system as they found it, at least until they had strengthened the sinews of political power.

From the first, the new king needed a reliable source of income, and here he would have encountered the system of accounting units that the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to use. It has been suggested above that the simplified system illustrated in Figure 12 was in use before 1066, but it is possible that the simplification was in fact the work of the Norman administration. In any event, the artefactual and documentary evidence shows that the simplified system was in use by the early decades of the twelfth century.

The raw military power of the Normans enabled them to compile detailed information about the conquered nation, most notably by means of the Domesday survey in 1086. The precise purpose of Domesday remains controversial, but it was clearly used to facilitate the collection of rents and taxes at the king’s treasury, which was now permanently located at

⁵² Collingwood and Wright 1991. See for example, nos. 2412.64, 72, 83, 85.

⁵³ Sperber 1996, Steuer 1997.

⁵⁴ Lyon 2006, 232.

⁵⁵ Mayhew 1988, 33. See also Bisson 1979 for a wide-ranging account of monetary affairs in Normandy.

Winchester. It is a mine of useful information, but many problems of interpretation remain, especially in quantitative matters. Indeed, the apparent definiteness of the data that formed the basis of the assessments is rather misleading. For example, the units of land-measurement, acres and hides, varied from place to place according to local custom and the productivity of the land being assessed.⁵⁶ The practice of making payments in kind was dying out, the payments having been commuted into cash, but the systems that were used for checking and counting the silver coins are still not properly understood. The root of the problem lies in the fact that several different Latin phrases were used to qualify the individual payments. For example, there has been a long-running debate about the entries specifying that a sum of money (so many pounds, shillings, and pence) must be paid *de xx in ora*. The articles by Lyon and Nightingale in this *Journal* must speak for themselves;⁵⁷ our task is to examine how their arguments relate to the broader picture being presented here.

The phrase *de xx in ora* might have several meanings, perhaps the simplest being that twenty of the pennies so rendered must weigh one ora. But, on the basis of the entry for Worcester in particular, it is clear that it must refer to a payment by number, rather than by weight. The metrological picture developed here suggests a simple explanation, which would have had a similar effect in practice. If, as has been claimed, pence at twenty to the new Roman ounce/ora of 27 g (1.35 g each on average) were the norm from about 1053 onwards, then the phrase *de xx in ora* could refer to pennies that were minted after that date. Pennies so specified would be accepted by number, provided that they belonged to the easily recognizable post-1053 types. This is essentially the conclusion reached by Nightingale, although based on a different interpretation of the metrological background.

One of Lyon's objections to this suggestion is based on the Domesday entry for Dover. This includes the item 'the reeve pays 54 pounds, 24 pounds to the King in pence *de xx in ora* and 30 pounds to the Earl by number'. The apparent perversity of the Earl receiving a larger sum than the King could be explained by various practical considerations but, in fact, it is not necessary to resort to special pleading. On the assumption that the King got 24 pounds in post-1053 coins, he ought to receive about 7776 g of silver, while the Earl's 30 pounds could be 7200 pennies of any kind, which might well turn out to weigh less. If the King's silver was destined for re-minting, he would naturally be concerned about its weight and fineness, whereas the Earl's coins could be returned to circulation at face value.

Another contentious issue is the meaning in Domesday of the term 'blanch farm' – or rather, its practical significance. It is possible to see this simply as an accounting device, designed to ensure that coins presumed to be of lower fineness were assessed at a lower rate. Earlier in the eleventh century payments had sometimes been specified as being in 'white silver',⁵⁸ and the implication then was that the coins (or bullion) should appear to be of good fineness. This could be checked by visual inspection of the coins themselves, or by using a touchstone and a set of touch needles. For silver, the touchstone method was certainly available in the eleventh century, and indeed touchstones that may have been used around this time have been found in Winchester.⁵⁹ We do know that sets of touch needles continued to be used at the mints for many centuries thereafter.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, much confusion has arisen from the assumption that the more complicated method of testing fineness by means of the 'fire assay' was in use at the office where rents and taxes were received. It is true that the method of *refining* silver by heating it to drive off base metals had been known since antiquity, but that is not the same as *assaying*.⁶¹ The Domesday references to silver that was *arsas et pensatas* (wrought and weighed) or *ad ignem et ad pensam* (compared by fire and weight) might signify silver that had been refined and tested,

⁵⁶ The acre was defined in terms of a rod (or perch), the length of which varied considerably. This was still true 200 years after Domesday (Oschinsky 1971, 444).

⁵⁷ Nightingale 1983, 254; Lyon 2006, 233.

⁵⁸ See n.41 above.

⁵⁹ Oddy 1983, Figure 10.

⁶⁰ Touch needles were still in use at the Calais mint three hundred years later, when no less than 679 were provided (Martin Allen, BNS address, 22 March 2011). In the sixteenth century Agricola (Hoover and Hoover 1950, 254–61) explained how different sets were used for testing different metals.

⁶¹ Oddy 1983, 54–5.

and was believed to be of the required fineness, because it had been checked by the touchstone and the scales. This refined silver could have been in the form of ingots or plate, as well as coin. There is no implication that assaying by fire was done as part of the tax-collection process. The date of the introduction of the fire assay at the office of receipt is not known for certain, but it probably happened in the first decades of the twelfth century.⁶² Incidentally, there is no documentary evidence about a numerical standard of fineness, and the traditional belief that it was 92.5 per cent is almost certainly wrong.⁶³

One point about which there is general agreement is that a major reorganization of the office of receipt took place in the early years of Henry I.⁶⁴ It was the work of Henry's chancellor Roger, who became Bishop of Salisbury in 1102, justiciar in 1108, and who was the effective head of the administration throughout Henry's reign. The event is usually referred to as the establishment of the 'Exchequer'. The Latin word *scaccario*, meaning a chequered board, appears in a document of 1110,⁶⁵ but its use is actually something of a misnomer. It suggests an accounting device in the form of a board or cloth (known as an abacus), that was divided into squares by vertical and horizontal lines as on a chessboard. Counters were placed on the squares, and the elementary operations of arithmetic were carried out by manipulating them. Boards of this kind had been used since Roman times, because the clumsy system of Roman numerals did not lend itself to practical calculation. Around the turn of the millennium there was a significant innovation, usually associated with Gerbert of Aurillac, who became Pope Sylvester II in 999. The board took on a more sophisticated form, in which numbered counters were arranged in columns according to their 'place-values' (units, tens, hundreds, thousands, and so on). This was the precursor of the decimal system of numeration that we use today. The Hindu-Arabic numerals and the algorithms for calculating with them became known in Europe at the same time, and they were gradually incorporated into the new system. Over a long period the moveable counters were replaced by hand-written numerals, leading to the system of 'pen-reckoning'.⁶⁶ It is sometimes assumed that the Anglo-Saxon mints were capable of adjusting the mass of their coins within very fine limits. But it is worth remembering that, without the Hindu-Arabic numerals and algorithms, precise calculations of the required kind were incredibly difficult.

Given this background it is probable that the major innovation introduced by Roger of Salisbury was an improved form of the abacus, similar to the one illustrated in a famous manuscript at St John's College, Oxford, but specially adapted for calculating in pounds, shillings, and pence.⁶⁷ There is some evidence that Adelard of Bath, who was the leading English scholar of the day, and who was surely familiar with the new arithmetic, was involved in this development.⁶⁸ If that is so, the accounting methods at the new 'Exchequer' were actually based on an abacus that was rather less like a chessboard than hitherto. With this understanding, it is safe to drop the quotation marks, and speak of the Exchequer in the accepted way.

The new Exchequer was initially based in Winchester, where the office of receipt for the king's treasury was located. Two very unusual weight-objects have been found there (Figure 14) and they appear to reflect the city's importance as a financial centre, as well as the metrological changes described in Section 2 (pp. 85–6). They are composed mainly of lead, covered with a decorative copper-alloy sheath.

The first one (3195) was a casual find in 1908. It is in very good condition and weighs 202 g, indicating that it was intended for checking a mark of silver at the old Viking level. The fine construction suggests an official purpose, which could have been checking payments in coin at the office of receipt, or weighing bullion brought directly to a local mint. The second one

⁶² In the *Dialogus* (Johnson, 1983, 42–3) it is stated that the fire assay was introduced by Roger of Salisbury some years after he began supervising the Exchequer.

⁶³ Brand 1994, 58.

⁶⁴ Poole 1955, 415–16.

⁶⁵ Poole 1955, 416, n.1.

⁶⁶ Biggs 2009. The account given in Chapter III of Poole 1912 has stood the test of time remarkably well.

⁶⁷ Oxford, St John's College, MS 17, f.42r, available online at <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/>.

⁶⁸ Poole 1955, 244.

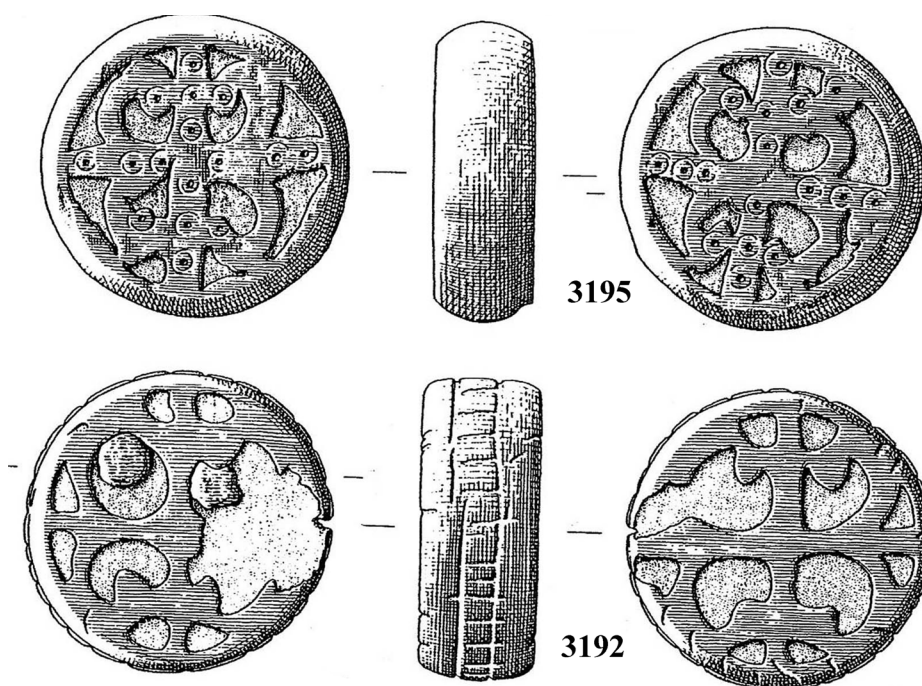


Fig. 14. Two lead weights with decorative copper-alloy sheaths. Biddle 1990, Figure 280. Reproduced by permission of the Winchester Excavations Committee.

(3192) was found in the archaeological excavations of the 1980s. It is similar to the object just described, but there is slight damage to the sheath, and the mass is 214 g. So there is good reason to suppose that it was used for checking a mark of silver at the level of the ounce/ora of 27 g. The fact that these weights were found in Winchester reminds us of Wulfstan's reference (Section 2, p. 80) to the standard of weights 'as in London and Winchester'.

A few other weights of the same general form as the two Winchester weights have been found, but none of them is quite so decorative.⁶⁹ The weight shown in Figure 15 was found on the north bank of the Humber, and is in fairly good condition. Its mass is 107 g, suggesting a half-mark at the post-1053 standard.



Fig. 15. A lead weight with a copper-alloy sheath: 107 g, diameter 37 mm, thickness 12 mm. Private collection.

These sheathed weights are very rare in comparison with round lead weights that have no protective covering. The latter are found regularly, both in supervised excavations and by metal-detectorists. In fact the plethora of material has hitherto been in stark contrast to the complete lack of any considered discussion of their function and date. Many were illustrated as

⁶⁹ Examples similar to that shown in Figure 15 can be seen on the PAS website (www.finds.org.uk): NMS-07E411 (=UKDFD 3117) with a mass of 99.5 g, and HAMP-EEBC91, with a slightly different sheath and a mass of 76 g.

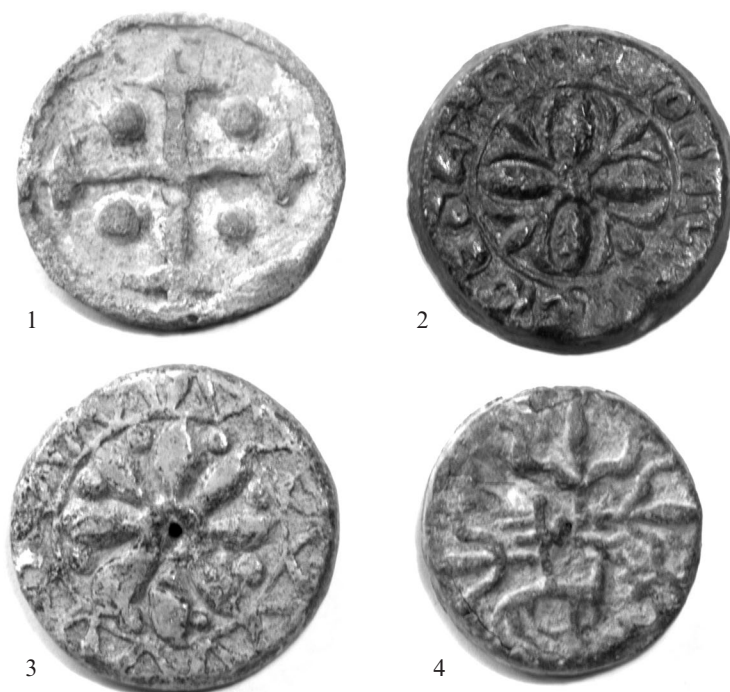


Fig. 16. Four lead weights that may have been used for checking payments in silver. Data for each are given in the text. Private collection.

part of the Rogers Collection,⁷⁰ but no attempt was made to go beyond the obvious facts: they are round, made of lead, and the design has been produced by casting in a mould. The designs are often nondescript, but in some cases they seem to resemble coin-types. There are now enough good examples to justify an attempt to place these weights in their historical context, although the suggestions made here must be regarded as tentative and subject to modification in the light of future discoveries. We shall discuss four examples (Figure 16) in which the design itself is clear, even though its significance is open to debate.

Figure 16.1 has a 'cross and pellets' design, similar to that appearing on the reverse of silver pennies going back to the ninth century, at least. In the early Norman period it occurs on coins of the Paxs type, although in that case the pellets are more complex. The design appears on many lead objects, with a variety of sizes, and many of them could well be tokens or jetons.⁷¹ The object shown here is well-preserved, and it has the general appearance of a weight. Its diameter is 43 mm, thickness 6 mm, and mass 78 g. It may have been used for checking a payment of five shillings (60*d.*), in which case the pennies must have weighed at least 1.30 g.

Figure 16.2 resembles the reverse of the type 14 pennies of Henry I, issued *c.* 1123–25, and often known as the 'Pellets in Quatrefoil' type. This object is unusual in that it bears an inscription, but unfortunately the only part of it that can be deciphered with confidence are the letters OMN. It is possible that it is a contraction of the well-known biblical quotation *omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti*, 'thou hast ordered all things by measure and number and weight'.⁷² This piece is slightly smaller than the previous one (diameter 42 mm, thickness 5 mm, mass 73 g). If it was intended for checking five shillings-worth of pennies, the pennies must have weighed at least 1.22 g.

Figure 16.3 is similar to 16.2, but with a more generic design and a border of Vs instead of the inscription. These two items have the same diameter, but Figure 16.3 is slightly thicker, and

⁷⁰ Biggs and Withers 2000.

⁷¹ Biggs and Withers 2000, 24, items 35–8.

⁷² Wisdom XI, 20.

its mass is 96 g. The two pieces illustrate the problem of identifying weights that may have been used for checking payments in multiples of a penny, when the multiple cannot be inferred.⁷³ If Figure 16.3 is a five-shilling weight (60*d.*) the pennies must have weighed about 1.60 g, but if it is a half-mark weight (80*d.*) the pennies must have weighed about 1.20 g.

Figure 16.4 has a rather different design, but is roughly the same size as the others (diameter 37 mm, thickness 7 mm, mass 65 g). One element of the design appears to be a representation of the paschal lamb, and there are three other elements, all similar, which may represent fleurs. The paschal lamb was the seal of the Knights Templar, who were active in England from about 1120 onwards. By the end of the twelfth century they had established themselves as financiers to the crown, and Figure 16.4 may be connected with that aspect of their activities. It could have been used to check payments in pennies of the 1.35 g standard, in which case it would represent four shillings (48*d.*). But it may well date from a later period, when the pennies were heavier.

It is worth repeating that there are many different kinds of lead objects which appear to date from the high middle ages. It is being argued here that some of these objects were intended for checking payments in the era of the ‘denarial economy’, which began to decline with the re-introduction of gold coins in the thirteenth century. There are numerous difficulties that prevent definite proof of this claim, but there are also sound reasons for considering it. First, the possible alternative uses of the objects, such as weighing salt or spices, would not appear to justify the elaborate designs on some of them. Secondly, there must have been some means of checking payments made in batches of pennies, and these objects are the most likely candidates.

There is plenty of documentary evidence that large payments in pennies were routine in the twelfth century, and we might hope to find some mention of the methods that were used to check them by looking at the documents produced in the great religious houses of the period. The abbeys and priories were certainly involved in extensive commercial operations, and there are indeed references to the weights and measures that were used. But great care is needed in interpreting these documents because (as already noted above) some of them are derived from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. The very first document transcribed by Hall and Nicholas in their *Select Tracts* is said to be ‘officially ascribed to the tenth or eleventh century’, and the editors comment that ‘the classification and values of these weights and measures are confused by an unintelligent scribe’.⁷⁴ A typically baffling statement, *dragma est quantum denarius i argenteus pensat* appears to claim that ‘a dragma weighs as much as a silver penny’. Now the dragma (drachma) was a fraction of a Roman ounce, usually one-eighth but sometimes one-sixth, and so well over 3 g. The English silver penny was never remotely as heavy as that, even in the wildest variations of the eleventh century. The only possible conclusion is that this document does not refer to the commercial operations of its time, but is actually an historical account of the old Roman coins and weights.

Another document from the same collection is ascribed to the eleventh or early twelfth centuries, and this one does appear to contain contemporary information:

Justa Gallos xx^a pars uncie denarius est, et xii denarii solidum reddunt. Ideoque iusta numerum denariorum iii^{is} uncie v^{ue} solidos complent, sic et v^{ue} solidi in tres uncias redduntur. Nam xii uncie libram xx solidos continentem efficiunt. Sed veteres solidum, qui nunc aureus dicitur, nuncupabant.

According to the Gauls, a penny is a 20th part of an ounce, and 12 pennies make a shilling. By the same reckoning, the numbers of pennies in 3 ounces and 5 shillings are the same, and so 5 shillings is three ounces. Hence a pound of 12 ounces contains 20 shillings. But we do not mean the old shillings, said to have been gold.⁷⁵

Other documents from the early twelfth century can offer relevant insights, subject to the usual warnings. In particular, there are two manuscripts that contain instructions for using the improved abacus with Hindu-Arabic numerals,⁷⁶ confirming that this mode of calculation was

⁷³ Biggs 2011, Appendix 1C.

⁷⁴ Hall and Nicholas 1929, 1 (London, British Library Harl. 3017, f. 181).

⁷⁵ Hall and Nicholas 1929, 5 (London, British Library Reg. 13A XI f. 141b).

⁷⁶ One, ascribed to Turchill, is described in some detail by Poole 1912, 48.

already known in England, and could indeed have been introduced at the Exchequer by Roger of Salisbury. One of these manuscripts contains an enormous amount of useful information, including a table of weights and measures, with some interesting variants on the classical system of Isidore.⁷⁷

It seems unlikely that we shall ever see the metrological picture of the reign of Henry I in full detail.⁷⁸ Numismatists have long been intrigued by the events of 1124/5, when the moneyers were summoned to Winchester and mutilated for their misdeeds. It has been suggested that this event heralded the end of the system of periodic recoinages,⁷⁹ and possibly the introduction of other new practices. Whatever actually happened, it must be concluded that standardization was not an accomplished fact at that time. Martin Allen's recent survey of the evidence regarding Henry's pennies of type 14, minted around the time of the event, supports that view with quantitative evidence.⁸⁰

Henry died in 1135 and his nephew Stephen seized the crown. One of Stephen's first acts was to secure for himself the Treasury at Winchester, and with it the person of Roger of Salisbury. The new king treated Roger with contempt, and in due course he acquired the bishop's lands and his personal fortune. Given this background it is rather surprising to find that the minting of coins continued at all, but it did, albeit with very poor workmanship. Later, when civil war broke out, coins were also issued by Matilda, the rival claimant to the throne, and a few barons. The general picture seems to be that trade and commerce carried on, but clearly there was no hope of enforcing the king's writ throughout the nation.⁸¹ In such circumstances there could be no progress towards replacing local standards of mass and measure with national ones.

Stephen's son Eustace died in 1153, and he was persuaded to name Henry, Duke of Anjou, as his successor. Henry II duly acceded to the throne in the following year. Coins of Stephen's last type (type 7) continued to be struck for a few years, and this type has also been carefully studied by Martin Allen, who concludes that the average mass was about 1.33 g. This is consistent with the traditional standard of twenty to the ounce/ora of 27 g that had been in place for about a century, but seems to be below the standard used at the mints from 1158 onwards.⁸²

4. The Tower pound and the *Dialogus*

Henry II was master of lands extending from Northumbria to the Pyrenees, of which England comprised only a minor part. Nevertheless, England was important in his plans for territorial expansion because there had been (at one time) a well-developed system for providing its ruler with large amounts of cash. It is not surprising that Henry was keen to restore this system and, if possible, to improve it. That would require complex mechanisms for managing the coinage and its relationship with the payments made at the Exchequer. Although some documentary evidence in the form of the Pipe Rolls is available for this period, it is far from complete.⁸³ Furthermore, and probably by design, not all the king's income was recorded in the rolls.⁸⁴ Thus it is hardly surprising that some pieces of the administrative jigsaw are still missing.

The most visible of Henry's reforms was the recoinage of 1158. In the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, an invaluable document written about twenty years after the event, we find an assertion that has a familiar ring:

... postquam rex illustris cuius laus est in rebus magnis excellentior sub monarchia sua per uniuersum regnum unum pondus et unam monetam instituit ...

... our noble King, whose great deeds win the highest praise, appointed one weight and one money throughout all the realm under his sway ...⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Oxford, St John's College, MS 17; available online at <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17>.

⁷⁸ Allen 2012, 138–42 provides the fullest available discussion of the metrology of the coinage of Henry I.

⁷⁹ Blackburn 1990.

⁸⁰ Allen 2009, 97.

⁸¹ Poole 1955, 150–7. Blackburn 1994, 169–73 discusses the metrology of the various coinages of the reign of Stephen.

⁸² Allen 2006, 233.

⁸³ Mayhew 1992, 85.

⁸⁴ Gillingham 1984, 145.

⁸⁵ Johnson 1983, 10.

So the illustrious King Henry II had decreed that there should be one weight and one money throughout the realm. Of course, this is not new: Wulfstan had decided that Edgar intended to say something similar long ago, but neither Edgar nor Wulfstan had made much progress towards implementing the ‘one weight’ claim. The belief that Henry’s decree may have been more than a vain hope depends on another statement from the *Dialogus*: ... *et ad idem pondus omnes monetarii teneantur operari* ... (...and all moneyers are bound to work to the same weight).⁸⁶

Here is an authoritative contemporary statement to the effect that all moneyers work to the same weight standard – but, as usual, there is no indication of what that standard might have been, or how it was transmitted to the moneyers.

From the numismatic point of view the recoinage of 1158 has one obvious feature, a new type of reverse for the penny, with a ‘cross-and-crosslets’ design. It can be inferred that there were several other changes in the organization of the mints and moneyers, some of them completely new, and some being simply restoration of practices that had lapsed under Stephen.⁸⁷ We do not know how the supply of silver for the new coinage was obtained, but we do know that the dies from which the coins were struck were made centrally, so there must have been a mechanism for distributing them. The same mechanism could have been used for distributing ingots of silver and standard weights, but there is no direct evidence of that. We also know that in 1158 the number of mints was reduced significantly, but maintaining control over them would still have been a difficult task.

Despite the lack of documentary evidence, 1158 is important from the metrological point of view because it could well mark the introduction of a truly national standard of mass. The evidence of the coins suggests that the Cross-and-Crosslet pennies were significantly heavier than their predecessors. Instead of an average of about 1.35 g, the new pennies seem to be close to 1.46 g. This would imply a pound of 240×1.46 g, that is, about 350 g. Significantly, there is good independent evidence for this value. In 1526 the standard pound then in use at the Tower mint was replaced by a new standard, which we know as the *English-troy pound*. The ratio between the two standards was stated explicitly to be 15:16, and by a chain of reliable and well-documented comparisons we can be fairly certain that the English-troy pound was about 373 g.⁸⁸ Thus the earlier pound would have been about $15/16 \times 373$ g, or 350 g. That is almost surely the magnitude of the *Tower pound*, which is mentioned by that name in documents going back to 1280. The period from 1158 to 1280 is an irritating gap in an otherwise convincing picture, but there is no evidence of a change in the mint standard during that period. So, although the introduction in 1158 of the Tower pound of 350 g cannot be totally beyond doubt, it is by far the most likely hypothesis.

Some circumstantial evidence is provided by the administrative background to the changes of 1158, in particular the restoration of the Exchequer under Henry II. Henry himself was born and raised in France, but he visited England often and it is thought that around 1145 he had encountered Adelard of Bath.⁸⁹ After his accession he set out to re-establish the kind of administration that Adelard had helped to set up in the era of Roger of Salisbury. At the Exchequer, the key figure was Nigel, bishop of Ely, who was persuaded by Henry to oversee the restoration.⁹⁰ His qualifications were twofold – he had been treasurer in the time of Henry I, and he was the nephew of Roger of Salisbury. Nigel’s son, Richard fitz Nigel, was officially appointed as treasurer, possibly as early as 1156.⁹¹ These two men were responsible for what historians like to call the ‘technical details’ of the Exchequer, and they may well have also been involved in planning the recoinage of 1158. The fact that Richard fitz Nigel was the author of the *Dialogus*, which contains the passage about the *idem pondus* quoted above, reinforces this conjecture. If the *idem pondus* was the Tower pound, we could rest easy.

⁸⁶ Johnson 1983, 12.

⁸⁷ Mayhew 1992, 87–92.

⁸⁸ Biggs 2011, Appendix 1A.

⁸⁹ Haskins 1913.

⁹⁰ Johnson 1983, 42.

⁹¹ Karn 2007, 311.

The relationship between the mints and the Exchequer leads us to consider why the magnitude of the new pound might have been set at 350 g. One possible explanation lies in the French connections of the king and his officials. Great fairs had been held at the city of Troyes in the Champagne region of France since the time of Charlemagne, and there was a mint at Troyes in the tenth century, if not earlier.⁹² In 1147 there is a reference to the 'mark of Troyes' as a weight-standard,⁹³ and by the end of the twelfth century it was recognized as a benchmark. For example, in 1188 Pierre de Courtenay established for the county of Nevers a coinage of pennies to be minted at the rate of *xvi solidos et viii denarios de pondere in marca Trecensi*.⁹⁴ This mark of Troyes was also the mark of Paris, and became the basis for what we shall call the *French-troy* weight-system. (For the avoidance of doubt, it must be stressed that it was not the same as the later *English-troy* system mentioned above.) There is good evidence that the French-troy mark was about 245 g, although this can be established with absolute certainty back to about 1266 only.⁹⁵ The coincidence of this hiatus with the gap in the English evidence is unfortunate, especially so because we have explicit records of the relationship between the French-troy system and the Tower system from the fourteenth century onwards. The Tower pound of 350 g implied a mark of 233 g, so the ratio between these two marks was 21:20. According to Pegolotti that was the exact ratio in about 1320,⁹⁶ and it was confirmed by the men of science in the eighteenth century.⁹⁷

The fact that French-troy weight had a 21:20 relationship with Tower weight led Pamela Nightingale to suggest that the magnitude of the Tower pound was chosen for that reason.⁹⁸ If silver was received by the French-troy weight, and paid for in coins minted by the Tower weight, there would be a profit of one penny for each 20 penny-weights received. There are several reasons for doubting that this mechanism was implemented in practice,⁹⁹ or indeed that the French-troy system was ever used officially as a weight-standard in England, but the neatness of the ratio may well have been the initial motivation for establishing the Tower mark of 233 g. An alternative motivation would have been to establish a simple ratio between the old mark of 216 g and the new one, in which case the ratio 15:16 would be a candidate. But here we must stop, lest we enter that branch of historical metrology which 'manipulates figures and calculates correspondences among standards almost in a vacuum'.¹⁰⁰

It is also worth stressing that many questions can never be answered by arithmetic alone. What is the significance of the word *sterling*? The evidence cited above (Section 3, pp. 88–9) suggests that it was a standard of fineness rather than a standard of weight. Here the observations of Grierson remain pertinent,¹⁰¹ but they need to be integrated with more recent research. Why did Henry II introduce heavier coins, if profit was his main aim? It must imply that there were alternative mechanisms for guaranteeing a decent return, particularly in the transitional period immediately after 1158. Indeed, a subsidiary question arises naturally: was the pound of the Exchequer (*libram scaccarii*), as mentioned in the *Dialogus*,¹⁰² the same as the pound used at the mints? And finally: how many pence were produced from a pound of silver at the mints? There is now good evidence that the number was always slightly more than 240.¹⁰³

Taking a broader view of the metrological picture, it appears that the basic mass-units, the ounce/ora, the mark, and the pound, increased in magnitude several times in the high middle ages, as shown in Table 1. Whether this happened by accident or design is unclear.

Ideally, we should like to be able to trace the changes by looking at the weights that have survived. But there are many reasons why weight-objects can present a confusing picture: for

⁹² Mayhew 1988, 26.

⁹³ Nightingale, 1985, 205.

⁹⁴ Bisson 1979, 136 and 201–2.

⁹⁵ *Inventaire* 1990, 20.

⁹⁶ Evans 1936, 245.

⁹⁷ Connor and Simpson 2004, 334–41.

⁹⁸ Nightingale 1985, 205.

⁹⁹ Lyon 2008, 194.

¹⁰⁰ Lang and Crosby 1964, 1.

¹⁰¹ Grierson 1961.

¹⁰² Johnson 1983, 11.

¹⁰³ Allen 2012, 144–7.

TABLE 1. Approximate values of mass-units.

	<i>Viking</i> 9th–11th century	<i>New Roman</i> 1053?–1158?	<i>Tower</i> 1158?–1526	<i>French-troy</i> ?	<i>English-troy</i> c.1380–1965
Ounce/Ora	25 g	27 g	29.2 g	30.5 g	31.1 g
Mark	200 g	216 g	233 g	245 g	—
Pound	—	324 g	350 g	367 g	373 g

instance, it is rare for a weight from this period to display its denomination or purpose, and the objects themselves usually show clear signs of wear, which means that their intended mass can only be estimated. In this light, we can only hope to find clues by examining the artefactual evidence closely, but sceptically.

One class of objects that has not been mentioned thus far is the series of square lead weights. They bear some resemblance to the round ones discussed in Section 3 (pp. 91–2), but there is even less evidence of uniformity regarding their design or purpose. Some of them could well go back to the early medieval period, and may have been used for weighing commodities in the markets.¹⁰⁴ But some, such as those shown in Figure 17, have ‘cross-and-pellet’ designs that might indicate the weighing of coins or bullion. The masses of these particular examples (240 g and 295 g) are unhelpful. However, another square weight (Figure 18) has the design of the game known as Nine Men’s Morris, and is interesting because its mass of 233 g is exactly right for a Tower mark. It could have been used for checking a payment of one mark in silver.



Fig. 17. Two square lead weights with cross-and-pellet designs. On the left: 240 g, 53 × 50 × 14 mm; found near Chelmsford. On the right: 295 g, 51 × 47 × 8 mm. Private collection.



Fig. 18. A square lead weight with the Nine Men’s Morris design: mass 233 g, height 18 mm, side 44 mm. Private collection.

¹⁰⁴ Biggs and Withers 2000. Some of the items illustrated, such as nos. 58–60, p. 28, may date from the early medieval period.

A rather different style of weight, the so-called ‘cup-weight’, might possibly reveal useful information.¹⁰⁵ Most weights of this kind are made of a copper alloy, which is more durable than lead, and so the observed mass is likely to be a fairly good indicator of the intended value. The style originated in Roman times, and appears to have been revived in the twelfth century, one characteristic feature being that the rims are decorated with the ring-and-dot motif that can be traced back by various routes to the influence of Islam (see Figure 7, p. 79). This fact, together with their widespread distribution, suggests that the cup-weights were used by merchants whose business involved payments in gold or silver, as well as by the goldsmiths who worked with the metals. However, the evidence relating specifically to the twelfth century is, as yet, far too vague to form the basis of any definite conclusions.

5. Weight and coinage in 1200

By the end of the twelfth century there had been some progress towards ‘one money and one weight’, but the ideal was far from being achieved. The mints were under central control and uniformity was supposed to be the order of the day, but the raggedness of the coins themselves does nothing to convince us that strict supervision was being enforced. John Brand’s careful investigations into the organization of the mints and exchanges are remarkable, in that he found no mention whatsoever of the distribution of standard weights to the mints, although he was able to find evidence of the distribution of dies, and even standards of fineness.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the evidence for the Tower pound of 350 g as the standard used at the mints is almost conclusive. It is also reasonable to think that the Exchequer was operating efficiently and, consequently, that the royal rents and taxes were being paid in silver of good weight and fineness. But many questions of detail remain, despite the evidence of the *Dialogus*. Outside the royal administration there was clearly a lot to be done before standards of mass could be imposed nationwide. The problem had been recognized in the days of Wulfstan, but a satisfactory conclusion was not achieved until the end of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, many writers have assumed that uniform systems of ‘troy’ and ‘avoirdupois’ weight were already well-established in the twelfth century, and this has led to the widespread acceptance of anachronistic conclusions.

The mention of ‘avoirdupois’ leads to the question of weighing commodities other than the precious metals. The precious metals (including coins) were used in the markets to buy goods, and were weighed to check their value. In some cases the goods themselves were sold by weight, although many common items, such as grain, were assessed by measuring their volume rather than their weight. Furthermore, there were different weight-systems for different goods: indeed the existence of a generic ‘mercantile pound’ is debatable. The observed variability of the contemporary weight-objects, especially the leaden ones which could have been used as market-weights, does not suggest uniformity. It is true that by the end of the *thirteenth* century there was a mercantile pound of 15 ounces, the ounce being the one in use at that time for weighing precious metals, where the pound was 12 ounces. But the earlier evidence is sketchy. There is a reference to a 15-ora pound in the law code IV Æthelred but it is unsatisfactory because it is known only in the form of a Latin copy from the twelfth century.¹⁰⁷ Not surprisingly, several different interpretations of the relevant passage have been proposed.¹⁰⁸ It could simply be a statement of the fact that 15 oras of 16 pence made a pound of 240 pence, as shown in Figure 11. On the other hand it could be an early attempt to establish a relationship between the units of weight used for commercial goods and those used for coin and bullion. If so, it was ahead of its time.

There are very few documentary references to units of weight for commodities before the Norman conquest. In III Edgar it is stated that a *wey* of wool shall be sold for 120 pence.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Biggs 2011, Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁶ Brand 1994, *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ Screen 2007, 168.

¹⁰⁸ Lyon 1969, 214; Nightingale 1984, 234.

¹⁰⁹ Screen 2007, 166.

This looks rather like one of Wulfstan's later additions, but it surely dates from before the Conquest. Of course we do not know precisely the magnitude of the wey (or the penny for that matter) at that time. In the fourteenth century there were attempts to relate the system used for weighing wool to a generic mercantile pound, and eventually it was accepted that a *sack* of wool, then equal to two weys, should be 364 'avoirdupois' pounds of 454 g. On that basis, it is reasonable to suppose that in the days of Edgar and Wulfstan a wey of wool was in the range 80–5 kg. The point is that, in practice, a unit of this size would have been incommensurable with the units employed for regulating the coinage.

At the end of the twelfth century it seems likely that most commodities were still sold by local and customary weight-systems, in units that were unrelated to the pounds used at the mints and the Exchequer. However, some far-sighted royal officials had recognized the need for an objective standard of mass, and for it to be widely available for comparison. One possibility was to use the current silver penny for this purpose. The evidence for this comes from the Assize of Bread, a sophisticated mechanism for regulating the size of the loaf of bread that was traditionally sold for the fixed price of one-farthing. As the price of grain varied, the size of the loaf varied accordingly: if, for example, grain became more expensive, then the loaf was smaller. The idea may have originated in the Carolingian era, but the earliest English version of the Assize of Bread dates from the time of Henry II.¹¹⁰ From our point of view the significant point is that the size of the loaf was expressed as a weight in units of pounds, shillings, and pence. It would not have been feasible to weigh each loaf against penny coins, but the weights that were used for this purpose could, in theory, be checked by anyone who had enough pennies. The current pennies were based on the Tower pound, so that the weight of a loaf was in fact being stipulated in the Tower weight-system. (Much confusion has been created by Connor's belief that the system was in fact English-troy, but he subsequently withdrew from that position.¹¹¹)

Richard, son of Henry II, was crowned in 1189, and at his coronation he is said to have made the usual heroic declaration that there should be 'one weight' throughout his realm.¹¹² Richard was soon to be distracted by simpler forms of heroic endeavour, but fortunately some progress was made in his absence. In 1196 there was issued at Westminster a document referred to as the Assize of Measures, attributed to Hubert Walter (justiciar 1193–98). One objective of the Assize was to standardize the measures used in the cloth trade, and in this matter it had a very significant consequence for the history of English metrology: the institution of a standard yard made of iron. The practice of constructing and distributing physical objects in order to establish uniformity of weights and measures was known in antiquity, but its implementation in medieval England almost certainly begins with the Assize of 1196. Yard measures of iron are referred to in several contemporary documents.¹¹³

The impact of this Assize on weights and weight-systems is less clear. The original Latin version, as published by Stubbs in the *Chronica* of Roger of Hoveden, contains the sentence:

*Pondera etiam et librae et caeterae pesiae sint ejusdem quantitatis in toto regno, secundum diversitatem mercaturarum.*¹¹⁴

Weights also, and scales, and other measures of dimension, are to be of the same quantity throughout the kingdom, according to the different nature of the commodities.¹¹⁵

This indicates the imposition of common standards of weight *in toto regno*, but seems to confirm the view, stated above, that different weight-systems could be used for different commodities. The Pipe Roll for 1197 contains some relevant entries. In the London and Middlesex account there is a payment of £11 11s. 6d. for 'a purchase to make iron rods and beams and weights to send to all the counties of England'.¹¹⁶ The sum of money is substantial, but unlikely

¹¹⁰ Cunningham 1910, 567–9.

¹¹¹ Connor 1987, 197. For his change of view, see Connor and Simpson 2004, 106. A recent discussion of the Assize of Bread, but assuming troy units, has been given by Davis 2004.

¹¹² Connor 1987, 90.

¹¹³ Connor 1987, 91, 234.

¹¹⁴ Stubbs 1871, 33–4.

¹¹⁵ Trans. Riley 1853, 410.

¹¹⁶ Stenton 1931, xxij, 160.

to have been sufficient to pay for the enterprise in full. There are a few other entries in the pipe roll, indicating that standards may have been made locally, but paid for by the Exchequer.¹¹⁷ The limitations of this procedure are obvious, and sadly it was to be many years before an effective distribution of weight-standards was achieved.

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¹¹⁷ Stenton 1931, 17, 24.

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THE CARLISLE MINT COINAGES OF HENRY I, STEPHEN, DAVID I AND EARL HENRY

JOHN MATTINSON AND PETER CHERRY

Introduction

THIS paper is intended to publish details of three newly discovered pennies of the Carlisle mint, an overstruck penny of either Henry I or Earl Henry¹ and two *Cross Fleury* pennies of Earl Henry by the moneyer Ricard, and to put them into the context of the early history of the Carlisle mint and also into the wider context of the Border counties in the reign of Stephen. It will also, briefly, cover other types issued at Carlisle in the names of Henry I, Stephen and David I and Earl Henry. Until recently, the sequence of types issued from the Carlisle mint seemed fairly straightforward but more recent discoveries have muddled the waters somewhat and have raised many interesting questions.

The mint at Carlisle is likely to have been established following the recorded visit of Henry I to the city in 1122. Silver for coinage was being obtained during the 1120s as a by-product of the smelting of argentiferous lead ores from the north Pennine orefields near Alston. The supply of silver was clearly sufficient to support a small local coinage. There are several interesting published discussions of the Alston Moor lead and silver mines and their output by Blanchard, Claughton and Allen,² each of whom have come to different conclusions about the amount of silver produced. The relative scarcity of the coins today would seem to support the Allen view that silver production was less than that stated by Blanchard and Claughton.

Henry I's coinage of Carlisle

The earliest known coins from the Carlisle mint are of Henry I's *Pellets in Quatrefoil* type (*BMC type 14*), moneyer Durant (Fig. 1), which is consistent with the dating of the mint's opening after the visit of Henry I to the city in 1122 and also with type 14 beginning c. 1123 and type 15 soon after the Assize of the Moneyers in 1125, as proposed by Blackburn.³ Although we do not know if Durant was one of the moneyers who were mutilated during the Assize of the Moneyers, or whether he bought off his punishment, he certainly seems to have fallen out of favour with Henry I. The only other of his coins that we have is an irregular one in the name of Henric – see Fig 4. below (p. 103) and possibly some from the Edinburgh mint where a Derind coined for David.



Fig. 1. Henry I type 14, moneyer Durant, +DVRANT:ON:CARLI (JM collection).

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¹ Henry, the son of David I of Scotland, will be referred to as Earl Henry, except where the context makes this unnecessary, in order to distinguish him from Henry I and Henry of Anjou (later Henry II). He was granted the earldom of Huntingdon after the first Treaty of Durham in 1136 and the earldom of Northumbria after the second Treaty of Durham in 1139.

² Blanchard 2001, 583–685; Claughton 2003, 148–9; Allen 2011, 121–4.

³ Blackburn 1990, 68–73.

Coins of Henry I's *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type (*BMC* type 15) were struck by the moneyer Erembald, a name of Flemish origin which may indicate a connection with imported mining skills (Fig 2).⁴



Fig. 2. Henry I type 15, moneyer Erembald, +EREBALD[ON:C]AR (PC collection).

Scottish issues from the Carlisle mint

On the death of Henry I in December 1135, Stephen of Blois, Henry's nephew, crossed the Channel, secured the crown for himself and was crowned king on 22 December. Almost immediately David I of Scotland invaded the northern counties of England, gaining control of Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, Wark, Alnwick and Norham and much of the present day counties of Cumbria (Cumberland and Westmorland) and Northumberland. Stephen hurried north to York with a large army and then continued to Durham, where he arrived on 5 February 1136 and confronted David. David's action may have been motivated by his vow of allegiance made in 1127 to support the claim to the English throne of his niece, Matilda, but was more likely an attempt to regain territory that, until 1092, had been part of Scotland and which he regarded as his rightful inheritance. This view is given added weight because, in the negotiations which followed and which led to the first Treaty of Durham in 1136, David's primary aim seems to have been territorial gain rather than advancing his niece's claim to the English throne. An added incentive may have been the wish to gain access to the recently discovered lead and silver deposits at Nenthead, near Alston in the northern Pennines. As part of the treaty of Durham, Henry, David's son, performed homage to Stephen and, in return, was granted the earldom of Huntingdon and the lordships of Doncaster and Carlisle. David gave up four of the five towns he had captured but retained Carlisle with its mint.⁵

Following the taking of Carlisle by David, the numismatic picture becomes confused, as a series of types were issued under Scottish control for both David and Earl Henry. These fall into four broad groups:

- a. *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* types, similar to Henry I type 15
- b. Coins of David I of Scotland copying Stephen *BMC* type 1
- c. Coins in the name of David with cross and pellet in annulets
- d. *Cross Fleury* types in the name of Earl Henry (and David I?).

Scottish group a. *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* types, similar to Henry I type 15

One type in the name of David by moneyer Erembald has, hitherto, been regarded as a possible first issue by the Scots immediately following the taking of Carlisle by David, prior to the first Treaty of Durham (Fig 3).⁶ However, recent discoveries make that attribution less secure. Firstly, there is a coin of this type in the name of 'HENRIC' by the moneyer Durand (Fig. 4.), probably the same person as the Durant who first struck coins at Carlisle, and possibly the Derind who struck coins for David at Edinburgh.⁷ This coin is small and lightweight, measuring 17.6 mm in diameter and weighing 0.97 g (14.97 grains) and almost seems to be a 'mule'

⁴ Stewart 1971, 193.

⁵ Stringer 1993, 28–48; King 2010, 53–4.

⁶ Stewart 1971, 193.

⁷ Stewart 1967, 5. Spink Coin Auction 6018, 26 Sept. 2006, lot 423.

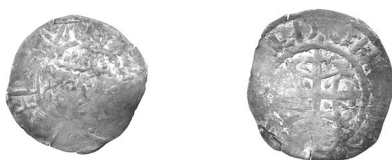


Fig. 3. David I, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, moneyer Erebald (PC collection).



Fig. 4. Henric, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, moneyer Durand, +DVRAND ON C[A] (British Museum, BM 1987–10–31–3).

of a Stephen type 1 obverse, profile bust facing right, with a Henry I type 15 reverse. However, the dies are irregular and the workmanship is very crude. The bust is narrow and elongated, rather similar in style to that found on later coins of Earl Henry minted at Carlisle and Bamburgh.⁸ Where this falls into the chronology of the Carlisle issues is unclear, but it would seem to fall more naturally into the early period of Scottish occupation, when they may have been experimenting with the introduction of the first Scottish coinage. In addition, there are two coins from the same irregular dies in the name of 'hENRIC' (Figs. 5 and 6), plus the overstruck coin detailed below (pp. 105–6), by the moneyer Wilealme.



Fig. 5. Henric, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, +WILEALM[E ON C]A[RD] (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1235–2001).



Fig. 6. Henric, *Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury* type, +WIL[EALME ON C]JARD (Dix Noonan Webb sale, 15 March 2006, lot 1318).

The identity of the moneyer Wilealme is unclear. It has been assumed that he was William FitzErembald, who struck coins of the *Cross and Crosslets* issue for Henry II at both Carlisle and Newcastle between 1158 and 1180,⁹ but that would imply a career as a moneyer spanning approximately forty-five years. Another possibility is William FitzBaldwin, father of Erembald and grandfather of William FitzErembald, who is known to have held lands in Carlisle before 1130. He is mentioned in the pipe roll of 1130 as rendering account for 30*s.* for the old farm of the king's garden in Carlisle. A few entries later 'William and Hildred render account for

⁸ Although there is still some uncertainty about where the coins with the OBCI or CIB mint signature were minted and the attribution to Bamburgh is often followed by a query it is generally assumed that they were minted there.

⁹ Allen 1951, cxxiii–cxxvii, cxlix.

£40 of the farm of the silver mine for the year now ending.¹⁰ If this is the same William, then he was also involved in mining and possibly minting silver from the Alston Moor mines. This would mean that three generations of the same family were issuing coins in Carlisle from c.1130 to 1180.

The question now arises whether these ‘hENRIC’ coins were issued in the name of Henry I or of Earl Henry. This question is discussed more fully below but if these coins are issues of Henry I then they introduce a new moneyer for Henry I type 15 from Carlisle – previously Erembald was the only known moneyer for this type at Carlisle (see Fig. 2). It would seem logical that these imitative coins of Henry I type 15 were the first Scottish issues from the Carlisle mint but the question arises as to why there were, apparently, so many different issues in the short interval (approximately two months) between the seizure of Carlisle by David I and the first Treaty of Durham. This will be discussed later.

Scottish group b. Coins of David I of Scotland copying Stephen *BMC* type 1

The Carlisle coins copying Stephen type 1, all struck from local dies, are thought to have been issued by the Scots at Carlisle in the name of Stephen. They cannot logically have been issued before English coins of the type were available to copy. A context in which David I or Earl Henry might choose to issue coins in the name of Stephen at Carlisle is provided by the first Treaty of Durham, under which Earl Henry paid homage to Stephen for Carlisle.¹¹ Coins of similar type issued at mints in Scotland proper were (with one exception) in the name of David. That exception is the well known sterling struck from a Stephen obverse die and an ‘EDEN’, reverse die, regarded as representing a minting error where Erembald mixed a Carlisle obverse die of Stephen with an Edinburgh reverse die.¹² It would appear that the obverse die of the ‘EDEN’ sterling was also used by the moneyer Hudard at Carlisle.¹³ It is probable that the issue of coins in the name of Stephen in Carlisle by the Scots was an overtly political act following the first Treaty of Durham. These coins in the name of Stephen were issued by the moneyers Erembald, Hudard and Wilealme (Figs 7–9). The moneyer’s name WILEALME is in the same form as on the ‘hENRIC’ coins and not WILEL or WILELM, which appears on later Carlisle issues and also those of Bamburgh.



Fig. 7. Stephen *BMC* type 1, moneyer Erembald, +ERE BALD ON CARD (Dix Noonan Webb sale, 15 March 2006, lot 1319).



Fig. 8. Stephen *BMC* type 1, moneyer Hudard, +hVDARD ON CA[] (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1113–2001).

¹⁰ Wilson 1901–05, I, 338; Sharpe 2006, 21–2.

¹¹ Oram 2008, 123.

¹² Mack 1966, 98, no. 281 (BM ex L.A. Lawrence); Blackburn 1994, 192.

¹³ See comments in the EMC records for EMC 2005.0142, 2008.0422, 2009.0155 and 2010.0347.



Fig. 9. Stephen *BMC* type 1, moneyer Wilealme, +WILEALMEONC[AR]D (JM collection).

An overstruck coin of Stephen/David in Scottish group b

The Stephen *BMC* type 1 penny in Fig. 10 has recently been acquired by one of the authors and is now dealt with in some detail. At first glance this coin appears to be a Stephen type 1 penny from the Carlisle mint issued by the Scots using local dies.¹⁴



Fig. 10. Stephen type 1 penny overstruck on a 'hENRIC' penny (JM collection).

The start of the legend on the obverse is clearly STI. The lettering is closely spaced, which might indicate that the legend would have been consistent with the early, longer version of Stephen's name, STIFNE REX and not the later, abbreviated versions.¹⁵ Blackburn does point out, however, that an assumed chronological progression based on the length of the obverse legend cannot be safely applied to locally cut dies.¹⁶ The reverse shows the moneyer to be EREBALD, the BALD of ereBALD and the RD of caRD being clear. On a second glance however, there appears to be an initial cross at the top of the obverse and this is then followed by other letters. When the coin is turned anti-clockwise, so that the initial cross appears in its normal position, other features become clear. There is now a fleur-de-lys at the top of the coin, parts of a crown are visible and the letters following the initial cross appear to read hENR, thus confirming that the Stephen coin is overstruck onto one in the name of Henry. The fleur-de-lys and the crown and the hENR appear to be very similar to those on the two irregular Carlisle pennies mentioned above (Figs. 5 and 6). One of these two pennies was in the Conte collection and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1235–2001). The second of these pennies was sold in the Dix Noonan Webb sale of 15 March 2006, lot 1318, and is catalogued as Henry I, moneyer Willelm (?), 'the moneyer known for the mint but not recorded for the type, extremely rare'. On comparing the overstruck coin with these two examples it is clear that the Stephen coin is overstruck onto a coin from the same dies as the Fitzwilliam and the DNW coins:



Fig. 11. Details of the obverse of the overstruck penny:

- | | |
|---|---|
| A – Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1235–2001) | D – Overstruck coin turned 90 degrees anti-clockwise |
| B – Dix Noonan Webb sale, 15 March 2006, lot 1318 | E – Overstruck coin with parts of obverse legend and bust highlighted (actual size $\times 1.5$) |
| C – Overstruck coin (Fig. 10) | |

¹⁴ Stewart 1971, 193.

¹⁵ Blackburn 1994, 194.

¹⁶ Blackburn 1994, 158 n.27.

On the reverse there is a clearly visible letter E which is not in line with the EREBALD ON CARD legend and does not correspond with the position where either of the Es of Erebald would appear. On comparing the reverse of the overstruck coin with the reverses of the Fitzwilliam and DNW pennies, it is obvious that the E that is visible can only be the middle E of wilEalme and on closer examination the preceding L and parts of the following A and L can also be discerned.



Fig. 12. Details of the reverse of the overstruck penny:

F – Fitzwilliam Museum

G – Overstruck coin showing letter E at top

H – Overstruck coin with parts of overstruck reverse legend highlighted (actual size $\times 1.5$)

This coin confirms two things beyond doubt: firstly, that the irregular issue ‘hENRIC’ coins of the moneyer WILEALME must predate the Stephen coins of Erebald, Hudard and Wilealme and, secondly, that it was sufficiently important to the Scots not to be seen to breach the terms of the first Treaty of Durham that they overstruck existing irregular ‘hENRIC’ type 15 coins rather than continue to issue them in an unaltered state. The authors are not aware of any other overstruck coins in the reign of Stephen. In contrast, anonymous issues and defaced dies are well known.

However, other questions are raised about the irregular type 15 coins issued in the name of Henry. Were they simply irregular issues of Henry I type 15 or were they actually issued in the name of Earl Henry? There appear to be several options:

- (i) They were simply issues of Henry I type 15 but coined by Wilealme: a new moneyer for this type. This may seem to be the most obvious explanation but, if they were Henry I issues, why would they need to be taken out of circulation and overstruck after the first Treaty of Durham?
- (ii) They were issued by the Scots, as copies of Henry I type 15, after the capture of Carlisle, but before the first Treaty of Durham. If this is the case then they would seem to predate the type 15 coins in the name of David, moneyer Erebald, hitherto assumed to have been the first Scots issues at Carlisle.¹⁷ If the irregular ‘hENRIC’ coins fill the gap before the Stephen issues there is no reason to fill that gap with issues in the name of David. Conversely, why would the Scots, who regarded this area of ‘northern England’ as part of their kingdom, issue coins in the name of Henry I – a recently dead English king?
- (iii) They were issued in the name of Earl Henry after the capture of Carlisle and its mint but before the first Treaty of Durham or before the Stephen *BMC* type I issues were available to copy. It might seem unlikely that these irregular coins are correctly attributed to Earl Henry because they can only have been issued in the brief interlude between the Scots seizure of Carlisle and the first Treaty of Durham, at which stage there were no non-regal issues in England.

There is, however, another possible explanation. Prof. G.W.S. Barrow has discussed the evidence for a ‘joint kingship’ after 1136 between David and Henry.¹⁸ If this is indeed the case, it could be a possibility that, as well as David issuing coins in his own name with a Henry I type

¹⁷ Blackburn 1994, 192.

¹⁸ Barrow 1999, 122.

15 reverse, of the moneyer Erembald, Earl Henry also issued coins in his name with a Henry I type 15 reverse, of the moneyer Wilealme. Would it not be natural that, after taking Carlisle and regaining part of the Scottish kingdom lost in 1092, they should issue coins in the names of the 'joint kings'? There is no evidence that Earl Henry ever struck coins at mints in Scotland proper such as Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick. He only struck coins at places within this newly recovered territory and this may give an indication of the area over which the 'joint kingship' operated. The issuing of coins in the names of both David and Earl Henry would foreshadow the issuing of *Cross Fleury* and *Cross and Pellets/Annulets* pennies by them from Carlisle in the 1140s, when they had thrown off any pretence of holding Carlisle from Stephen.

However, as has been mentioned above, crowding so many different issues into a very short period does not seem to be particularly feasible, but David and Henry did not have our benefit of hindsight and would not know that Henry would shortly be paying homage to Stephen for the lordship of Carlisle. Also, once the Scots had control of the Carlisle mint and were looking to produce their own coinage, it is likely that some experimentation, based upon Henry I type 15, would have been undertaken.¹⁹ It is possible that the British Museum Henric/Durand coin mentioned above (Fig. 4) could have been minted during this period. If the 'hENRIC' coins were issued in the name of Earl Henry, it would have been politically expedient to destroy them after the first Treaty of Durham and start issuing coins in the name of Stephen. Indeed Stephen may have required that the issue of unofficial 'hENRIC' coins be stopped, thus requiring the overstriking of minted but unissued coins. With the punishments meted out to errant moneyers during the Assize of the Moneyers still fresh in mind it would probably be a considerable relief to the Carlisle moneyers to be able to issue in the name of Stephen and so avoid any accusation of treason. They may have been very keen to overstrike any irregular coin. All the above is, of course, conjecture until further, more solid evidence, is found.

Scottish group c. Coins in the name of David with *Cross and Pellet in Annulets*

The first Treaty of Durham resulted for a while in an uneasy peace but David continued to raid into the Border lands and then, shortly after Easter 1138, he invaded again. Stephen, preoccupied as he was in the south, was unable to rush north, as he had in 1136. At the behest of Archbishop Thurstan of York, the northern barons met in York and a northern army was raised. On the 22 August 1138 this northern army routed the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard, near Northallerton. Both David and Earl Henry, made their way, with difficulty, back to Carlisle. Even though they were defeated the Scots managed, under the terms of the second Treaty of Durham agreed in April 1139, to consolidate their hold upon northern England. It confirmed for Earl Henry the earldom of Huntingdon and the lordship of Carlisle, first granted in the 1136 treaty, but now also conferred upon him the earldom of Northumbria.²⁰ The geographic extent of the earldom was thought to include Northumbria between the Tweed and the Tees, as well as the future counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancashire. However, Prof. Barrow argues that it was exclusively east of the Pennines with some areas excluded from the earldom.²¹ Whatever the exact limits of the earldom, it is clear that the writ of David and Earl Henry ran over Northumbria, Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancashire. Consequently these areas suffered far less than the rest of the country, where the struggle for the throne of England between Stephen and Matilda continued to rumble on.

The civil war appeared to have reached a climax early in 1141 when, at the Battle of Lincoln, Stephen was captured and imprisoned. For a while it seemed that Matilda was about to achieve her ambition and become 'The Lady of the English'.²² It seems very likely that it was at this

¹⁹ Archibald 1991, 10: 'so often when a new coinage is introduced, there was a brief period of experimentation before a norm was established.'

²⁰ Stringer 1993, 32.

²¹ Barrow 1999, 122.

²² King, 2010, 158–9.

time that David and Earl Henry, once more actively supporting the Angevin cause, threw off the pretence of holding their lands from Stephen and started to mint coins at Carlisle in their own names (Fig. 13). These coins were struck by the moneyer Ricard, possibly Richard Rider, who is recorded as an official of Henry I in Carlisle in the 1120s.²³ The issue of these coins is likely to post-date the issues in the name of Stephen and demonstrates that David felt sufficiently secure in his occupation of Carlisle to issue coins in his own name.



Fig. 13. *Cross and Pellet in Annulets*, moneyer Ricard (Bolton Library and Museum Service).

Scottish group d. *Cross Fleury* types in the name of Earl Henry (and David I ?)

The majority of the *Cross Fleury* coins of Carlisle are unequivocally in the name of Earl Henry and must have been struck at some time before his death in 1152. Most of these coins, including at least four recent finds, are in the name of the moneyer WILELM.²⁴ Their obverse legend is consistently 'NENCI CON' or a variation of this, which is attributed to Earl Henry. Similar coins with the obverse NENCI CON legend but with a Cross and Crosslets reverse of a moneyer WILELM are thought to have been struck at Bamburgh.²⁵ Stylistically the obverse dies used on the Carlisle and Bamburgh coins are very similar. In the few Carlisle coins known of this issue several different dies are represented, which suggests that despite the rarity of these coins today there must have been quite a large issue.



Fig. 14. *Cross Fleury* type, *obv.* NENCI CON, *rev.* WIL:EL:ON:CAR (Timeline Auctions, 14 March 2012, lot 213)

Recently two specimens of this *Cross Fleury* type by moneyer Ricard have emerged, which are from the same dies (Fig. 15). Presumably this moneyer is the Ricard who struck the *Cross and Annulets* type and the *Cross Fleury and Pellets* type for David I at Carlisle. Stylistically the reverse is broadly similar to that of the Wilelm coins but the obverse legend is different, being +[H]ENRICI (all letters reversed) followed by a series of curves and ending in some indistinct letters that can either be read as CITI or as ending in an N, which might conceivably be a representation of CON. The most distinctive feature of the bust is the crown or helmet, which is represented by a triangle with fleur-de-lys on each corner. This is similar to that on a coin in the National Museum of Scotland.²⁶ The reverse legend on the two coins (taking the visible letters from both coins) is 'RICARDI:DE:CARLEL'. This is unusual in the use of the Norman DE in place of the English ON, although this usage is not unprecedented in the Scottish series.²⁷ The mint signature is also unusual. Apart from the use of 'CARLI' for the

²³ Sharpe 2006, 13–14.

²⁴ *SCBI* 12, 292; National Museums of Scotland (H.C660); EMC 2010.0238 (cut halfpenny); EMC 2011.0014; EMC 2011.0165; PAS Lancum-9B99F8; Spink sale, 13 Dec. 2011, lot 109.

²⁵ Stewart 1971, 182–3; Spink Auction 6018, 26 Sept. 2006, lot 427.

²⁶ National Museums of Scotland, H.C660 (Burns 1887, fig. 26A; Mack 1966, 100, no. 287a).

²⁷ Stewart 1971, 178.

Henry I *Pellets in Quatrefoil* type (*BMC* type 14), subsequent mint signatures are usually 'CAR' or 'CARD' or a close variant (for Carduil), and the 'CARLEL' mint signature does not recur until the Long Cross issues of Henry III.



Fig. 15. Obv. +[J]ENRICI[] all reversed, rev. + RICARDI:DE:CARLEL: (JM and PC collections).

One further cut halfpenny exists of this *Cross Fleury* type with nothing in the angles, which appears to have the obverse reading 'X SCO' and the reverse reading of 'ARLOL'.²⁸ If the complete obverse reading is 'REX SCO', then this would mean that either David I or Malcolm IV struck coins of this type at Carlisle. It may be significant that the reverse legend 'ARLOL' echoes the mint signature on the *Cross Fleury* type struck by Ricard.

A *Cross Fleury* type penny by the moneyer Wilelm appeared in the Spink sale 211 of 13 December 2011, lot 109, and was catalogued as having an obverse die in the name of David. This cataloguing followed that of the Glendining sale of 20 June 1990, at which the coin had previously been acquired.²⁹ We have not had an opportunity to study the coin itself and are unclear whether the partial letter interpreted as the base of the letter 'D' at the start of the obverse inscription is not in fact part of the base of a retrograde 'N', which was typical of obverse inscriptions attributed to Earl Henry. The remaining visible letter of the obverse inscription is stated to be a 'C' which is consistent with 'NENCI CON' but in a position inconsistent with 'DAVIT REX SCO' or 'DAVIT REX'.

Coins attributed to Earl Henry at Corbridge have obverse legends 'HENRIC ERL', 'HENRICVS' and 'NENC CN'. Those at Bamburgh have 'NENCI CON' and 'STIFENE'. Stylistically and politically the latter would fit uncomfortably into the period during which coins in the name of Stephen were struck at Carlisle. One alternative possibility is that they were struck in the period between the death of Earl Henry in 1152 and the death of Stephen in 1154 when again the Scots may have felt it expedient to acknowledge the English crown on coins issued in Northumbria. The issue by Earl Henry of coins of this type in his own name at Corbridge may reflect the breakdown of the truce with Stephen before the Battle of the Standard in 1138. Alternatively, they may post-date the second Treaty of Durham which ratified the status quo following the battle.

The rest of the story

The inconclusive civil war in England continued to drag on but then, in 1147, Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half brother and chief supporter, died and early in 1148 Matilda herself left the country and returned to Normandy. In 1149, Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son, came to England and went to Carlisle, where he was knighted by his great-uncle, David of Scotland. Henry was said to have promised David that, if he succeeded to the English crown, he would 'never deprive David's heirs of any portion of the lands which had passed from England to the

²⁸ *BNJ Coin Register* 1992, no. 305; EMC 1992.0305.

²⁹ Glendining, 20 June 1990, lot 1127 (illustrated as lot 815).

dominion of that king'.³⁰ And then, within a very short time, all the plans of David and Stephen were thrown into disarray by the deaths of their respective sons and heirs to the kingdoms of Scotland and England. Earl Henry died unexpectedly in 1152 and in May the following year David died in Carlisle Castle and was succeeded by Malcolm, his eleven-year-old grandson. Also in 1153, Henry of Anjou, by now duke of Normandy, returned to England with a small force of knights and infantry. Throughout the year there were indecisive skirmishes between the royalist and Angevin forces but major battles were avoided because of the reluctance of either side to commit to battle. Eustace, Stephen's son and heir, died suddenly in August 1153. By the end of the year peace had been agreed between Stephen and Henry. Stephen would continue to reign but on his death would be succeeded by Henry. Henry did not have long to wait because on 25 October 1154 King Stephen died and was succeeded by Henry of Anjou who became Henry II of England.³¹

In 1157 Henry, contrary to his agreement with David, 'persuaded' Malcolm of Scotland to give up the counties of northern England that his grandfather had tried so hard to regain and hold.³² This meant that the northern mints were now able to participate in the new English coinage introduced in 1158. This recoinage brought to an end all of the baronial and irregular issues that had been so much a part of the coinage for the previous twenty years. The new *Cross and Crosslets* coinage, popularly known as the *Tealby* coinage, was possibly the worst struck of any English issue. The coins were quite often misshapen and only partly struck up with the notable exception of the northern mints of Durham, Newcastle and Carlisle, where the coins are uniformly round.³³

Conclusions and areas for further investigation

The reign of Stephen must be one of the most numismatically interesting and challenging of any. Over the years there have been many studies that have pushed forward our knowledge and understanding of the coinage of this reign but, largely due to the use of metal detectors, there has also been a stream of new discoveries that have meant that previously accepted findings are having to be reassessed.

The Carlisle mint and those others of the 'English'/'Scottish' border are particularly interesting because they reflect, not only the internal struggles of a civil war, but the attempt by the Scots to regain large areas of disputed land. In doing so, they obtained the resources of the northern Pennine silver mines and the already active Carlisle mint which allowed them to begin minting the first Scottish coinage. After a short period of experimentation, the introduction of Stephen's coinage and the first Treaty of Durham interrupted the development of a distinctive Scottish coinage. This Scottish coinage may have been started in the names of the 'joint kings' immediately after the capture of Carlisle in 1136, imitating Henry I type 15, and continued, probably after 1141, once again in the names of the 'joint kings' with the *Cross Fleury* coinage. Even though Earl Henry minted in his role as the earl of Northumbria (cf. the NENCI CON coins of Carlisle and Bamburgh and the HENRIC ERL coins of Corbridge), he was not exploiting the anarchy of the civil war in England as other English noblemen did. In an area of relative peace and stability nominally controlled by his father as king of Scots, but in reality controlled by them both, he must have issued coins in his own name with the express authority, perhaps encouragement, of his father – perhaps one more indication of the 'joint kingship' that operated in this area.³⁴

The authors are very aware that this is only a partial study and has perhaps raised more questions than it has answered. There are other minor varieties of coin that have not been mentioned at all. There are other productive areas of study which could further our knowledge of the Border mints. These could include:

³⁰ Stubbs 1868–71, I, 211; Howlett 1884–89, I, 70.

³¹ King 2010, 300.

³² Howlett 1884–89, I, 105–6.

³³ Allen 1951, cxxiii.

³⁴ Howlett 1884–89, I, 70, 'the northern districts as far as the river Tees remained in peace through that king's efforts'.

1. A corpus of the known coins that could help to clarify the chronology of the issues.
2. An obverse die study of the coins of Earl Henry from Carlisle, Corbridge and Bamburgh, which could shed light on the inter-relationship of the mints – they are known to have shared moneyers and, stylistically, some coins from the different mints are very similar.
3. A metallurgical analysis of the coins that could determine how widespread the use of northern Pennine silver was.

The main conclusion that can be drawn is just how much more there is still to be learned about the coinages and administration of the Border mints while under Scottish control and this, in turn, could throw valuable light onto the wider administration of this volatile area.

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AN INTIMATE ENCOUNTER WITH ENGLISH COINAGE IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES: THE CASE OF WULFRIC OF HASELBURY

GILES E.M. GASPER AND SVEIN H. GULLBEKK

WULFRIC of Haselbury is perhaps best known as one of a number of anchorites, early in the English medieval tradition, who became the subject of Latin *Lives*.¹ He lived as an anchoritic priest attached to the parish church at Haselbury Plucknett in Somerset, from 1125 to his death in 1155.² Almost all that is known of Wulfric derives from the *Life* composed by the Cistercian monk John of Forde (c.1140–1214). Forde Abbey had been established in 1136, as a daughter-house of Waverley Abbey, and John became a monk there, possibly in 1165.³ Wulfric had been a prominent figure for the monks at Forde, and many stories about his life were preserved within the community and among its friends.⁴ The testimony of Henry, abbot of Tintern and then of Waverley, was particularly vivid. In the *Life* itself Henry visits Wulfric five times. Wulfric was also famous in wider society, lay as well as religious, most prominently in the south-west but also farther afield. William fitzWalter, who encouraged Wulfric's move to Haselbury, proved a consistent patron, and his family remained dedicated to Wulfric's memory. William's son Walter emerges as an important source for the *Life*. Wulfric was known to the baronage of the West Country, and at the courts of Henry I and Stephen; both monarchs visited him personally, although Stephen visited him before he became king.⁵

The *Life* appears to have been compiled at some point in the 1180s, drawing on a rich lode of oral testimony. It is a complex work, whose three-part structure does not follow a strictly chronological approach: Book 1 introduces the conversion of Wulfric to holy life, Book 2 concerns his mystical experiences and a wider range of characters with whom he interacts, and Book 3 is a less structured series of meditations on Wulfric's actions (cursing, prophesying, healing), and an account of his death. As is not unusual in eleventh- and twelfth-century hagiography, John of Forde's writing is inclusive and non-judgmental of the society in which Wulfric's life is played out.⁶

Such a relationship with his sources and with his subject gives John's narrative its sense of immediacy and intimacy. The level of intimacy allows privileged access to many aspects of twelfth-century society. Not least amongst these are what the *Life* reveals about monetary history, and the production and use of coin. *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury* provides evidence previously underused in a numismatic and monetary context for an important element in Henry I's coinage. It also provides further evidence for the use and understanding of money

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¹ Bell 1933 comprises the current critical edition. The *Life* has been translated as Matarasso 2011. Matarasso notes that Bell's is not a wholly satisfactory critical edition, and will be superseded by that of Kevin Day (Brepols, forthcoming): Matarasso 2011, 81–4. Matarasso consulted the four extant manuscripts for divergent readings in making her translation; these do not affect the passages under consideration in the current context, for which Bell's edition is, for the time being, sufficient. In what follows Wulfric's *Life* is cited by book and chapter number, followed by the page reference for the Matarasso translation; the Bell edition is referenced when appropriate. For more specific literature on Wulfric himself see Mayr-Harting 1975 and more recently Alexander 2002. A recent reassessment of the English medieval anchoritic tradition is Licence 2011.

² Licence 2011, 186, n.48.

³ For an excellent summary of the lives of John and Wulfric see Matarasso 2011, 2–10. On John's place as an author within the Cistercian Order see Holdsworth 1961. Wider dimensions of John's thought are addressed in Costello and Holdsworth 1996.

⁴ Further comments on the sources for John of Forde's interest in Wulfric, including two monks of the house alive in the 1180s whom he had known, can be found in Matarasso 1996.

⁵ *The Life of Wulfric*, 2.16; Matarasso 2011, 150.

⁶ Matarasso 2011, 76, puts this well: 'Lay men and women ... here rub shoulders with monks and clerics without any underlining of difference. Those who show themselves to least advantage tend to be monks and clerics, whereas ordinary people are praised as religious, God-fearing and devout.'

in the period, the more striking because it is from a personal point of view. The observations in the *Life* fuel a more complex history of monetary culture, which must take account of the nature of the sources in which references to monetary use are found. John of Forde obviously did not set out to write a history of Wulfric's use of coin. However, when, where and in what context monetary matters are mentioned are significant both in terms of what they describe, but also in terms of how this fits into John's broader literary, spiritual and theological purpose.

The *Life* begins with Wulfric's conversion to a strict religious life. As a priest he enjoyed hawking and hunting, but while so engaged:

... a fellow appeared – a poor man by his dress and aspect – who begged him meekly for a new coin. There was a fresh minting in England then, in the days of King Henry I, but being new the coins were still uncommon.⁷

This is probably the oldest literary reference to a recoinage in English history. Recoinage in England had a considerable history by the first third of the twelfth century. Eadgar introduced the system of recoinages in a monetary reform c.973, and from this date English coinage was renewed on a regular basis. This process continued after the Norman Conquest, and in the reign of Henry I (1100–35) recoinages were undertaken on fifteen occasions. Recoinage involved the withdrawal of coins in circulation and their replacement by new, fresh, coins with different designs. The reference in the *Life of Wulfric* includes not only a general comment on recoinages [*nova moneta*], but makes further observations on the distribution of a new coinage at a moment when these new coins had not yet become generally available and they were still a novelty and something of which people would take notice. The rarity of these new coins offers a rare insight into how the process of recoinages impacted upon the coin circulation in a period of transition between old and new types.

Haselbury was close to several significant centres of power: Exeter is some 65 miles to the west, Winchester slightly nearer to the east some 60 miles away, and the major royal castle of Corfe was only 26 miles south. Within the Anglo-Norman realm too, the Dorset coastline was important in cross-Channel communication. Geographical, economic and political isolation may or may not account for Wulfric's lack of coin. The potential issues in distribution of coin which the passage highlighted may point to is the more general issue of the volume of coins in circulation in twelfth-century England, and the question of the effects of a relatively low volume of coin on payment and exchange; individual coins had to 'work', arguably, much harder. Whatever the case and whether or not this passage reflects a first hand account (although the individuals concerned were dead at the time when John wrote, his source had known Wulfric personally) it surely suggests an author familiar with the nature of recoinages. For an author writing in the 1180s the wide-reaching monetary reforms of Henry II in 1180 would have been a natural point of reference.

The opening episode of the *Life* continues with use of the same level of detail and familiarity, with particular reference to a halfpenny.

When Wulfric replied that he did not know whether he had a new coin about him, the other said: 'Look in your purse and you'll find tuppence halfpenny there'. Left speechless by this reply, he searched in his pouch and, finding just what the other had said, devoutly offered what was being asked.⁸

The halfpenny or *obol* was not uncommon in German and French society in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and it was minted in Anglo-Saxon England in the ninth and tenth centuries. The reintroduction of round halfpennies after the Norman Conquest can be attributed to Henry I (1100–35) in c.1108.⁹ This was recorded by the chronicler John of Worcester (writing c.1131) and by subsequent medieval authors, but the first to identify a halfpenny of Henry I

⁷ *The Life of Wulfric*, 1.1, Matarasso 2011, 97; Bell 1933, 13: 'Quadam namque die, dum de huius generis exercitio quiddam haberet in minibus et huic insaniae cui manus dederat non segniter militaret, affuit vir ex insperato vultum et habitum perferens pauperis qui et ab eo novum nummum in eleemosynam simplex expetiit. Habebat autem tunc temporis in Anglia nummum novum in diebus Henrici regis primi, sed rarum adhuc prae novitate nummismatis'.

⁸ *The Life of Wulfric*, 1.1; Matarasso 2011, 98; Bell 1933, 13–14: 'Cui cum ille nescire se diceret si nummum novum prae minibus haberet: "Respice," ait, "in marsupium tuum et duos in eo et semis invenies." Quo ille response obstupescens inspicit loculum suum et ita ut dictam erat inveniens, quod petebatur devotus obtulit'.

⁹ Blackburn 1990, 63.

was Peter Seaby in a lecture to the British Numismatic Society in 1950.¹⁰ On the basis of the documentary references to round halfpennies and the style and fabric of the coin concerned, Seaby concluded that it must have been struck during the reign of Henry I. In an article by W.J. Conte and M.M. Archibald from 1990 another five Henry I halfpennies were identified.¹¹ Since then eight more examples have been found, of which the most recently published was found in 2010.¹² These halfpennies are still, then, extremely rare. Smaller denominations, such as halfpennies and farthings, were normally provided by simply cutting pennies along the lines of the cross on the reverse. The cutting is often done with remarkable precision, a fact that may suggest that this was a practice carried out at the mints. On the basis of find evidence in recent years the share of cut pennies in the currency in circulation was probably higher than that of uncut pennies.¹³ This gives a significant insight into the nature of English coinage and use of money in daily commerce.

The reference to a halfpenny (*semis*) in John of Forde's *Life of Wulfric* may or may not reflect a specific element within Henry's coinage, namely the round halfpenny. The other possible interpretation of *semis* in this context is a penny cut in half. The text might be used to provide additional evidence, alongside the archaeological and numismatic, that halfpennies were a part of the monetary economy.

Wulfric's reminiscence of a key moment on his path to the anchor-hold provides additional evidence for Henrician coinage. Henry's concern for his coinage is well known. The first surviving major legal text concerning coinage since the reign of Cnut (1016–35) is Henry I's instructions to the shires in his writ *de moneta falsa et cambiatoribus* issued at Christmas 1100, of which only the text sent to Worcester survives. False coin was condemned, and the punishment for those responsible for its appearance was the removal of the right hand and the testicles (*de dextro pugno et testiculis*).¹⁴ Further steps were taken against forgers in about 1108, as recorded in the contemporary witness of Eadmer of Canterbury's *Historia Novorum*, and repeated by William of Malmesbury and others.¹⁵ The *Historia*, written to contextualize the ecclesiastical career of Anselm as Archbishop of Canterbury (1093–1109), was composed between 1109 and 1115, with a further two books added in the 1120s.¹⁶ The account given of the reform is from the first period of composition, and is to all intents and purposes a contemporary witness:

Then again, spoiled and false coinage was harming many people in many ways. Accordingly the King ordained that this practice should be cured by such severe punishment that anyone who could be caught making false coins should lose his eyes and lower limbs without any option of saving himself by any money payment. Moreover, seeing that very often when coins were picked out they were bent or broken and so rejected, the King determined that no penny or half-penny should be perfect. From this great good resulted at once to the whole kingdom.¹⁷

¹⁰ Seaby 1949–51; Grierson and Brooke 1949–51; Thorpe 1848–49, II, 57.

¹¹ Conte and Archibald 1990.

¹² *BNJ Coin Register* 2011, no. 124 (cited by Allen 2012, 347, n.5); information from Dr Martin Allen.

¹³ Allen 2012, 347–8. Matthew Paris, who describes the recoinage of 1247–50 in his *Chronica Majora*, explains the introduction of the new Long Cross design as a measure to control the widespread cutting of coins. In this connection he draws the reverse side of the sterling to show the long arms of the voided cross in contrast to the Short Cross type that had been current until then. The thought was that the long arms of the cross would prevent further cutting of the coins. (Vaughan 1993, 61).

¹⁴ Davis, Johnson and Cronne 1913–69, II, 4, no. 501; Johnson 1983, 9–10; Kinsey 1958–59; Stewart 1992, 69; Allen 2012, 370.

¹⁵ Blackburn 1990, 62–3; Stewart 1992, 66; Allen 2012, 370.

¹⁶ Southern 1963, 298–9.

¹⁷ Bosanquet 1964, 206; Rule 1884, 193: 'Item moneta corrupta et falsa multis modis multis affligebat. Quam rex sub tanta animae adversione corrigi statuit, ut nullus qui posset deprehendi falsos denarios facere aliqua redemptione quin oculos et inferiores corporis partes perderet iuvare valeret. Et quoniam saepissime dum denarii eligebantur, flectebantur, rumpebantur, repuebantur, statuit ut nullus denarius vel obolus integer esset. Ex quo facto magnum bonum ad tempus toti regno creatum est'. Eadmer's words were mostly repeated by John of Worcester (McGurk 1993, III, 112–15, *s.a.* 1108: 'King Henry of England established a strict peace by legislating that anyone caught thieving or robbing should be hanged. He also decreed that spoiled or false coinage should be reformed with such severe force that anyone caught making forged pennies should be blinded and lose his lower limbs without the option of saving himself by a monetary payment. Furthermore since very often pennies when selected were found to be bent or broken and so rejected, he decreed that no penny or halfpenny (which he also ordained should be round), and no farthing should be whole. This was of great benefit to the whole kingdom, the king acting to relieve the sufferings of the land in secular matters. (Rex Anglorum Henricus pacem firmam legemque talem constituit, ut si quis in furtu uel latrocinio deprehensus fuisset, suspenderetur. Monetam quoque corruptam et falsum sub tanta animadversione corrigi statuit, ut nullus qui posset deprehendi falsos denarios facere, aliqua redemptione quin oculos et inferiores corporis partes perderet, iuvare valeret. Et quoniam saepissime dum

The effect of the decree was that all coins were ‘snicked’ with a cut before they left the mint. Many pennies of Henry I’s types 6–15, and some of the round halfpennies, carry such a mark.¹⁸

After another sixteen years or so, in 1124, the coinage had again reached a low point. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* ‘the penny was so bad that the man who had a pound at a market could not buy twelve penn’orth with it’.¹⁹ Henry I’s justiciar Roger of Salisbury summoned all of the moneyers to Winchester at Christmas 1124, where they were mutilated or otherwise punished by Twelfth Night (6 January 1125).²⁰ That such a violent response to false moneyers was necessarily short-term, and unsustainable in the long-term, is suggested in the pipe roll of 1129/30, where several moneyers are reported as debtors, perhaps as a result of corporal punishment being converted to fines.²¹

John of Forde’s text is instructive for the wider landscape within which coins and money are located. For John, the new minting is used to make a spiritual point. This episode was the first revelation to Wulfric as to his proper vocation, and, John suggests a deeper significance to the exchange of coin, drawing on biblical imagery. In his words:

There is good reason to believe that this stranger was an angel of the Lord, pointing towards the new man he was asking for in the new currency. Certainly Wulfric himself, harking back to this story, used to say: ‘He was no man, for all he seemed one.’ In the end, what the one had been asking and the other giving was made plain when the stranger took the coin he had requested with the words: ‘He for whose love you did this will repay you. And I in his name foretell to you that soon you will leave this place for another, and thence you will move shortly after to a third; there at length you will find rest and in a narrower dwelling-place persevere with God to the end; and thus at the last you will be called to join the company of the saints’.²²

The new money pointing to the new man recalls Ephesians 4.22–24.²³ The new man who is created will be created in justice and in holiness of truth. The struggle for truth, how it was revealed in Wulfric’s life, deeds and words, and the greater truth for which he stood as witness, are the themes on which John builds everything else within the *Life*. Nevertheless, John records the details of the new money in a worldly sense, since it was the vehicle for Wulfric’s conversion. The story uses money to make a spiritual point, Christianizing it in the process.

As the *Life* progresses, money is mentioned specifically on a number of other occasions, in which its appropriate use is clearly singled out, as well as its agency in showing up falsehood and wickedness.²⁴ One anecdote concerns the attempt to bring shame upon Wulfric’s name by Drogo de Munci at the court of Henry I:

Originally from overseas, he was a great man in the household of King Henry. When he heard blessed Wulfric’s name extolled at court and his doings reverently recounted by the courtiers, the wretch began to curse and scoff: ‘The king would do well to send to the cell of this charlatan and confiscate his money, for it cannot be that a man so many flock to has not got plenty stowed away’. The blasphemous words were still on his lips when Satan, to whom he had been delivered that he might learn not to blaspheme, threw him to the ground, where he rolled foaming at the mouth, a mouth that was now twisted round to his ear.²⁵

denarii eligebantur, flectebantur, rumpebantur, respuebantur, statuit, ut nullus denarius uel obolus quos et rotundus esse instituit, aut etiam quadrans, integer esset. Ex quo facto magnum bonum toti regno creatum est, quia ipse rex hec in saecularibus ad releuandas terre erumnas agebat.’)

¹⁸ Blackburn 1990, 62–3; Conte and Archibald 1990, 234; Allen 2009, 98–9; Allen 2012, 370.

¹⁹ Swanton 1996, 254.

²⁰ Blackburn 1990, 64–5.

²¹ Stewart 1991; Stewart 1992, 66.

²² *The Life of Wulfric*, 1.1; Matarasso 2011, 99; Bell 1933, 14: ‘Nec immerito is angelus domini fuisse credendus est, novum hominem significans et expectens simul in nummo novo. Nam et ipse haec ipsa postea referens ita dicere solebat: “Homo,” inquit, “videbatur sed homo non erat”. Denique cum nummum quem petierat ille accepisset, quid ipse petisset vel quid ille dedisset aperuit dicens: “Retribuat tibi is pro cuius amore haec fecisti. Et ego in eius nomine pronuntio tibi quia ex hoc loco in brevi ad alium locum migraturus es, et ex hoc ipso itidem ad alium post modicum transitum facies; ubi et requiem tandem inventurus es et in artioris loci habitaculo Deo perseveraturus in finem; et sic postremo ad sanctorum vocandus consortium”’.

²³ ‘To put off, according to former conversation, the old man, who is corrupted according to the desire of error. And be renewed in the spirit of your mind: And put on the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of truth.’

²⁴ Mayr-Harting 1975, 342, notes that ‘money plays a surprisingly large part in Wulfric’s *Life*.’

²⁵ *The Life of Wulfric*, 2.16; Matarasso 2011, 150–1; Bell 1933, 63–4: ‘Nomen illi Drogo de Munci; de transmarinis partibus oriundus inclitus erat in domo Regis Henrici. Hic cum audiret nomen beati Wulfrici magnificari in domo regia et opera eius pie a fidelibus enarrari, coepit miser blasphemare et subsannans dicere: “Bene fecerit rex si miserit ad cellam illusoris huius ad accipiendas pecunias eius, quia fieri non potest ut multa sibi non thesaurizaverit ad quem tam multi conveniunt.” Adhuc verba blasphemiae errant in ore ipsius et a satana, cui traditus erat ut disceret non blasphemare, elisus in terram, ore ad aurem detorto volutabatur spumans’.

Henry came to visit and converse with Wulfric, probably around 1130; the king asked that Wulfric cure Drogo, whom he had brought along, which the holy man did, after repeating the injunction of the Psalms not to touch the Lord's anointed.²⁶ It is worth noting nonetheless the lack of surprise in the narrative at the notion itself, the non-denial of Drogo's allegation and Wulfric's implicit defence of his monetary resources.

John of Forde confirms Drogo's suspicions in the chapter immediately following. The large amount of money that was given to, and most of it accepted by, Wulfric, is acknowledged.²⁷ John observes that it would not have been fitting for the rich to have turned up to Wulfric empty-handed. Having received this wealth, Wulfric redistributed it to the poor; he also lavishly furnished the church to which he was attached, and gave generously to the abbey at Forde. From an historical perspective Henry Mayr-Harting has gone so far as to suggest that Wulfric may have acted in some manner as an embryonic banking system for his locale.²⁸ In this way Wulfric became an example of how holy men should act in monetary matters, pointing out the altruistic behaviour through redistribution of wealth among the parishioners, especially the poor.

Wulfric's financial dealings were clearly of public concern. As the next example within the *Life* shows, he played a role within the local economy, an economy that was sophisticated, encompassing spiritual as well as material aspects. The episode in question involves the dishonest activities of Wulfric's servant:

One of the holy man's servants, having got himself friends thanks to the reverence in which the saint was held, became seduced by money-making, and was not afraid to keep for himself the things the faithful destined for his master. And, what is more, he betrayed the poor men of Christ, for being a thief he had hiding places where he took things his master was sending to the monks.²⁹

Wulfric covered this up as long as he could, but eventually had to release the man from his service.

So when he was driven from the holy man's presence, this fellow walked off into exile, trusting to the riches he had accumulated – numbering sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silver and precious vestments – to keep himself and the whore to whom he cleaved.³⁰

Nothing good came from this ill-gotten wealth, however, and the former servant was soon reduced to 'such poverty that he had nowhere to lay his head; indeed publicly exposed to the shame of beggary, he hardly found short breeches to cover his sinful flesh'.³¹

The whole episode speaks forcefully to the many dimensions of Wulfric's value to Haselbury and its hinterland: from the spiritual to the monetary. According to John of Forde, Wulfric released his servant after complaints from those in the locality who felt the man's actions besmirched the reputation of the holy man. Holiness had to be supported with worldly valuables, the theft of which not only reduced their worldly value, but the whole commodity of holiness.

In a third anecdote even more details on how coins might have been understood, used and appreciated in this period are introduced. Monetary value, commodification and a specific mention of coinage in action are to be found in the anecdote, concerning Robert of Cirencester's encounter with Wulfric. Robert met Wulfric in company with a prior of Gloucester, probably Humfrey, first prior of the Augustinian canons in that city, who were established around

²⁶ As Matarasso 2011, 150–1, notes on this passage the attribution of great wealth to Wulfric by Drogo may have been premature if Henry's visit was only in 1130.

²⁷ *The Life of Wulfric*, 2.17; Matarasso 2011, 151; Bell 1933, 65.

²⁸ Mayr-Harting 1975, 343.

²⁹ *The Life of Wulfric*, 3.25; Matarasso 2011, 194; Bell 1933, 109: 'Puer namque viri sancti cum ob reverentiam domini sui amicos comparasset sibi, avertit cor suum in negotiationem avaritiae, et ea quae a fidelibus destinabantur domino suo non timuit reponere sibi. Insuper et pauperum Christi proditor, cum fur esset et loculos haberet, ea quae eis a domino suo mittebantur portabat.'

³⁰ *The Life of Wulfric*, 3.25; Matarasso 2011, 194; Bell 1933, 110: 'At ille in multitudine divitiarum congregatarum confidens, eo quod oves plurimas et boves habebat, insuper auro et argento et vestibus pretiosis esset locupletatus, sibi et ei cui adhaeserat fornicariae, a facie viri sancti proiectus exsulavit.'

³¹ *The Life of Wulfric*, 3.25; Matarasso 2011, 194–5; Bell 1933, 110: 'tante iudicium paupertatis incurrit ut non haberet ubi caput reclinaret, sed et publicae mendicitatis opprobrio expositus vix semicinctia quibus carnem turpitudinis suae operiret inveniret.'

1153.³² Robert attempted to make fun of Wulfric, to no avail, and so decided to find another way to humiliate the saint:

Having tested the mouth, the clerk then set about tempting the saint's heart through avarice, and, holding out two pennies (*duos denarios*), offered them to him. 'Put them there,' said the saint; 'there are those coming who will take them begging for alms.' Abashed, he went away at that, and while he and the prior were staying overnight in the village, two poor women came up to them begging for alms. The clerk repulsed the haughtily: 'Go to the man of God,' he said, 'it's his business to give alms, the more so as he is loaded with money.' Showing him two pennies, the women said: 'That's just where we've been, and look, we took these from his window.' The clerk, having inspected and recognized them, did reddens, but not enough to signify true repentance.³³

Robert did repent fully, in Wulfric's presence, and was later appointed procurator of Glastonbury Abbey, 'with substantial revenues at his disposal', but repeated this story regularly to the monks, one of whom, Walter, relayed it to John of Forde.³⁴ The description of the clerk investigating the two pennies and recognizing them reflects the nature of medieval minting and coinage. The ability to distinguish coins of the same type stems from the fact that coin dies were hand-made. Coins were, moreover, items of value and on an individual basis of limited possession, and therefore the notion that individual coins might be recognised is plausible.

In this story the coins constitute the narrative mechanism by which the attempt to humiliate Wulfric is subverted. It suits the story to claim that a clerk in the twelfth century made such observations. Whatever its historicity, the reference suggests that the author, and the original teller of the tale, assumed an intimate relationship between the population and to the coins in circulation.

There are a number of monetary features that call for comment here. First, the denomination that Wulfric deemed appropriate for alms-giving. A penny was quite a large unit of currency, as the introduction of the halfpenny itself indicates, and the existence even of cut farthings in the archaeological and numismatic record. It may be that Wulfric gave that amount of money to make a point to Robert, and it is equally possible that John of Forde added this detail to the story to underline similarly Robert's foolhardiness in trying to trap the saint into avarice. On the other hand a penny may have been deemed entirely appropriate for use on such an occasion.

In this connection the role that Wulfric played in the redistribution of worldly wealth within his community is striking. The poor women knew whither they should turn and were not turned away empty-handed. Wulfric's role as the personal point of monetary exchange within his locale has been emphasized before, but it is possible to see here, quite clearly, the sophisticated relationship between worldly and spiritual wealth. The holy man, converted in part by the new coin, redistributes coin to the poor in a practical and spiritual manner. The visibility of these parallels between the life of the world and the life of the spirit is due primarily to John of Forde's literary skill. To that extent the image of Wulfric as alms-giver, using coin at the service of spiritual and material gain, in the correct circumstances, may be didactic and aspirational. Even if that were the case, a considerable amount is revealed about the place of money within this society, and the elision of its spiritual and material economies. If the events did occur, then that revelation is the more significant.

The gifts given to Wulfric, and his own largesse, spiritually and materially, make him appear almost as a living shrine. That is to say that he carries out many of the activities associated with sites of holy burial, from mutually expedient offering of gifts from visitors and saint, spiritual protection, and a run of miracles and visionary experience. Money and shrines go together, and so too do money and Wulfric within his lifetime. The character of the offerings in the story of the two poor women is worth noting in this context. Wulfric leaves the two

³² *The Life of Wulfric*, 3.30; Matarasso 2011, 197, 241 n. 'a'; Bell 1933, 113.

³³ *The Life of Wulfric*, 3.30; Matarasso 2011, 197–9; Bell 1933, 114: 'At ille tandem cum tentasset os, apposuit etiam cor illius tentare de avaritia, et duos denarios proferens obtulit ei. Cui vir sanctus: "Pone", inquit, "eos illuc; iam advenient qui tollent eos." Itaque confusus ille recessit, et discumbente eo in villa eadem cum priore supradicto advenerunt duae pauperculae mulieres elemosynam petentes. Quas idem clericus tumide repellens: "Ite," ait, "ad hominem Dei cui opera elemosynarum incumbent, maxime cum pecuniis abundet." At illae duos denarios proferentes aiunt: "Et nos cum eo fuimus et ecce hos de fenestra eius sustulimus." Quibus clericus idem inspectis et recognitis erubuit quidem sed non usque ad condignam paenitentiam'.

³⁴ *The Life of Wulfric*, 3.30; Matarasso 2011, 198; Bell 1933, 114: 'et redditibus non paucis locupletatus'.

pennies on his window, a liminal space, perhaps recalling the offerings deposited at shrines, as much as it indicates a practical way for the poor to access their alms. The presentation of Wulfric as a living shrine is made all the more potent in the reality of his enclosure, a living saint immured is literally a living shrine. Such a presentation was, again, no doubt John of Forde's intention, but in this case, this was clearly a common rather than an individual appreciation of Wulfric's life.

A final detail in the story of the two poor women serves to underline the familiarity of high medieval English society with coins, but at the same time to reveal something of their status. Both pennies are recognized by their original donor, Robert. An implication might be that coins were inspected and examined by their owners and that they were often sufficiently individual to be recognised. Coins took their place within the broader high medieval economy, but were a distinct element amongst others. Wulfric's servant-thief was wealthy in sheep, vestments and gold, as well as silver.

The Life of Wulfric is instructive for several dimensions of the uses and significance of money in the middle years of the twelfth century. Why Wulfric's life has not been used in this context before has clear explanations. A good part of the answer to that is the constraining force of disciplinary perspectives. The *Life* was one of the most popular of John of Forde's works, and, though the exigencies of John's reign cut it off from a more widespread dissemination among continental Cistercian libraries, it remained popular enough in England to the Reformation.³⁵ Within modern scholarship however, the reception is more limited and more fragmentary. As Matarasso puts it:

The Enlightenment judged it irrational, the Victorians found it unedifying, the modern age categorised it as hagiography, a genre to be approached with caution and a sack of salt. Theologians prefer straight theology, and this has the appearance of a hybrid work, made up of fact worked on by memory and further embroidered with meaning; the theology is there but must be sought. Social historians, dismissing the theology, hunt around in the text like truffle hounds for evidence to lay alongside that of charters, acts, and chronicles.³⁶

The Life of Wulfric taken in the round is a complex text, with a large cast of characters, and one which provides an intimate encounter not only with coinage, but with the nature of money within a society not yet fully monetized. Money, including coin, is seen in multiple functions, and, as in so much else in medieval life, reaches physically and symbolically between the boundaries of the present world and that of the world to come.

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³⁵ Holdsworth 1961, 120.

³⁶ Matarasso 2011, 2.

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KING JOHN'S IRISH REX COINAGE REVISITED

PART I: THE DATING OF THE COINAGE

D.W. DYKES



Fig. 1. (a) Dublin REX penny (Roberd) with *rev.* estoile over crescent. Author's collection. (b) Dublin halfpenny (Roberd) with *rev.* cross pattée over crescent. Reproduced by permission of the National Museum of Ireland; photo: Paul and Bente Withers. (c) Dublin farthing (Willem) with *rev.* estoile. © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

It is now some forty-five years since Michael Dolley together with Liam O'Sullivan of the National Museum of Ireland set out in a commemorative paper published by the Thomond Archaeological Society 'to bring new precision to the chronology of the earliest [official] coins to be struck by the English in Ireland', the so-called DOM and REX coinages put out in the name of John, either as Lord of Ireland or as King of England.¹

Although John had been designated Lord of Ireland by his father, Henry II, in 1177 and, eight years later had been dispatched on an expedition to assert his authority over the country's colonialist Anglo-Norman barons and its native kings,² it was probably not until the 1190s that any specific coinage was embarked upon for the lordship.³ This was an extensive issue of silver coins, approximately equivalent in weight to a half and a quarter of the English penny⁴ and struck originally at Dublin but later at Waterford and Limerick; 'halfpennies' also being produced for a short time at Kilkenny and Carrickfergus. Known as the DOM coinage because of the inclusion of John's title, *dominus Hiberniae* (abbreviated in various forms), in the obverse legend of the 'halfpennies', it continued to be issued after John's accession to the throne in 1199 and probably remained in production at Dublin for at least the first five years of the new century.

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¹ Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 437.

² Whilst John had been nominated 'King of Ireland' in 1177 the title had not received papal sanction at the time. Despite being eventually approved by Urban III in 1185 it was never adopted by John or his successors until 1542 when ironically Henry VIII assumed it to counter papal pretensions and assert his supremacy over the Irish Church.

³ Dolley thought that a rare group of silver halfpennies with a profile head and the legend JOHANNES might have been struck by John at the time of his 1185 expedition. The evidence adduced by Dolley is not sufficiently strong, however, to rebut with complete assurance Derek Allen's earlier suggestion that these coins should be associated with John de Courcy: Dolley 1966d, 66–7; Allen 1938, 290.

⁴ See p. 124 below.

At some point during the first decade of the thirteenth century the DOM coinage was superseded by a new coinage of pence, halfpence and farthings on the English standard and bearing the king's regal title. Until 1967 this new REX coinage – the subject of this paper – had, traditionally, and on the basis of a reading of the *Flores Historiarum* of the St. Albans chronicler Roger of Wendover,⁵ been dated as starting *c.*1210; a connection being made with John's expedition to Ireland that year and Wendover's statement that at about that time pennies, half-pennies and farthings had been ordered to be coined of the same standard as that of the coin of England.⁶ In 1964, in his definitive *Earliest Anglo-Irish Coinage*, O'Sullivan had examined both the DOM and the REX issues and had accepted that the REX coinage had been 'most probably issued under this order of 1210'.⁷ Three years later, however, in the Thomond paper Dolley and O'Sullivan endeavoured to bring forward the start of the coinage to *c.*1205, their argument being based on Dolley's interpretation of a variety of administrative record sources of the time.

Dolley and O'Sullivan were writing their paper – in which Dolley was very much the key partner⁸ – in the full tide of a tendency by scholars to disparage the St Albans narrative history of the period.⁹ Dolley himself, of course, had some reason to distrust Roger of Wendover. Six years earlier he had questioned Wendover's dating and understanding of Eadgar's tenth-century reform of the English coinage and, despite the challenges that his conjectures occasioned, he could never be brought to acknowledge the Benedictine monk's credibility as far as recoinages were concerned.¹⁰ Moreover, at the Queen's University of Belfast he was influenced by his senior colleague Lewis Warren – at the time the most recent biographer of King John – who, while cognizant of the value of the chronicle sources, was dismissive of much of the all too vivid anecdotal detail of Wendover's account of John's reign.¹¹ But though Wendover, prejudiced in the wake of the king's quarrel with Rome, the Interdict, and royal treatment of the monastic orders, over-larded his cake with crafted fictional tales in the interest of demonising John he was nevertheless an attentive observer based for much of his life in an abbey only twenty or so miles from London with a guesthouse accommodating the comings and goings of influential and informed visitors from all over England and the continent. Thus, while he might not have begun writing his chronicle until after Henry III's accession,¹² he was in a position to garner reliable, contemporaneous information; and even if one might shrug off many of Wendover's more shocking flights of fancy as monastic invective or indict him for misusing much of his factual evidence just as he is said to have wasted the property of Belvoir Priory 'in careless prodigality' his chronicle should not necessarily be discounted as providing totally untrustworthy testimony for John's reign.¹³

For our purposes Wendover's entry, under the annalistic year 1210, reads:

*Eodem anno rex Anglorum Johannes, apud Pembroc in Wallia copioso exercitu congregato, profectus est in Hiberniam et ibi applicuit octavo idus Junii; cumque venisset ad Dublinensem civitatem ... Fecit quoque ibidem constituere leges et consuetudines Anglicanas, ponens vicecomites aliosque ministros, qui populum regni illius juxta leges Anglicanas judicarent; ...*¹⁴

⁵ The *Flores* was incorporated in the *Chronica Majora* of Wendover's successor, Matthew Paris, the source most usually quoted by earlier authorities. For Wendover's influence on Paris, see Gransden 1974, 359–60.

⁶ Simon 1749, 12. Ruding accepted this dating, arguing that the REX coins were 'probably not of earlier date than his [John's] eleventh year, 1210, when to quiet that part of his dominions, he went thither in person, with a large army, and established there the execution of English laws': Ruding 1840, I, 180. Lindsay had the previous year more positively associated the inception of the coinage with 1210: Lindsay 1839, 25.

⁷ O'Sullivan 1964, vi.

⁸ Among much else in the Thomond monograph it has to be stressed that the historical interpretation of the documentary evidence was essentially Dolley's, a factor recognized in the course of this paper.

⁹ A pattern set by Professor Vivian Galbraith in his crushing David Murray Lecture at the University of Glasgow: Galbraith 1944.

¹⁰ Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 136–68; but see Allen 2012, 16 and the references cited therein. See Dolley 1966b, 83, n.6, for a characteristically gratuitous rejection of Wendover's numismatic reliability.

¹¹ Warren 1997, 11–16.

¹² For the date of Wendover's *Flores* see Galbraith 1944, 16–17 and Gransden 1974, 359.

¹³ For Wendover see *ODNB* and the references cited therein.

¹⁴ Coxe 1841–44, III (1841), 233–4.

In the same year John king of the English, having brought together a richly provided army at Pembroke in Wales, set out for Ireland arriving there on 6 June. When he had come to the city of Dublin ... he had English laws and customs established, appointing sheriffs and other officers to judge the people of that kingdom according to English law;

He then goes on to say:

praefecerat autem ibidem Johannem de Gray, episcopum Norwicensem, justiciarium, qui denarium terrae illius ad pondus numismatis Angliae fecerat fabricari, et tam obolum quam quadrantem rotundum fieri praecepit. Jussit quoque rex, ut illius monetae usus tam in Anglia quam in Hibernia communis ab omnibus haberetur, et utriusque regni denarius in thesauris suis indifferenter poneretur. De hac autem rotunditate Merlinus vates prophetavit dicens, 'Findetur forma commercii, dimidium rotundum erit'...

He had, moreover, appointed there John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, as Justiciar, who had the penny of that land made to the weight of the coin of England and ordered the making of a round halfpenny and farthing. The king also commanded that the use of this money should be general both in England and in Ireland, and that the penny of either realm without distinction should be placed in his treasuries. It was concerning this roundness that the seer Merlin prophesied when he said 'The shape of commerce shall be split and the half shall be round'

As Dolley and O'Sullivan recognized it was Wendover's apparent annalistic melding of the new REX coinage with John's nine-week expedition to Ireland from June to August 1210 that had confused earlier authorities.¹⁵ They acknowledged, however, that Wendover himself had appreciated that the institution of the new coinage had preceded the king's brief stay in Dublin; indeed their own translation of the chronicle made this clear.¹⁶ Nevertheless, they were not prepared to admit that Wendover's explicit association of the coinage with John de Gray¹⁷ – whose justiciarship of Ireland had begun only eighteen months or at most two years before – was historically reliable. Setting aside what they described as Wendover's 'circumstantial narrative' and calling upon the evidence of four contemporary archival sources assembled by Dolley, they concluded that the new coinage had begun not in 1208 or 1209 but at least three years earlier. Their proposition was not implausible in the context of the systematic attention that John paid to his lordship in the years from 1204 onwards in an attempt to implant royal government there.¹⁸ Unhappily, while the sources they used are unimpeachable in themselves there are reasons to hesitate before accepting the inferences that Dolley drew from each of them and one hardly needs to scratch much beneath the surface to be confronted with nagging doubts about the validity of his overall reconstruction.

The four documents, reproduced below in an extended form from the abbreviated enrolled texts in the Public Record Office with an English translation subjoined, are:

1. A Close Roll mandate of about the end of August 1204 (TNA: PRO, C 54/1, m. 18¹⁹) to Meiler fitz Henry, the then justiciar of the lordship,²⁰ approving the construction of a fortress (*fortalice*) at Dublin, one of its purposes being to house the royal treasury. The relevant part of John's order reads:

¹⁵ Guiltier than Wendover, but lacking his likely first-hand knowledge in this instance, were the strictly contemporary and independent *Annals of Dunstable* that explicitly associated the new coinage with the expedition. *Tunc fecit novam monetam ibidem*: Luard 1866, III, 32. The *Annals* probably reflected a general understanding of the time.

¹⁶ 'While there [Dublin], too, John had English laws and customs established, appointing sheriffs and other officers to judge the people of that kingdom according to English law, *having already set up there John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, as Justiciar, he [John de Gray] having had the penny of that land made to the weight of the coin of England* [my italics]: Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 475.

¹⁷ John de Gray (*d.* 1214), bishop of Norwich (1200–14), was a loyal supporter of King John and dubbed one of the latter's 'evil counsellors' [*consilarii iniquissimi*] by Wendover. Despite the king's support Gray's election as archbishop of Canterbury in 1205 was quashed by the pope and he died before being able to take up the see of Durham to which he was elected in 1214. He was justiciar of Ireland from the autumn or winter of 1208 until 23 July 1213: *ODNB*.

¹⁸ By curbing the power of the over-mighty feudatories and introducing English judicial and administrative machinery into the lordship – and thereby maximizing the extraction of royal income from Ireland.

¹⁹ Printed in Hardy 1833, I, 6, and (a somewhat different version) in Gilbert 1870, 61; calendared in Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 35, no. 226.

²⁰ Meiler fitz Henry (*d.* 1220), one of the earliest Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland, was justiciar from c. 1198–99 – reappointed in 1200 – until his dismissal c. June 1208. His period as justiciar was marked by constant difficulties with the great barons of Ireland, compounded by John's scheming and capricious shifts in policy towards individual magnates, all of which led to virtual civil war and fitz Henry's eventual replacement by John de Gray: *ODNB*.

Mandastis nobis quam non habuistis locum ubi thesaurus noster reponi possit apud vos. Et quia tam ad hoc quam ad alia multa, necessaria esset nobis fortilecia apud Dubliniam, vobis mandamus, quod ibidem castellum fieri faciatis in loco competenti, ubi melius esse videritis ad urbem justiciandam et, si opus fuerit, defendendam quam fortissimum poteritis, cum bonis fossatis et fortibus muris; turrin autem primum faciatis ubi postea competencius castellum et baluum et pacacia nostra sicut nobis mandatis ...

You have intimated to us that you have no place about you where our treasure can be laid up; and inasmuch as for that purpose as well as many others a fortalice might be necessary for us at Dublin, we give you mandate to have a castle made there in a suitable place where you shall see best so as to justice and, if need be, to defend the city, making it as strong as you can with good ditches and strong walls. And you shall first make a tower [keep] where at a later time the castle and bailey and other requirements may suitably be made, provided we shall give you mandate for that

Dolley assumed from the mandate an intention to set up, *de novo*, 'a formal Irish treasury in Dublin' and interpreted this action, coinciding with the reform of the English Short Cross coinage in 1204/05, as a prelude to the striking of a new coinage in Ireland. Yet, however rudimentary they may have been, an exchequer and a treasury, the nerve centres of the lordship, had been maintained in Ireland – and based in Dublin – perhaps as far back as 1185.²¹ The point of the mandate was that now, in the increasingly turbulent times of fitz Henry's justiciarship and John's growing suspicion of the loyalty of his Anglo-Irish barons, a far stronger citadel was needed in Dublin to protect these essential departments of royal government than could be provided by the primitive motte fortification that had existed since the early days of the Norman occupation.²² There is no reference to mint or exchange in the mandate and it is difficult to see how it has any bearing on the question of the chronology of the REX coinage.

2. A Close Roll writ of 27 May 1205 (TNA: PRO, C 54/2, m. 26²³) relating to the authorization of a payment for the carriage of four hundred marks 'de denariis Hiberniae' from Nottingham to Exeter:

Compute Roberto de Veteri Ponte id quod rationabiliter posuerit in cariagio quadringentarum marcarum de denariis Hiberniae a Notingham usque Exoniam ... Teste me ipso apud Merleburgh, xxvij. die Maii.

Account with Robert de Veteri Ponte²⁴ for what he shall reasonably expend in the carriage of 400 marks of Irish Money from Nottingham to Exeter ... Witness my hand at Marlborough, 27 May.

This writ of May 1205, first noticed by Richard Sainthill in 1857,²⁵ is a critical component of Dolley's thesis. The latter's belief that the DOM coinage – traditionally assumed to represent only halfpennies and farthings – had come to an end with John's accession to the throne in 1199 and his supposition that document (1) in 1204 predicated a preliminary to the establishment of a new mint in Dublin led him to conclude that the words *de denariis Hiberniae* must have referred to the REX coinage.

Liam O'Sullivan, however, had already discussed the writ in his *Earliest Anglo-Irish Coinage*. He had then been of the opinion that its nature and purpose precluded too much weight being put on the words 'pennies of Ireland' as evidence of the REX coinage being in existence at that time; rather, he had considered, that 'the whole phrase' could not be unreasonably interpreted 'as a quantitative statement of an amount of money from the King's Irish treasure irrespective of the denomination or of the place of minting'. In fact it was as 'Irish money' that Sweetman had translated the phrase in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* ninety years before,²⁶ a recognition that the phrase was in effect no more than a purely descriptive one

²¹ Richardson 1942, 146–7; Richardson and Sayles 1963, 21.

²² The king was still concerned about the defences of Dublin in 1207. Much of the building of the castle took place under the justiciarship of John de Gray but it was to be many years before it was completed: Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 47, no. 315; Orpen 1911, II, 307–9.

²³ Printed in Hardy 1833, I, 34, with an extended version and translation in Sainthill 1857, 118.

²⁴ Robert de Veteri Ponte (Vieuxpont), a leading northern baron, was sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire at this time. Custodian of Nottingham castle, a major provincial store for royal treasure and thus a base for the king's authority in the north of England, he frequently handled substantial sums of money for the king. Wendover included Vieuxpont, consistently a loyal supporter of John, in his list of the king's evil advisers (*consilarii iniquissimi*). He had for a time been the gaoler of Prince Arthur at Rouen: Coxe 1841–44, III (1841), 237; Jolliffe 1948, 132; *ODNB*, s.v. Vieuxpont.

²⁵ Sainthill 1857, 115–26.

²⁶ As indeed had Sainthill's translator: Sainthill 1857, 118; Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 40, no. 262.

recording the carriage of specie derived from the Irish treasury.²⁷ Such an impression was supported by Lord Stewartby in a perceptive review of Dolley's *Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins*²⁸ where the writ's apparent association with the REX coinage had attained certitude in Dolley's mind.²⁹ As Dolley himself had noted the writ was simply one of a whole series of enrolled entries referring to payments milked from the Irish treasury into John's English coffers – sometimes in specie, sometimes in bullion – to meet the needs of the king's business outside the lordship, necessitated in large part by the diminution and eventual loss of income from his French possessions, and which went back at least to 1203.³⁰ Normally these entries were in the form *denarii ex thesauro Hiberniae* or *de thesauro Hiberniae*, or as with a consignment of money sent over from Ireland to the provincial treasury at Bristol in 1204, simply 'the king's treasure [from Ireland]' (*thesaurum suum ab Hibernia*).³¹ To save time and manuscript space chancery practice was to set out such words in a contracted form so that what we might have in this particular entry (deñ Hiḃñ) could be no more than excessively elliptical clerical shorthand for 'money of Ireland' – a nuanced shift from the traditional translation 'Irish money' and indicating a transfer of monies sourced from the Irish treasury but not necessarily of *Irish* mintage.

On the other hand it could conceivably be argued that, if the chancery clerk was being precise and really did mean 'Irish pennies', the account might well refer to a consignment of DOM coins. While these small coins, roughly equivalent in weight to a half or quarter of an English penny, have traditionally been regarded as halfpennies and farthings – Dolley somewhat tendentiously concluded that these minor denominations were 'intended to signify the inferior status of the lordship'³² – an alternative, and now generally accepted, view is that they passed in Ireland as *pennies* and *halfpennies* struck for insular consumption on an Irish standard influenced by the debased weight of the native bracteates that had only recently died out.³³ Such an interpretation is supported by Wendover's comment that the REX pennies were ordered 'to be made to the weight of the coin of England' (*ad pondus numismatis Angliae fecerat fabricari*) thus facilitating their circulation in England as well as Ireland and implying a departure from the standard operating for the purely insular official coins that had gone before, coins that from an English standpoint might well have been regarded as *denarii Hiberniae*.³⁴

Dolley took the view that production of the DOM coinage did not extend beyond John's accession to the throne. His argument was largely based on the king's titulature but since John's status as lord of Ireland was unchanged after 1199 there was no reason – economic or political – summarily to end the striking of what was an accepted and primarily insular coinage.

It is perhaps not without significance that as late as the autumn of 1200 when Meiler fitz Henry was reappointed as justiciar, all Irish pleas touching the mint and the exchange were included among the rights reserved to the crown.³⁵ While such a caveat might be seen as no

²⁷ O'Sullivan 1964, 14.

²⁸ Stewart 1972, 193. See also Stewartby 2009, 61.

²⁹ Dolley 1972, 6.

³⁰ Lydon 1964, 53–4; Jolliffe 1948, 124, 127. The first major payment evidenced was of 400 marks of silver and 200 ounces of gold *de pecunia nostra Hiberniae*: Liberate Roll, 27 October 1203, printed in Hardy 1844, 70, and calendared in Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 29, no. 188. *Pace* Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 442, *pecunia* in reference to the silver would have meant specie and not bullion.

³¹ Patent Roll, 23 March 1204, printed in Hardy 1835, I, i, 39, and calendared in Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 32, no. 208. Bristol thenceforth became a permanent safe-deposit for Irish revenues: Jolliffe 1948, 126.

³² Dolley 1972, 1–2.

³³ Stewartby 2009, 60; cf. also Allen 1942, 78. We do not know when the issue of the latest Irish bracteates came to an end. Such as we have come primarily from two hoards: the Castlelyons (Co. Cork) Hoard (*Thompson*, 60, no. 160, s.v. 'Fermoy'), deposited about 1140±10; and the Scrabo Hill Hoard (*Thompson*, 120, no. 326): Lindsay 1839, 135; Allen 1942, 71–85; Dolley 1966b, 86–90. According to Allen 1951, lvi, the latter hoard would appear to have contained a Class F Henry II 'Cross and Crosslets' penny which could date it to about 1175–80 but Dolley 1966b, 81–4 questioned the association of this coin and two other 'Tealby' pennies with the hoard which he dated (without them) to about 1130±10.

³⁴ It is of interest to note Ware's remark that 'It seems manifest from this Passage, that Money had been before coined in Ireland; but that then the Money of that Country was by the King's Command first minted to the Standard of the English Money': Harris 1764, 208.

³⁵ The reservation clauses form part of a mandate to the 'archbishops, &c.' of Ireland announcing fitz Henry's reappointment. In extended form they read: *Sciatis autem quod retinuimus ad opus nostrum omnia placita Hybernie spectantia ad coronam*

more than a formulaic protection of the king's rights it could well suggest that the Dublin mint at least remained operative at this time and, if so, then it must still have been striking DOM coins. Moreover, such hoard evidence as we have, minimal and ill-recorded as it is, posits a life for the DOM coins alongside their REX successors at least as late as the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century. Five hoards exemplify this overlap (I have retained the traditional description of 'halfpenny' and 'farthing' in listing the DOM coins):³⁶

Arklow, c.1210:

DOM: at least one Dublin farthing; REX: unspecified number of farthings.

*Newry ('Ulidia'), c.1210:*³⁷

DOM: 2 halfpence, 10 farthings; REX: 293 coins (including 1 penny (Dublin – Iohan) and 289 pence (Dublin – Roberd), 2 halfpence (Dublin – Roberd), 1 farthing (Dublin – Roberd)).

'Dr. Petrie's reconstructed Ulster (?) Hoard', c.1210:

DOM: 614 (?) halfpence, 17(?) farthings; REX: 312 (?) pence, 30 (?) halfpence, 1 (?) farthing.

'French Hoard', c.1215:

DOM: 20 halfpence; REX: 2 pence (Dublin – Roberd).

Corofin, c.1225:

DOM: 1,041 halfpennies, 2 farthings; REX: 1 penny (Dublin – Roberd), 14 halfpence (Dublin – Roberd (13), Willem (1)), 2 farthings (Dublin – Roberd (1), Willem (1)).

There are good reasons why the money referred to in the writ of May 1205 had been sent to Exeter and why it should have been done at that time. Exeter was a forwarding depot for the export of coin for the king's operations in France³⁸ and the spring of that year witnessed a frenzy of activity as John assembled resources for expeditions to Poitou and Normandy. The latter undertaking never took place but that for Poitou did leave Dartmouth, the main port of embarkation for the county and only thirty miles from Exeter, in the summer. When Dolley was writing there was no record of any example of the DOM coinage ever having been found outside Ireland but in 1986 a small parcel of twenty DOM coins and two REX pennies all apparently of the Dublin mint (the 'French Hoard') came on to the market to be acquired by the National Museum of Ireland the following year. The coins were said to have been found in France, possibly part of a larger hoard, but their find spot could not be identified. Not unnaturally the questionably vague nature of their alleged provenance coupled with the fact that such coins had rarely if ever been found outside Ireland has led to suspicions that they may emanate from a disguised Irish find. On the other hand, if their source is genuine, the coins – perhaps the purse of an Irish retainer – could well be associated with John's campaigns to regain his French territories in 1213–14, campaigns which drew substantial sums of money and armed support from Ireland.³⁹ If so, the evidence, anomalous, tangential and slight as it is, could be a further element to cast doubt on the solidity of Dolley's argument about the

nostram, et monetam, et cambium: et ideo vobis prohibemus super forisfacturam nostram ne de placitis talibus, aut moneta, aut cambio vos de cetero intromittatis: TNA: PRO: C 53/4, m. 28 dors. Printed in Hardy 1837, I, i, 98, and calendared in Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 21, no. 133.

³⁶ See Appendix below for brief details of the Irish hoards based on Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 476–7 and Allen 2001, 118–30. For more information concerning Arklow, see Dolley 1966f, 133–4; Newry ('Ulidia'), *Thompson*, 109, no. 288, Smith 1863, 149–50, Dolley 1958–59, 311, Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 450; 'Dr. Petrie's Hoard', Dolley 1966e, 127–9; Corofin (which may be as late as 1225), *Thompson*, 36, no. 99, Dolley and O'Sullivan 1965, 98–103. For the 'French Hoard' see Kenny 1987, 219.

³⁷ The 'Newry' hoard was so designated because it was purchased from a resident of the town in 1858 having been 'discovered in the north of Ireland'. Dolley, having come to the conclusion that the hoard 'was almost certainly unearthed to the north of the Mourne's' because of its large element of de Courcy issues, adopted the name 'Ulidia' but his redesignation has not generally been favoured over the traditional 'Newry'.

³⁸ Jolliffe 1948, 127–8 and 132.

³⁹ Kenny 1987, 219; Otway-Ruthven 1993, 85, 166–7. The lord of Leinster, William Marshal, for instance, although he did not go on the campaigns himself sent knights to Poitou: Warren 1997, 218.

composition of the barrels of coin sent to Exeter in 1205. Over time other finds of DOM coins may well be unearthed in France.

3. A Patent Roll entry of 9 November 1207 (TNA: PRO, C 66/7, m. 4⁴⁰) registering the king's prohibition of the commercial use of any money other than his own Irish coin in the Lordship:

Rex omnibus etc. totius Hiberniae etc. Bene scitis quod . . . Prohibemus etiam super forisfacturam vite et membrorum quod nullus vendat vel emat per aliam monetam quam per monetam nostram Hiberniae, quoniam eam per totum regnum currere volumus et non aliam. Teste me ipso apud Wudestok ix die Novembris.

The king etc. to everyone of the whole of Ireland etc. Know well that . . . We also prohibit on pain of forfeiture of life and limb the selling or buying by means of any money other than our money of Ireland since we wish it and no other to circulate throughout our whole kingdom. Witness my hand at Woodstock, 9 November.

Dolley read into this proclamation evidence of a final demonetization of the DOM coinage and its supersession by a REX coinage that – on his interpretation of document 2 – must now have been in circulation for at least two years. To Lord Stewartby,⁴¹ on the other hand, it seemed more natural to construe the words *monetam nostram Hiberniae . . . et non aliam* as referring not to the REX coinage but rather to the insular DOM coinage and to a curbing of the country's competitive irregular issues. It is important to recognize that John's proclamation was part of a process to extend English laws and customs to 'everyone of the whole of Ireland' (*omnibus totius Hiberniae*), not only to the island's Anglo-Norman fiefs and towns but, somewhat optimistically, to the native kingdoms too. The final clause should therefore be read as an attempted embargo across the whole land of Ireland (*per totum regnum*⁴²) of such native bracteates as might still be surviving, any circulating foreign coin,⁴³ and particularly the issues of John de Courcy who had been supplanted as lord of Ulster in 1205 but whose coins, from the little we know from the sparse hoard evidence available to us, Arklow, Corofin and Newry,⁴⁴ must still have been circulating in parts of Ireland until as late as 1210.

4. A Charter of 28 March 1208 (TNA: PRO, C 53/8, m. 2⁴⁵) confirming the grant of Leinster to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, but reserving the mint among the crown's regalian rights. (This particular reservation [the square-bracketed words below] is not included in the officially enrolled document but is to be found in an eighteenth-century transcript of the Charter taken from a Tudor register of the muniments of the diocese of Dublin: Archbishop Alen's Register (*Liber Niger Alani*), A2, 455–56: RCB (Church of Ireland) Library, Ms D6/4. There is nothing untoward in the omission since the officially enrolled copies were taken from drafts and did not necessarily reflect what was finally engrossed and sent to the recipient.).

. . . Sciatis nos, ad petitionem Willelmi Mariscalli comitis Penbrocie, concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse, eidem Willelmo terram suam de Lagenia cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, habendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris per servitium c. militum, iure hereditario, in perpetuum, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, [Salvis nobis et heredibus nostris civitate Dublinie et duobus cantredis si adiacentibus, et moneta et secta comitatus Dublinie sicut prius fieri consueverit;] salvis [etiam] nobis et heredibus nostris placitis corone nostre, scilicet, de thesauro, raptu, foresta⁴⁶ et combustione . . .
 . . . Know ye that at the request of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, by the present confirmatory charter we have granted the said William his land of Leinster with all its appurtenances, to have and to hold to himself and his heirs of us and our heirs by the service of 100 knights in hereditary right for ever, with all liberties and free customs, [saving to us and our heirs the city of Dublin and two adjoining cantreds, and the mint and suit of the county of Dublin, as formerly accustomed]; saving [also] to us and our heirs the pleas of our crown, namely treasure-trove, rape, violent robbery⁴⁶ and arson . . .

⁴⁰ Printed in Hardy 1835, I, i, 76, and calendared in Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 53, no. 352.

⁴¹ Stewart 1972, 193. See also Stewartby 2009, 62.

⁴² Although John never assumed the title 'King of Ireland' the phrase *regnum Hiberniae* was a not unexceptional formula in official records in the first quarter of the thirteenth century: cf. Lydon 1995, 281–2 and n.7.

⁴³ Scottish sterling were present in the Newry hoard: Smith 1863, 149.

⁴⁴ For these hoards, for which regrettably insufficient record was made, see the references in n.36 above and Appendix below.

⁴⁵ Printed in Hardy 1837, I, i, 176, and calendared in Sweetman and Handcock 1875, I, 57, no. 381. Archbishop Alen's Register entry is calendared in McNeill 1950, 31.

⁴⁶ Cf. Dolley 1968, 183, n.5.

This charter – and a charter a month later conveying the fief of Meath to Walter de Lacy – has to be seen in the context of John's clampdown on his over-mighty Anglo-Irish feudatories and his assertion of royal authority promulgated in 1207 (document 3) and reaching its apogee in a council held in Dublin in 1210. In the Leinster charter, with its reservation of the mint (*moneta*) among the crown's regalian rights,⁴⁷ John was moreover seeking to curb any aspirations William Marshal might have, at the heart of the lordship, to emulate the pretensions of the like of John de Courcy.⁴⁸

In its protection of the crown's interests it should not necessarily be assumed that the reservation implied, as Dolley thought, the existence of an operational mint at Dublin let alone one striking a REX coinage. By now the DOM coinage had presumably run its course and the mint was probably dormant. The most one can reasonably suppose is that the king already might have had in mind its re-establishment for the production of a new regal coinage as visible proof of his drive to assert his regality over his lordship. It was, after all, in the early weeks of 1208 that John, sufficiently worried about the worsening baronial relations in Ireland, in a state of virtual civil war since the beginning of the century, began to make preparations for a major personal descent upon his lordship although in the event his prior need to secure the Welsh marches and the Scottish borderland obliged him to put it off for another two years.⁴⁹

Sometime in 1208, probably in the summer, Meiler fitz Henry, tactless, turbulent and lacking personal authority over the Anglo-Irish baronage, was superseded as justiciar, John replacing him with John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, in the autumn or early winter.⁵⁰ The appointment of Gray, an accomplished administrator and faithful servant of the crown, signalled a strategic break from the practice of selecting the chief governor from among the Anglo-Irish feudatories.⁵¹ Gray, 'wise, stout and upright' with 'no personal axe to grind in Ireland' and almost the only man John consistently trusted, was to provide the lordship with what John wanted: a decisive, vigorous and capable administration.⁵²

Dolley is caustically dismissive of Wendover's description of Gray's Irish policies as being 'demonstrably false', taking as an example the chronicler's statement that the king had appointed sheriffs during his 1210 visit. There was good reason, he contended, to think that 'shrievalty was introduced into Ireland as early as the reign of Henry II'. Moreover, 'it was 'unfortunate for Roger's reputation that there should be mention of an Irish sheriff in the 1205 Close Roll'.⁵³ Unhappily, the only sheriff referred to in that Close Roll is Robert de Veteri Ponte who was at the time sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and had no Irish connections. And while it is likely that a shrievalty had been established in Dublin by the 1190s a more extensive introduction of English administrative institutions was a long-drawn-out process; even by 1212 formal sheriffdoms existed only in Dublin, Waterford and Munster although by then the de Lacys' Ulster and Meath – both forfeit to the crown since 1210 – also had royal officers collecting the king's debts and administering the king's justice.⁵⁴ As later royal documents recalled, whatever had gone before, it was at the time of John's visit – and much to the credit of John de Gray⁵⁵ – that formal steps were taken 'with the common consent of all men in Ireland' to establish throughout the lordship and its franchises a firm basis of English law

⁴⁷ The mint was not included among the regalian reservations in Lacy's Meath charter as enrolled.

⁴⁸ It will be remembered (p. 124 above) that a similar protective measure had been included in the terms of Meiler fitz Henry's reappointment as justiciar in 1200. De Courcy had been justiciar between 1185 and c.1192 and again during John's forfeiture of the lordship during 1194–95, both periods when he would have been striking his own coins: Richardson and Sayles 1963, 74.

⁴⁹ Duffy 1999, 240; Otway-Ruthven 1993, 79; Warren 1997, 192–4.

⁵⁰ The arrangements over the justiciarship in 1208 are unclear. There is no record of fitz Henry as justiciar after June and he appears to have been temporarily replaced by Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, for a few months. The *Annals of Dunstable* (Luard 1866, III, 30) imply that John de Gray was sent to Ireland in October but the earliest notice we have of his presence there as justiciar is 2 January 1209 (Richardson and Sayles 1963, 75).

⁵¹ Not to be resumed until the appointment of Geoffrey de Marisco in 1215: Richardson and Sayles 1963, 76.

⁵² Speed 1623, 572; Carpenter 2004, 281; Otway-Ruthven 1993, 79. According to Orpen the appointment of Gray 'to the chief office in Ireland... was the best thing John did for Ireland at this time': Orpen 1911, II, 277.

⁵³ Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 444.

⁵⁴ Richardson 1942, 149.

⁵⁵ Orpen 1911, II, 277.

and legal institutions⁵⁶ and a government competent of generating sufficient revenue to meet the crown's wider needs.⁵⁷

It is in this context that the REX coinage must be understood. There can be little doubt that, as Wendover maintained, Gray was responsible⁵⁸ – no doubt at the behest of a king who took a personal and energetic interest in the royal administration – for launching the new coinage. And while 1210 cannot be sustained as a starting date it seems reasonable to assume that this must have been towards the beginning of Gray's justiciarship, that is at the end of 1208 or beginning of 1209.

The hoard evidence, such as it is,⁵⁹ is not of any real help in establishing any absolute chronology of the REX coinage – neither Newry (that included 1 Johan, 289 Roberd pence and (almost certainly) ended with English Short Cross Class V pence (1205–c.1210)) nor conceivably Sudbourne (that included unidentified REX pence and probably ended with English Short Cross Class Vc (c.1207–c.1210)),⁶⁰ which might have given some clue to its inception, were recorded in sufficient detail to be of any assistance – but it is not in conflict with a beginning in 1208/09. Dolley's reiterated insistence that a deposition date of c.1210 for the Newry, Arklow, Sudbourne and 'Dr Petrie's' hoards predicated a coinage start of 1204/05 cannot be sustained on the totality of the evidence available.⁶¹ No hoard containing REX coins can be realistically dated earlier than 1210 and if the Robert of Bedford who was fined in 1211 for giving up the office of *custos cuneorum* in the Dublin mint⁶² can be associated, as Dolley suggested, with the moneyer Roberd who gave way to a Willem late in the coinage then a three year or so span from 1208/09 to 1211/12 might not be thought unreasonable for the issue; such a period would be in accord with the episodic nature of medieval recoinages.⁶³

One factor that conditioned Dolley's approach was his understanding that it was 'the view of qualified English and Irish historians ... that the inception of the REX coinage at Dublin ought to coincide with John's great 1204/1205 recoinage in England'.⁶⁴ But there is no evidence that the two occurrences were connected and it may be worth bearing in mind that later thirteenth-century Irish recoinages never coincided with their English counterparts but took place only after an interval, that of Henry III after four years and that of Edward I after a year.⁶⁵ There is one further point that should be borne in mind. L.A. Lawrence in his fundamental study of the English Short Cross coinage noted that the X on the REX coins was formed of four wedges like that used on the English Class Vc. Although, as Dolley pointed out, the letter-form is not comparable in all instances there is sufficient resemblance in this and other features to suggest that the two coinages were broadly contemporaneous. Lawrence, acting on the traditional dating of 1210 for the inception of the REX coins, assumed that English Class Vc was in issue at that time. Martin Allen, however, on evidence not available to Lawrence, has shown beyond all reasonable doubt that Class Vc began c.1207 ending with the introduction of Class VI c.1210. Thus, holding to Lawrence's thesis but inverting his argument and

⁵⁶ Promulgated at a council held by John in Dublin in 1210 and confirmed in a charter (no longer extant) 'which the magnates of Ireland swore to obey': Richardson and Sayles 1952, 12. For the later allusions to these events see loc. cit., especially n.11 and the references therein.

⁵⁷ The *raison d'être* for the *sterling* basis of the REX coinage was to facilitate its acceptance in the English treasury and thus accommodate John's requirements outside the lordship. This is exemplified by the number of thirteenth-century English and continental hoards containing REX pennies and indeed the existence of German imitations: Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 476–7 and the references therein; Dolley 1965, 213–18.

⁵⁸ Ware states that John 'reformed the Coin, and made it uniform, (some say it was *Gray* his Deputy)': Ware 1705, 43.

⁵⁹ See Appendix below and the references cited therein.

⁶⁰ For Sudbourne see Thompson, 130, no. 344; Andrew 1903–04, 44–5; Dolley 1958–59, 307–11. According to Andrew Sudbourne contained 'Irish pennies of King John' but he was no more specific than this.

⁶¹ This thesis – almost a mantra – seems to have been based on Dolley's view that 'the homogeneity of the REX coinage' suggested that its duration 'did not amount to much more than a period of five years' which conveniently tied in with his interpretation of the documents he cited: Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 465.

⁶² Davies and Quinn 1941, 14 and 15. Dolley, not implausibly in the light of the time-scale, identified Robert of Bedford with the *clericus* of the same name who failed in his efforts to succeed to the see of Glendalough in 1212 but was subsequently elected bishop of Lismore in 1218.

⁶³ A period of no more than three or four years was usual for an Irish recoinage in the thirteenth century instanced by those of 1251–54 and c.1280–84, and the 'Olof' revival of the coinage in 1276–79.

⁶⁴ Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 445. Dolley does not tell us who these 'qualified historians' were.

⁶⁵ A point also made to me in a personal note by Lord Stewartby.

dating the Irish by the English coins, one has cogent numismatic evidence for associating the REX coinage to the start of John de Gray's justiciarship and vindicating Wendover's account.⁶⁶

The REX coinage, struck to the sterling standard and seemingly in accordance with English mint practice, is known from three mints: Dublin, the most prolific, Limerick, and Waterford, the rarest – all centres involved in the issue of John's earlier DOM series.⁶⁷ Pennies and half-pennies are known for all three mints, with farthings, on present evidence, for Dublin and Limerick only. Three or possibly four moneyers, Iohan, Roberd, Willem and Wilelm P, are named as moneyers on the Dublin pennies, and Roberd and Willem on the halfpence and farthings.⁶⁸ At Limerick the moneyers are Willem and Wace, names which Dolley conjectured might have represented the same man, the William Wace who was later dean of Waterford and subsequently bishop of the see from 1223 to 1225. Interestingly, the only moneyer at Waterford was again a Willem and it is not inconceivable that all the Willems, striking small quantities of coins late in the series, were the same person.

If Dolley was right in his surmise about the Limerick Willem's later episcopal career and similarly that of Roberd (very likely bishop of Lismore, 1218–23) – and there is no evidence to gainsay his conjecture – then these moneyers would have been *clerici*, probably members of John de Gray's own household experienced in secular administration, and tasked directly by the justiciar to exercise a supervisory role over the actual striking of the coins. We know nothing about the organization of the Irish mints but the employment of churchmen in thirteenth-century mint administration elsewhere, though unusual, was not unknown.⁶⁹ The febrile atmosphere in which Gray took over the Irish justiciarship and the circumstances surrounding his establishment of the new mints would have required a considerable degree of personal control and one most effectively exercised through close colleagues of well-tried integrity, skilled in administrative matters, lay as well as ecclesiastical.

With the exception of Roberd's halfpence, all the fractions are very rare. It is of interest, too, that none are known to have been found outside Ireland which, despite their paucity today, suggests that, in contrast to the pennies' intended use on both sides of the Irish Sea, they were designed for insular consumption only, conforming to the accepted Irish currency standard of half the English penny.

The earliest of the Dublin coins to judge by the evidence of the Newry hoard and die use are the very few Iohan specimens.⁷⁰ Their superior workmanship and rarity cause one to wonder whether their dies could have been intended as prototypes in the name of John de Gray rather than for the use of any practising moneyer of that name and perhaps brought over from London by the justiciar to launch the Dublin mint.⁷¹ Roberd, who must quickly have taken over from Iohan (if he was a moneyer), was responsible for the great bulk of the Dublin pennies and operated for most of the mint's life, giving way to Willem and Wilelm P (probably the same man) for perhaps no more than its final months.⁷² As far as Limerick and Waterford are concerned, Dolley concluded from the evidence of their halfpence that these mints began their operation late in the coinage, Limerick c.1209–10 and Waterford c.1210, a hypothesis supported by the absence of their coins from the Newry hoard and one that is not historically implausible.

⁶⁶ Lawrence 1915, 71; Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 445; Allen 2001, 7. See also Stewart 1989, 39–45 and Allen 1989, 46–76.

⁶⁷ There seems to be no continuity in personnel between the two coinages except possibly in the unlikely instances of Robert and William at Dublin: Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 466.

⁶⁸ Lindsay mentions a moneyer named Alexander on Dublin pennies (ALEXANDER ON DIVE) but no coins of this moneyer are known: Lindsay 1839, 25 and 76. Cf. O'Sullivan 1964, 15.

⁶⁹ See the list of officials at the sixteen royal mints opened for the recoinage in 1248–49: BL: Hargrave MS 313, fols. 97–97v, reproduced in Ellis 1859, 318–25 (Appendix III) – where the wrong folio number is given – and Johnson 1956, 100–6 (Appendix II); Stewartby 2001, 294–5.

⁷⁰ A specimen of each of the two known Iohan obverses is coupled with a Roberd reverse: Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 466–7. See also p. 125 above.

⁷¹ It could well be that John de Gray acted in the capacity of a nominal moneyer himself at this stage as seems to have been the case in Chichester with Simon [FitzRobert], bishop of the diocese, only a year or two earlier: Stewartby 2001, 294–5.

⁷² Hoard evidence and changes in the design of the crown on halfpence suggest that the replacement of Roberd took place very late and with a minimal overlap. Willem's coins are very rare as are those of Wilelm P.

John's REX coinage, with the king's head and crown surprisingly realistically engraved for the period, is arguably the most attractive of the *denier* coinages of the central middle ages. Its style and iconography, sharply distinctive from what had gone before in the lordship and from the crude contemporary *type immobilisé* coinage of England, leads one to think that it must have been intended to convey a powerful political message. To bring home to feudatory and Irish kinglet alike, through the use of the royal title⁷³ and of its cosmic reverse types thought by some to be symbolic of Plantagenet majesty,⁷⁴ the reality of John's determination to assert his personal authority over the 'whole land of Ireland'; 'to be King in Ireland as in England'.⁷⁵ Such an interpretation would be wholly consistent with an introduction of the coinage c.1208, the year of John de Gray's appointment as justiciar and of the initial stages of planning for John's proposed expedition to Ireland, eventually undertaken in 1210.⁷⁶ On this basis, a straightforward interpretation of the documentary and hoard evidence available to us would seem to leave little room to doubt Roger of Wendover's testimony or to question a time-span of three or at the most four years before its completion in 1211–12.

It would be wrong of me, in concluding this paper, not to stress that my interest in medieval Anglo-Irish coinage owes a great deal to Michael Dolley's personal encouragement and infectious enthusiasm; an enthusiasm that always and inevitably opened up avenues of thought that one had never contemplated. But, great numismatist that he undoubtedly was – and this is clearly demonstrated in the Thomond monograph – it does seem to me that in his anxiety to question the reliability of Wendover's near contemporary testimony, testimony not unlikely based on conversations with John de Gray's entourage if not with the bishop himself, he was led to read far more into the available archival record than it can reasonably bear.

APPENDIX.

HOARD EVIDENCE FOR KING JOHN'S ANGLO-IRISH COINAGE

(Based on Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 476–7 and Allen 2001, 118–30. *Thompson* see Thompson 1956.)

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Irish DOM</i>	<i>Irregular</i>	<i>Irish REX</i>	<i>English Short Cross</i>	<i>Scottish</i>	<i>Continental</i>	<i>Date of deposit</i>	<i>Select bibliography</i>
'Dr Petrie's', unknown site, before 1842	600+		300+	?	?	–	c.1210	<i>Thompson</i> –; Dolley 1966e, 127.
'Newry' (Ulidia), Co. Down, c.1857	12	265	293	539	5	–	c.1210	<i>Thompson</i> no. 288; Smith 1863, 149–50; Dolley 1958–59, 311; Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 450.
Arklow, Co. Wicklow, 1834	1+	1	2+	–	–	–	c.1210	<i>Thompson</i> –; Dolley 1966f, 133–4.
Sudbourne, Suffolk, 1879			X	c.2,600?	X	?	c.1207	<i>Thompson</i> no. 344; Andrew 1903–04, 44–5; Dolley 1958–59, 307–11; Allen 2012, no. 194.

⁷³ Although John never formally assumed the title *Rex* in respect of the lordship. But see n.42 above. The use of the royal title, of course, also facilitated the circulation of the coinage in England as well as Ireland.

⁷⁴ See Dykes forthcoming.

⁷⁵ Curtis 1938, 102.

⁷⁶ John's massive expedition, delayed because of problems in Wales and with Scotland, comprised 700 ships, over 1,000 foot soldiers (including Flemish mercenaries) and more than 800 knights to whom he paid £1,433 13s. 6d. from the treasury even before setting out from Pembroke. In Ireland the army – probably the largest ever seen in the country – was augmented with troops provided by Gray, William Marshal and some of the Irish kings, all requiring even more financial support as, of course, did the nine-week campaign itself: Carpenter 2004, 280; Orpen 1911, II, 243–4; Warren 1997, 196.

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Irish DOM</i>	<i>Irregular</i>	<i>Irish REX</i>	<i>English Short Cross</i>	<i>Scottish</i>	<i>Continental</i>	<i>Date of deposit</i>	<i>Select bibliography</i>
Lower Normandy, before 1905			2	52	—	—	c.1211	Dolley 1966c, 30.
Stockland, Devon, 1885			1	33	1	—	c.1215	<i>Thompson</i> —; Dolley 1967, 194; Allen 2012, no. 204.
‘ <i>Lady Poer Trench’s</i> ’, unknown site, (Co. Galway?), before 1923			12	—	—	—	c.1215	<i>Thompson</i> —; Dolley 1966f, 135–7.
Corofin, Co. Clare, 1942	1,043+?	4+?	17+?	2+?	—	—	c.1225	<i>Thompson</i> no. 98; Dolley and O’Sullivan 1965, 98–103.
Clifton, Lancashire, 1947			1	61	3	1	c.1225	<i>Thompson</i> —; Carson 1947, 80–2; Allen 2012, no. 215.
Hickleton, South Yorkshire, 1946			1	13	1	—	c.1230	<i>Thompson</i> no. 89; Dolley 1958–59, 315–16; Allen 2012, no. 218.
Le Poiré-sur- Velluire, Vendée, France, c.1895			1	53	—	1,598+	c.1230	Dolley 1966c, 30.
Eccles, Greater Manchester, 1864			104	5,715	196	7+	c.1230	<i>Thompson</i> no. 152; Dolley 1958–59, 316; Stewart 1980; Stewartby 1993; Allen 2012, no. 217.
Tullintowell, Co. Leitrim, 1932			2	34	—	—	c.1235	<i>Thompson</i> —; Dolley 1966a, 113–15.
Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth, 1954			1	10	—	1?	c.1235	<i>Thompson</i> —; Dolley 1969, 160–4.
Colchester, Essex, 1902			160	10,922	168	27	c.1237	<i>Thompson</i> no. 94; Dolley 1958–59, 316–17; Stewart 1980, 195; Allen 2012, no. 225.
Kilmaine, Co. Mayo, 1946			12+	186+	10+	—	c.1240	<i>Thompson</i> no. 216; Dolley 1958–59, 319–20.
Ballykeigle, Co. Down, 1840			4	475+	1	—	c.1240	<i>Thompson</i> —; Seaby 1955, 164.
Tom a’ Bhuraich, Aberdeenshire, 1822			2	c.200– 300	X	—	c.1240	<i>Thompson</i> nos. 169 & 361; Dolley 1961–62, 241–8; Metcalf 1977, no. 13.
Montpellier, Hérault, France, 1934			4	600	9	1	c.1240	Dolley 1966c, 31.
Co. Dublin, 1853			53	150	—	1	c.1245	<i>Thompson</i> no. 135; Dolley 1958–59, 320.
Wrexham, 1926			1	67+?	1	2	c.1245	Lewis 1970, 19–23; Boon 1986, 105–9.
Ribe ‘A’, Denmark, 1911			21	1,200	13	23	c.1246	Dolley 1966c, 31.

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Irish DOM</i>	<i>Irregular</i>	<i>Irish REX</i>	<i>English Short Cross</i>	<i>Scottish</i>	<i>Continental</i>	<i>Date of deposit</i>	<i>Select bibliography</i>
Ribe 'B', Denmark, 1958			1	167	2	7	c.1246	Dolley 1966c, 31.
Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, 1892			1	?	?	c.10,000	c.1258	Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 453.
Brussels, Belgium, 1908			8*	c.80,000	c.1,750	c.70,000	c.1267	Dolley 1970, 67–70; Churchill and Thomas 2012
Stoneyford, Co. Antrim, c.1915			1?		1	–	c.1270	<i>Thompson</i> –; Seaby 1955, 165; Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 453.
Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, 1856			1?		–	–	<i>After</i> 1280	<i>Thompson</i> no. 72; Seaby 1955, 162; Dolley and O'Sullivan 1967, 453.

* Together with 1,600+ Dublin pennies of Henry III.

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THE ROYAL EXCHANGES AND MINTS IN THE PERIOD OF BARONIAL REFORM

RICHARD CASSIDY

IN the spring of 1258, a group of magnates seized control of the government of England in a bloodless coup. At the Oxford parliament in June, they set up a council to control the administration in the name of King Henry III, and drew up an agenda for reform.¹ These proposals, later known as the Provisions of Oxford, included as one of the reformers' priorities:

Of the exchange of London

It is to be remembered about amending the exchange of London, and about the city of London and all the other cities of the king that have gone to shame and destruction through tallages and other oppressions.²

The London exchange found a place in the reform agenda because it was a significant contributor to government income, and because it was clearly in need of reform. The baronial council moved quickly to deal with the problems of the exchanges. After inquiries in 1258 and 1260–61, it succeeded in establishing firmer control and increasing government revenue. This episode has been largely overlooked by historians of the period, and by historians of the mint;³ the standard history of the baronial movement, by R.F. Treharne, has a paragraph on the exchanges:

'With regard to the promised reforms of the various exchanges or mints in London and elsewhere, something was attempted, but with little success. . . . The Bishop of Worcester, the Earls of Norfolk and Gloucester, John fitzGeoffrey, and others not named, were appointed to hear the charges against the keepers of the Changes of London and Canterbury, and made an award on some highly technical matters. The high rank of the commissioners proves the importance of the matter, and since John fitzGeoffrey died in November, 1258, the Council had clearly taken immediate steps to settle it. The award was, however, unsuccessful, and in 1261 the charges appeared again, without any satisfactory result.'⁴

While correctly drawing attention to the contemporary significance of the reform of the exchanges, this account overlooks the achievements of the two inquiries. These successes can be illustrated from unpublished accounts and other documents, showing that the reform administration was effective in bringing about improvements, which made a lasting impact after the initial period of reform. These documents also shed new light on the administration of the exchanges and their working practices.

When the reformers took control of the government, England had a sound silver currency. There were just four mints: two ecclesiastical mints, at Bury St Edmunds and Durham, which were of relatively minor importance;⁵ and the two royal mints at London and Canterbury (the Canterbury exchange was shared by the king and the archbishop). The royal mints and exchanges were administered as a single organization, accounting together under a single warden from 1259. The mints produced just one type of coin, the silver penny. The entire currency had been recoined in 1247–50, and thereafter the mints were kept busy coining silver brought

¹ Carpenter 1996, 183–97; Maddicott 2010, 233–48.

² Translation from Rothwell 1996, 365. Original text in Burton annals (Luard 1864–69, I, 452): 'Del eschange de Lundres. A remembrer fet del eschange de Lundres amender . . .'; in the Coke transcript (Richardson and Sayles 1981, III, 29): 'Du Change du Londres. A remembrer fet du Change du Londres amender . . .'. Treharne and Sanders 1973, 111, translates *eschange* as 'mint'.

³ The exceptions are brief accounts of the 1260 inquiry and 1262 reforms in Mayhew 1992, 117–18, and Allen 2012, 67.

⁴ Treharne 1971, 97.

⁵ Hoard evidence suggests that the ecclesiastical mints contributed only 1.4 per cent of the coinage in the late 1250s and 1260s: Allen 2012, 308.

into England by foreign merchants, particularly to pay for wool exports.⁶ Exchanging silver was a royal monopoly, and a steady source of royal income.

The recoinage had been financed by the king's brother, Earl Richard of Cornwall, who was rewarded with half of the exchange income for twelve years. This agreement was due to expire in November 1259. In the 1250s, after the recoinage, the exchanges were producing revenues of between £1,000 and £2,000 a year, to be shared by the king and his brother (see Table 2 below, p. 147, for detailed figures).⁷

The amounts of money produced by the exchanges need to be put into context. One or two thousand pounds a year might not sound impressive to us in an age when government finances are reckoned in billions. For Henry III, it was a worthwhile contribution to a total royal income measured in tens of thousands: in the early 1240s, royal income averaged around £33,000 a year; it tended to fall in the 1250s, and was about £25,000 in 1258–59.⁸

The royal exchanges, like other sources of income for the government, were audited by the Exchequer, and the results of these audits were recorded in the pipe rolls. The wardens of the royal exchanges reported how much income they had produced for the king, and their authorized expenditure. The wardens' pipe roll accounts from 1250 onwards include statements of the quantity of silver manufactured (*fabricatis*), summarized in Table 1 below (p. 146). Exchange accounts were prepared and included in the pipe rolls at irregular intervals, particularly when there was a change of personnel and the old warden had to account for his stewardship. The audit was generally carried out immediately after the end of the period covered by the account.

The amounts of silver brought to the exchanges are recorded in the rolls of silver purchases.⁹ The quantity of silver brought to the exchanges naturally matches the quantity of money produced in the same period. Those who brought silver to the exchanges, as foreign coin, plate or ingots, exchanged a weight of silver (of the appropriate quality) for the same weight of silver coins, minus charges for seigniorage (the king's right to take a proportion of the silver exchanged) and minting. The king's seigniorage was set at 6*d.* per pound of silver. This rate seems to have been long-established; it is specified in 1220,¹⁰ and can be seen to have been applied consistently from 1250 onwards.

The pipe roll accounts recorded the part of the exchange revenues which was received by the king, but not the mintage charges, which were taken by the mint officials to cover their expenses, and to provide their profits. The standard rate, for silver of the required quality, was again 6*d.* per pound. This charge too had a long history: it was applied to the silver which Richard I had coined when preparing to set out on crusade in 1190;¹¹ King John, in his assize of money of 1205, says that nobody is to take more or less than 6*d.* for exchanging a pound of fine silver.¹² These charges evidently provided enough profit to make posts at the exchanges an attractive proposition. Some posts were held as serjeanties, which could be sold, mortgaged or inherited; the fitz Otto family held the office of die-cutters, for example, and could claim the right to have the old broken dies of the London exchange.¹³ Other posts were farmed out, for a fixed payment. Farmers paid an agreed annual sum, and sometimes an entry fine, in order to hold office; in return, they took the risks of profit or loss from exploiting that post. They were sometimes even insulated from much of the risk of loss. In 1242, the foundry of the

⁶ Cassidy 2011, 111–14.

⁷ Denholm-Young 1947, 58–65; Allen 2012, 62–6; Cassidy 2012b. Exchange accounts in pipe rolls: TNA: PRO, E 372/98 rot. 6; E 372/100 rot. 19; E 372/101 rot. 4; E 372/102 rot. 14; E 372/104 rot. 2d.

⁸ Figures for 'expendable income' 1240–45 from Stacey 1987, 207. Estimate for 1258–59 from Cassidy 2012a, 36, based on pipe rolls TNA: PRO, E 372/103–4.

⁹ Rolls from the Canterbury exchange, 1257–58 and 1262–63, TNA: PRO, E 101/288/3 and E 101/288/5, respectively. A roll from London, 1262–63, E 101/288/6. An incomplete roll from London, covering 1266–69, but missing its final membranes which originally ran to the end of 1270, E 101/698/41.

¹⁰ Hardy 1833–44, II, 69b. See Allen 2012, 170–1, for a discussion of seigniorage and mintage charges.

¹¹ Stenton 1925, xxiii, 9. The minting of 1,300 pounds of the king's silver cost £32 10*s.*, equivalent to 6*d.* per pound.

¹² Hardy 1835, 54, gives the relevant section as: 'Et assisum est quod nullus capiat ad cambium pro libra de fine et puro argento plus vel minus quam sex denarios de lege et quod nullus denarius exeat de cambio nostro vel domini Cant' nisi sit legalis de vinteulor [?]. The meaning of this final word is unclear; Ruding 1840, I, 179, mentioned that he could not find it in any glossary. The original patent roll (TNA: PRO, C 66/4 m. 7d) is badly stained, making parts of the assize illegible, but that word is quite plain, and it does look like *vinteulor* or *uniteulor*, neither of which makes sense.

¹³ Allen 2012, 117–19. TNA: PRO, E 159/39 m. 9d.

exchanges was farmed for £90 a year, but with the provision that the farm would be adjusted if the foundry was adversely affected by the outbreak of war.¹⁴ Many posts were held by members of the London governing elite: the wardens William son of Richard and John de Gisors were mayors of London; the moneyer Henry of Frowick was sheriff.¹⁵ The same family names crop up repeatedly: Reyner of Brussels recruited mint experts from overseas in 1247, and Walter of Brussels was a moneyer in the 1250s; William Hardel was warden of the exchanges from 1234 to 1249, and John Hardel was a die-keeper from 1247 to the 1260s; as well as Henry of Frowick, Peter of Frowick was a die-keeper in London in 1238.¹⁶

The post of warden of the exchanges was farmed at times in the 1220s and 1230s, but from 1234 onwards the wardens were custodians, receiving a fixed stipend.¹⁷ Other posts might be granted as a royal favour, or sold for a cash sum. The selection of assayers and die-keepers often seems to have been left to the municipal authorities in London and Canterbury, who presented their candidates to the Exchequer for approval.¹⁸ The farmers of the dies then paid a standard entry fine and annual sum. For example, in 1257 the king's goldsmith, William of Gloucester, paid a gold mark (equivalent to £6 13s. 4d.) to receive a die at the Canterbury mint, and agreed to pay 100s. a year to hold the die with all its issues and profits. He already held a die at the London mint.¹⁹ The payment of 100s. a year seems to have been the usual rate for the post of keeper of a die at the London or Canterbury exchanges, so one can assume that the income from each die was comfortably in excess of that figure. It was certainly sufficient to make the award of a die a convenient way of rewarding royal employees, ranging from clerks to justices, even if they had to pay the 100s. annual farm.²⁰ Die-keepers (who supervised the use of the dies and should not to be confused with keepers or farmers of the profits of dies) traditionally received 12d. for each £100 made at the mint; at Canterbury in 1257, this would have given them £17 a year.²¹ Their other sources of income, and the allocation of the minting charge of 6d. per pound, remain opaque. The willingness to pay for posts in the mints indicates how attractive these positions were, because the profits of minting were being directed towards mint officials, rather than the king.

Before the reform period, Henry III seems to have tried to take closer control of the allocation of dies. In 1255 the king took the dies at Canterbury into his own hand, and ordered the Exchequer and the warden to dispose of them as seemed best.²² This was followed by a wave

¹⁴ *Close Rolls 1237–1242*, 421–2; TNA: PRO, E 159/20 m. 11d. Similarly, when the exchanges were farmed in 1221, the warden was given the guarantee that he could account as custodian rather than farmer if war in England or overseas reduced the amount of silver which merchants brought to the exchanges: *Patent Rolls 1216–1225*, 322. Seven dies at the London mint were farmed in 1256 with the proviso that the farmers would be compensated for losses caused by any war with France: TNA: PRO, C 66/70 m. 1; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* [henceforth *CPR*] 1247–1258, 506.

¹⁵ Weinbaum 1976, no. 3.

¹⁶ Reyner: *CPR 1232–1247*, 508; Walter and John were members of the moneyers' consortium discussed below; John appointed die-keeper, TNA: PRO, E 159/23 m. 4; Peter of Frowick appointed, E 159/17 m. 4. Was he the same Peter of Frowick as the one whose lands in London were seized in 1254 when he abandoned the Christian faith (*CPR 1247–1258*, 342)?

¹⁷ TNA: PRO, E 372/81 rot. 15 for the transition from farmer to custodian. Interestingly, it is at about this time that the Exchequer experimented with custodian rather than farmer sheriffs, although the sheriffs soon reverted to farming; the next brief experiment with custodian sheriffs was instituted by the reforming council in 1258.

¹⁸ For example: die-keepers for Canterbury, TNA: PRO, E 159/16 m. 9d, 10; for both exchanges, E 159/17 m. 4; assayer and die-keepers for London, E 159/18 m. 14; the men of Canterbury to elect the two best men as the king's die-keepers, E 368/17 m. 14, 15; die-keeper chosen by the citizens of London and sworn in, E 159/23 m. 4. Numerous examples are collected in Madox 1769, II, 87–90.

¹⁹ *CPR 1247–1258*, 409, 580; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* [henceforth *CFR*] 1256–57, 961; TNA: PRO, E 159/28 m. 13. Brief biographical note in Mayhew 2008. Noppen 1927 outlines his career as a goldsmith, particularly his work at Westminster Abbey.

²⁰ Canterbury die for William the king's tailor, *Patent Rolls 1225–1232*, 340; he received 100s. a year for life when he surrendered the die, *CPR 1232–1247*, 191. Similarly, a die for Robert of Canterbury, clerk of the king's chapel, for 100s. a year: *CFR 1235–36*, 27–8; *CPR 1232–1247*, 190, 224; *Close Rolls 1234–1237*, 270, 477; *CFR 1240–41*, 203. A die for Nicholas of Hadlow, justice of the Common Bench, on the same day as he was granted 40 marks a year to maintain him in the king's service: *CPR 1247–1258*, 456.

²¹ Payment to die-keepers: *Close Rolls 1231–1234*, 492. The Canterbury payment would have been divided between the king's and the archbishop's shares of revenue, with 7½d. per £100 provided by the king: TNA: PRO, E 372/89 rot. 13. Canterbury output rate from June 1256 to June 1257: £34,368 a year, calculated from E 372/100 rot. 19. The duties of die-keepers during the Long Cross recoinage of 1247–50 are described in a memorandum of 1248 (Johnson 1956, 51–2; Allen 2012, 64).

²² *Close Rolls 1254–1256*, 191; *CFR 1254–55*, 565; TNA: PRO, E 159/28 m. 16. There was an exception for the die which had recently been granted to the king's clerk Robert of Canterbury, for his maintenance (*CPR 1247–1258*, 408).

of new appointments of keepers of dies at Canterbury.²³ Similarly, in April 1256, Henry of Bath, the senior justice, and Philip Lovel the treasurer were instructed to farm the king's dies at the London exchange, and to take gold for an entry fine.²⁴ The new arrangements at the London exchange took effect in June 1256, when a group of moneyers, including William of Gloucester, agreed to pay £40 a year for custody of all eight dies there, and set up arrangements for the keys of the chest holding the king's treasure, to ensure that nothing could be put in or taken out except in the presence of at least two of the moneyers and the wardens of the exchange. The other members of the consortium were Richard Bonaventure, Walter of Brussels (who was also exchanger at the London exchange), David of Enfield, Henry of Frowick and John Hardel. The moneyers of both London and Canterbury exchanges swore to serve the king faithfully.²⁵

The farming of offices was only part of the problem with the exchanges. It had long been recognized that something needed to be done. There were several inquiries into the exchanges during Henry III's personal rule: in 1235, into 'trespasses and other things' at the mints, and in 1245, into trespasses at the Canterbury exchange, which caused several of the staff to flee from the exchange.²⁶ There were scandals, the details of which are now obscure: one Geoffrey de Suff' was detained in the Tower in 1239, over £80 he had received from exchange revenues by the hand of the warden and the moneyer.²⁷ In 1250 the memoranda roll contains notes to discuss the increment in the London exchange (an adjustment to payments from the exchanges, explained below), as the exchangers were complaining, and to speak about the premises of the Canterbury exchange.²⁸ There was a further investigation at Canterbury, with an order in 1252 to bring together all the moneyers, assayers and wardens of the exchange, with four of the more discreet workers, and all the rolls showing the state of the exchange, to hear the king's orders.²⁹ Unfortunately, we do not know what those orders were.

Problems evidently continued, with officials of the city of Canterbury alleged in July 1256 to have a sum of money secretly taken from the exchange.³⁰ In the summer of 1257, the moneyers of London and Canterbury were ordered, on pain of forfeiture of all their goods, not to deliver money from the exchanges to anyone except on the king's written instructions, which also suggests that unauthorized payments had been taking place.³¹

Just before the reform period, on 1 October 1257, William of Gloucester became the king's warden of the exchanges, on the same day as he was granted the die at Canterbury. Together with his membership of the consortium controlling the London dies, this gave him a remarkable concentration of power over the exchanges. He was to receive 2s. a day as stipend for himself and his clerks.³² Early in 1258 all the officials of the exchange during the previous period were summoned to the Exchequer, and various debts and allowances were noted in the memoranda roll; by the summer of 1258, the account had been compiled, audited and recorded in the pipe roll for 1257.³³ When the reformers took over, there was thus a new warden in charge of the exchanges, and the accounts of the previous warden had been settled. The reformers now had to deal with the central problem, that nearly all of the king's income from

²³ *CPR 1247–1258*, 449, 456, 468; *CFR 1255–56*, 70, 72, 421–3; TNA: PRO, E 159/29 m. 1, 2d.

²⁴ *CPR 1247–1258*, 468.

²⁵ TNA: PRO, E 159/29 m. 17; *CFR 1255–56*, 1338, treats this as the grant of seven dies to the consortium, for £35 a year, in addition to the die previously granted to William of Gloucester individually. The pipe rolls also treated this as a £35 a year payment for seven dies: TNA: PRO, E 372/103 rot. 11d. Similar oath by Canterbury moneyers: E 159/29 m. 17 and E 368/31 m. 16d.

²⁶ *CPR 1232–1247*, 127; *CFR 1244–45*, 507.

²⁷ *CFR 1238–39*, 235–6; TNA: PRO, E 159/17 m. 10. The payment to Geoffrey is shown in the exchange accounts as £80 for making the profit of the exchange (*ad proficuum cambii faciendum*) (E 372/81 rot. 15), for which he accounted in the 1238 pipe roll (E 372/82 rot. 13).

²⁸ TNA: PRO, E 159/25 m. 6d, E 368/23 m. 7d; see p. 139.

²⁹ TNA: PRO, E 159/26 m. 23, E 368/26 m. 11.

³⁰ TNA: PRO, E 159/29 m. 19d.

³¹ TNA: PRO, E 159/30 m. 21.

³² *CPR 1247–1258*, 580; *Close Rolls 1256–1259*, 103; *CFR 1256–57*, 962; TNA: PRO, E 159/31 m. 1d. His predecessor had also received 2s. a day: E 159/26 m. 23.

³³ TNA: PRO, E 159/31 m. 8, 9d, 10, 13d; E 372/101 rot. 4.

the exchanges was coming from seigniorage, while exchange officials were enjoying any surplus from mintage charges.

The first step was to take a more consistent and productive approach to royal revenue from the increment. The seigniorage recorded in pipe roll accounts (where it is described as 'issues of the exchange', *de exitu cambii*), is a fixed proportion of the amount of coin produced, but the figure shown for coin production is not a cash amount, but a weight of silver, and one pound weight of silver produced more than £1 value of silver coins.³⁴ If the mint produces more than 240 penny coins from each pound weight of silver, then the seigniorage of 6*d.* in the pound should be increased in proportion if it is paid in cash.³⁵ This adjustment is recorded in the accounts as the 'increment of coins delivered by number and received in silver by weight' (*de cremento denariorum liberatorum per numerum et receptorum in argento per pondus*). In the early part of the reign, the increment did not appear in every account, and when it did, it was a fluctuating proportion of the seigniorage figure.

The reformers quickly followed up their statement of intent in the Provisions of Oxford. The memoranda rolls refer to a judgment concerning payments to mint workers. This judgment was given by the earl of Gloucester, the earl Marshal, the bishop of Worcester, John fitz Geoffrey and others.³⁶ Although this reference gives no date, they would be an appropriate group of senior figures from the beginning of the reforming period, as they were all members of the governing council established by the Provisions of Oxford. They exclude Hugh Bigod, as justiciar the head of the reform administration. Bigod was often involved in Exchequer policy, but he was away from London for much of the summer of 1258, presiding over a special eyre to hear grievances in the counties.³⁷ The judgment must have been given early in the reform period, as fitz Geoffrey died on 23 November 1258.³⁸ It may be connected with an order from Hugh Bigod and the Barons of the Exchequer that the wardens of the London exchange should appear before the Barons on 18 November, to answer the moneyers, although the order does not explain what their complaint was.³⁹ On 4 December, William of Gloucester and his colleagues appeared before the Barons and admitted that Nicholas of St Albans, called Long, one of the workers at the London exchange, was not accused of any transgression. They were then formally reconciled. Next, on 7 December a judgment was given by Bigod the justiciar, in the presence of the treasurer and the Barons, demonstrating that this matter was still receiving attention at the highest level: William of Gloucester and his colleagues were ordered to reinstate Nicholas of St Albans and other workers, provided they gave security for their good behaviour. The wardens were also given a day to present their accounts, on 16 December 1258, and the accounts for the period ending 15 December were recorded in the 1258 pipe roll.⁴⁰ This inquiry into disputes between the wardens, the moneyers and the exchange staff, and the scrutiny of the wardens' accounts, was presumably the source of an entry in the memoranda roll, near the end of the entries for Michaelmas term 1258:⁴¹

William of Gloucester, warden of the exchange, acknowledged before the Barons, on behalf of himself and of Henry of Frowick, Richard Bonaventure and Walter of Brussels, that the die which David of Enfield had at farm from the king for his lifetime was always in their hands after David's death, and that they received no profit from that die at that time. Also that they kept in their hands the die which John Hardel had from the king for life. Also that the same John was removed from the exchange by Philip Lovel, then treasurer. Also that, from the time when William received custody of the exchange, he received nothing from pleas and perquisites. Also that, when the king let at farm his dies in London, he should nevertheless receive three things from the exchange, namely: 6*d.* from every pound, with the old and accustomed increment; the farm of the dies; and pleas and

³⁴ Brand 1994, 7 n.5: 'In the mid-thirteenth century 242 pennies were cut from a Tower pound'.

³⁵ Challis 1988, 84.

³⁶ TNA: PRO, E 159/34 m. 12–12d, E 159/35 m. 10d, 11.

³⁷ Hershey 1995, 83.

³⁸ Treharne and Sanders 1973, 105. Carpenter 2008.

³⁹ TNA: PRO, E 159/32 m. 5.

⁴⁰ TNA: PRO, E 159/32 m. 6d (three separate entries on this membrane), E 372/102 rot. 14. The worker at the London exchange, Nicholas of St Albans *dictus Longus*, is to be distinguished from the moneyer Nicholas of St Albans who had died in or before 1253 (Mayhew 2008).

⁴¹ TNA: PRO, E 159/32 m. 6 and E 368/34 m. 5. Blunt and Brand 1970, 62 n.3, include a Latin transcript of this note, which unfortunately skips a key sentence and contains several other errors.

perquisites. Also that the king sometimes receives his treasure in the exchange by weight like a merchant, at other times by number; when he receives [it] (or orders it to be received) by number, then the warden of the exchange should answer to the king for 2*d.* for each pound so received, or delivered to anyone by the king's order.

This note indicates that there were now only four members remaining from the initial consortium of six, with David of Enfield dead and John Hardel having apparently been removed when Lovel was treasurer, presumably before the period of reform.⁴² It shows that the king was entitled to three sources of income. He received the farm of the dies (as we have seen above, each die was farmed for 100*s.* a year). The king, and not the warden, was entitled to pleas and perquisites (there were occasional payments for amercements in the exchange accounts – in 1257, for example £129 *de amerciamentis pro transgressionibus factis in cambio*).⁴³ And the king should receive both seigniorage and increment. The note indicates how these should be calculated, if somewhat obliquely. The king receives 6*d.* from every pound (his seigniorage of 6*d.* in the pound by weight). He could take this payment as a weight of silver; he could also take it by number, in which case he would receive the increment: the seigniorage would be increased by 2*d.* in the pound, to recognize the fact that 242 pennies were produced from each pound weight of silver. The note incidentally confirms that merchants who sold silver received coins by weight in return (and thus also had the benefit of the increment).

The note thus makes explicit the production of 242 penny coins from the pound weight of silver, and the resulting increment applied to the seigniorage. As a simple example, suppose the exchange received silver ingots weighing 100 pounds. It would produce 24,200 pennies, which is £100 16*s.* 8*d.* by value. The king's seigniorage, 6*d.* in the pound weight, or one-fortieth, would be 2½ pounds weight of silver. The increment would be applied at the rate of 2*d.* in the pound to this figure for seigniorage, to give him £2 10*s.* 5*d.* in cash (that is, 605 pennies, or one-fortieth of the number of pennies minted). This reading of the note in the memoranda rolls was confirmed in an order to William of Gloucester in 1259, that he should answer for 48*s.* 10*d.* increment for £293 5*s.* 8*d.* which the king had received by weight (which indeed works out as 2*d.* in the pound).⁴⁴

There seems to have been a further legal dispute in the spring of 1260, when John de Somercote (the king's former warden of the exchanges, in the 1250s) appeared before the Exchequer on behalf of the king and Earl Richard of Cornwall (now king of Germany), against 'the warden and everyone of the exchange of London'; frustratingly, the case is described only as 'prosecuting certain business which concerns those kings in the exchange'.⁴⁵ The removal of John Hardel from the London exchange led to yet more disagreements and litigation early in 1260, then to another inquiry. This inquiry was launched by the baronial regime in June 1260, but was interestingly bi-partisan. It was entrusted to Hugh Bigod, then still the Justiciar and head of the reforming administration, and to John Mansel, Henry III's long-serving councillor and a loyal royalist. They were commissioned 'as the king has understood that there are many errors and defects in the change of London and many contentions have arisen among the moneyers whereby loss and prejudice may happen to the king, to hear the complaints of the said moneyers and amend the errors and defects'.⁴⁶

The next trace of this inquiry does not appear until after Bigod had been replaced as Justiciar, in October 1260. In the first part of 1261, Henry III was preparing to shake off the authority of the reforming council, with the help of foreign troops and a papal bull quashing the Provisions of Oxford; in July 1261, he resumed control of the administration, dismissing the baronial ministers and sheriffs. While this counter-revolution was developing, early in 1261, William of Gloucester was ordered to present his accounts; his account for the period

⁴² Lovel had a poor reputation, and had been replaced on 2 November 1258 by a treasurer sympathetic to reform: Jobson 2011, 83, 89.

⁴³ TNA: PRO, E 372/100 rot. 19d.

⁴⁴ TNA: PRO, E 159/32 m. 10d.

⁴⁵ TNA: PRO, E 159/33 m. 8d.

⁴⁶ The commission of the inquiry, *CPR 1258–1266*, 77, summarizing TNA: PRO, C66/74 m. 8. The case between Hardel and his former partners is recorded in the memoranda rolls (TNA: PRO, E 159/33 m. 8d, transcribed in Jenkinson and Formoy 1932, lxxviii–lxi, and E 368/35 m.11).

ending 12 March 1261 appears on the pipe roll for 1260, which was then being compiled.⁴⁷ The memoranda rolls for March–April 1261 record what appears to be evidence given to the inquiry.⁴⁸ William says that, when he presented his account on 14 March, he answered for everything which belonged to the king, and he swears to present a faithful account. Separately, unnamed exchange officials present responses to six headings:

Concerning the ashes of the king's foundry.

Concerning 4s. 6d. surplus from the 20s. which are taken from each assay.

Concerning 8d. which the workers were accustomed to receive from every £20.

Concerning pleas and perquisites.

Concerning the number of dies which they say they have over the eight dies placed at farm.

Also, that a single person has several offices in the exchange.

The thrust of the questions seems to be to uncover the hidden profits and inefficiencies of the exchanges, which had long been suspected. Some of the answers appear to come from the die-keepers, who say that the king and council had granted them the foundry ashes when they were awarded the farm of the dies; Nicholas of St Albans had voluntarily given the workers 8d. per £20, on account of the uncleanness of the silver; the warden of the exchange was ready to answer for pleas and perquisites; the plurality of dies benefited the king and merchants; a single person had several offices by the will of the king and council. They add that the king's treasure (presumably the sums owed to the king as revenue from the exchanges) was safely guarded according to the Exchequer's orders. There is a further response from the four keepers of dies other than Gloucester, concerning the money taken from each assay of 20s.; they say that they take 15s. 6d., and the remainder is given to the workers for remaking pennies which were badly struck or broken.

Although there is no record of the inquiry's conclusions, it may be significant that William of Gloucester was replaced as warden in January 1262 (he continued working as the king's goldsmith until his death late in 1268 or early in 1269).⁴⁹ His successors, Roger de Legh and John de Gisors, were appointed to answer at the Exchequer for the revenues of the king's exchanges. They were assured that they would not be held liable for any offences which might have been committed by exchange officials (suggesting that there may have been such offences under Gloucester's management).⁵⁰ It may also be a consequence of the inquiry that there was a further change in accounting procedures, to give the king rather than his officials a greater share of the profits of the exchanges.

While William of Gloucester was warden, the king's exchange revenues rose markedly from 1259 onwards, as Earl Richard's share in the proceeds came to an end. This revenue was used largely for the benefit of the king, rather than being added to the general government resources in the Treasury. In 1259–61, while £358 was paid to the Treasury, there were payments of £467 to the Wardrobe, which was concerned with the expenses of the king's household, £67 to the Queen's wardrobe, and £163 for robes for the king's clerks and others who were with him in France at Christmas 1259. This visit to France, to settle the treaty of Paris by which Henry renounced his claims to Normandy and Anjou, produced another incidental expense: £9 for the king's new seal, to show his diminished titles.⁵¹ In May 1261 William of Gloucester was ordered to assign all exchange revenues until next Michaelmas to works at the Tower of London; this resulted in numerous payments, totalling £1,066, in his 1261–62 account, for works and

⁴⁷ Order, TNA: PRO, E 159/35 m. 7 and E 159/34 m. 7d. Account, E 372/104 rot. 2d.

⁴⁸ TNA: PRO, E 159/34 m. 12–12d and E 159/35 m. 10d and 11. This evidence refers back to 14 March, and appears near the end of the communia for Hilary term 1261, which places it before the Easter vacation. Easter Day was 24 April, so the evidence can be dated to late March or early April.

⁴⁹ Noppen 1927, 190. His executors account in the pipe roll for 1272: TNA: PRO, E 372/116 rot. 16. Craig 1953, 35, asserted that Gloucester's wardenship ended in 1262 when he was murdered by a mob in St Albans; this is presumably a confusion with another William of Gloucester, murdered in Southampton late in 1261 (*CPR 1258–1266*, 229, 230, 232), although there is no record of mobs in St Albans in 1262. Fryde 1984, 26, has an even odder version: 'During the terrible outbreak of disorder which accompanied the baronial revolt, the official responsible for the recoinage, John of Beverley, was murdered at St Albans in 1262.' The outbreak of the reform movement was not particularly disorderly (that came later, as the country drifted towards civil war in 1263), and this John of Beverley is otherwise unknown.

⁵⁰ TNA: PRO, C 66/77 m. 17, summarized in *CPR 1258–1266*, 197. Appointment of Legh and Gisors: *CPR 1261–62*, 110.

⁵¹ Visit to Paris: Carpenter 2005. New seal: Stapleton 1846, 43.

provisions at the Tower, which Henry III used as his headquarters in 1261 as he prepared to overthrow the reforms. Other expenditure also reflected royal rather than baronial interests: £100 for the fees of knights, paid via Robert Walerand, who as steward was one of Henry's supporters; £100 for a mitre and other pontificals for the bishop-elect of London; and the usual gifts, jewels and offerings to churches. There was also 50 marks for Henry of Almain, Earl Richard's son, for his expenses at the Oxford parliament. There are indications that Henry III treated the exchange as a useful source of finance when he was short of cash. In December 1260, he ordered William of Gloucester to provide 100 marks from exchange revenues, to buy jewels for the feast of St Edward: 'as he loves the king and his honour and his own safety, seeing that the king, to his vexation, has no money at present to make his purveyances against the said feast.' When he left office, William of Gloucester handed over £217 to his successors, while his remaining debt of £38 was cleared in 1263.⁵²

The 1260–61 inquiry into the exchanges was followed both by the replacement of William of Gloucester and by a new approach to the allocation of exchange revenue. From 1262 onwards, a new item is added towards the end of the pipe roll accounts, a sum for the profits of the foundry (*de exitu et proficuo functorii*).⁵³ These profits represent an attempt to recover for the king some of the income from mintage charges which had previously disappeared into the pockets of mint officials (perhaps 3*d.* in the pound). Because these sums are given net of expenses, they do not have a fixed relationship to mint output in the same way as seigniorage and increment.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the profits provided a boost to revenues from the exchanges in the last decade of the reign, when output levels were beginning to fall. The success of the reforming measures can be seen in the increase in the proportion of mint output which was secured as royal income.

The new exchange accounting system was first applied to the year from January 1262 to January 1263. By a fortunate chance of survival, we have three documents recording the affairs of the London mint and exchange for that period. The roll of silver purchases has been damaged, and a section from June 1262 is completely missing. It still records nearly 400 transactions, amounting to some £20,000. At the foot of the roll, it shows that the total amount of silver brought to the exchange during the year was £26,163, from which the 'issues' were £654 – that is, the king's seigniorage of 6*d.* in the pound. It then records the expenses of the exchange, paid for out of the king's revenue:⁵⁵

Total of totals	£26,163 8 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
From which, issues	£654 20 <i>d.</i>
From which, expenses made in the exchange, namely:	
For offerings to the church of St Vedast	5 <i>s.</i>
Also, for the usher	13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Also for parchment, ink, tallies, coal for making assays, repair of locks in the exchange	4 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
Also for a cloth for the exchequer	8 <i>s.</i>
Also for the expenses of R. de Legh and John de Gisors going and returning five times to Canterbury and twice to Windsor by order ... [hole in parchment] of various payments there for the business of the exchange and for hire of horses for taking the treasure of Canterbury to London	£11 6 <i>s.</i>
[hole in parchment] of Henry the clerk going overseas for business of the exchange	36 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Also the stipend of the same Henry	£8 10 <i>d.</i>
For Arnoldinus [? ... noldyno] ⁵⁶ who came from Canterbury to London by order of the king to make an assay	4 <i>s.</i>
Total payments in the exchange	£22 18 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

⁵² Exchange accounts: TNA: PRO, E 372/102 rot. 14; E 372/104 rot. 2d; E 372/105 rot. 20. *CPR 1258–66*, 155. For Henry at the Tower, see Treharne 1971, 250–62. Clearance of debt, by over-payment to the Wardrobe: E 372/107 rot. 6d. Payments for mitre and Henry of Almain also in *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Henry III* [henceforth *CLR*] 1251–1260, 455, 469. Order to William of Gloucester: *CLR 1260–1267*, 13. Payment of mint revenues direct to the king's wardrobe and for other miscellaneous purposes continued under Edward I (Prestwich 1997, 247; Cook 1989, 123–5).

⁵³ TNA: PRO, E 372/106 rot. 21.

⁵⁴ Mayhew 2008; Mayhew 1992, 117–18.

⁵⁵ TNA: PRO, E 101/288/6.

⁵⁶ Arnoldinus of Canterbury held the office of assayer at the Canterbury exchange in 1256: TNA: PRO, E 159/30 m. 1.

Among other things, this tells us that the exchange was located near the church of St Vedast (now St Vedast-alias-Foster) in Foster Lane, off Cheapside. The usher was paid one mark a year (the same sum appears in numerous exchange accounts) – rather a small sum, implying that it was supplemented by tips from the exchange's customers. The exchange made an annual payment for the chequered cloth on which the exchequer carried out calculations. It is possible that Henry the clerk was being sent overseas to deliver cash to the king: Henry III was in France from July to December 1262, and the exchange provided 500 marks for his expenses.⁵⁷

The pipe roll records the audited accounts of the exchanges for 1262–63, confirming both the amount of silver received at the London exchange as being equal to the amount manufactured, and the proportion deducted for the king's seigniorage. It also shows that the increment was duly calculated as *2d.* in the pound to be added to the seigniorage:⁵⁸

Account of the exchanges of London and Canterbury by Roger de Legh and John de Gisors from 18 January this year [1262] ... to Tuesday next after the feast of St Vincent, year 47 [23 January 1263].

The same Roger and John, wardens of the same exchanges, account for £654 20*d.* issues from the London exchange, namely from £26,163 8*s.* 5*d.* manufactured there for the said period. And for 109*s.* for the increment of pennies delivered by number and received in silver by weight for the same time. ...

The same account for £195 10*s.* 2*d.* from the issues and profit of the foundry in the London exchange for the said period, excluding the king's farm and the increment of money for which they account above, and excluding the payments and wages of the moneyer, the exchanger, the assayer, the keepers of the dies and certain other servants, and excluding the other necessary expenses in the same foundry, details of which expenses they have delivered to the Treasury.

Such statements about the foundry profit (together with similar details for the Canterbury exchange) appear in the exchange accounts from then on, but this appears to be the only account from Henry III's reign for which the corresponding foundry account survives. The survival of this unique document has not, I believe, been noted hitherto. The account is quite straightforward, and shows the expenses charged in the calculation of the foundry profit:⁵⁹

Issues of the foundry or of the dies, from £26,163 8*s.* 5*d.* manufactured at London from St Vincent's day, 46th year of the reign of King Henry son of King John [22 January 1262], to the same day in the 47th year of the same reign [22 January 1263], £332 22¾*d.* From which:

In feeding of the moneyer, the clerk, two founders, two smelters and one servant in the foundry for 80 working days	£6 19 <i>s.</i> 6¼ <i>d.</i>
In coal for the same time	£30 14 <i>s.</i>
In copper for the alloy	£4 6 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>
In tallow	43 <i>s.</i> 5½ <i>d.</i>
In iron for making dies	57 <i>s.</i>
For cutting the same	£6 13 <i>s.</i>
In wages and robes for the moneyer	£12
In wages and robes for the exchanger	£12
Also for the keepers of the dies	£6 8 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
Also for the assayer	£7 3 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>
Also in wages for the clerk of the foundry, two founders, two smelters and one servant in the same foundry	£28 13 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>
In wages of the servants who made <i>Scovill</i> [?] ⁶⁰	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
In breaking dies	3 <i>s.</i>
In burning silver	7 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
Also, for the clerk bringing holy water to the foundry on several occasions	22 <i>d.</i>
Also, in repairing of pans, tongs, locks and balances, canvas, tar, straw, lead, tin and other materials and small things	46 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
In the lease of houses for the exchange, foundry and eight shops	£13 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Total payments	£136 11 <i>s.</i> 8¾ <i>d.</i>
And thus there remains net for the king's use	£195 10 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>

The account does not explain how the gross figure of about £332 was obtained; it must be less than the total mintage payments, given that the seigniorage charged for the same output

⁵⁷ TNA: PRO, E 372/106 rot. 21.

⁵⁸ TNA: PRO, E 372/106 rot. 21.

⁵⁹ TNA: PRO, E 101/299/1.

⁶⁰ This entry appears to read: *In stipendiis servientium qui fecerunt Scovill' or Sconill'*. The capital *S* may not be significant – capitalization is inconsistent in these records.

was about £654, at a rate of 6*d.* in the pound.⁶¹ The payments (the total is understated by 4*d.*) cover the wages and everyday running expenses of the mint. A few points are worth noting: the foundry worked for only eighty days in the year, which accords with the incomplete roll of silver purchases, which records transactions on only 65 dates; the mint and exchange premises were rented, and the reference to eight shops may refer to workshops for each of the eight dies. The foundry provided food as well as payment to a relatively small staff: moneyer, foundry clerk, two founders, two smelters, and one foundry servant. There were also payments to the exchanger and assayer. The figures in the foundry account do not include the 2*s.* a day received by the wardens, for themselves and their clerks, or the stipends of the clerk and the usher, taken from the king's revenue. It seems likely that the workmen who actually produced the coins were paid by the moneyers (or moneyer – from 1262, the London mint apparently had only one moneyer, Reginald of Canterbury).⁶²

The introduction of the foundry account was only one of the changes taking place at this time. There had been another revolution in exchange practice, apparently unannounced. The dies were no longer farmed out, but committed to custodians. This development happened in a confused manner, during and after the inquiry into the exchanges. Until 1260, the rolls regularly record that one or more of the king's dies at London or Canterbury has been committed to a certain person, who often pays an entry fine of a gold mark, and undertakes to pay a farm of 100*s.* a year thereafter. The last such appointment appears to take place in May 1260, when a die at the London mint was granted for life to Thomas de Weseham, the king's surgeon, for 100*s.* a year. This die had previously been held by David of Enfield, one of the consortium of moneyers headed by William of Gloucester.⁶³ There was some confusion about the disposal of the next die to become available, following the death of Robert Attewaterlock, a keeper of a die at Canterbury, on 23 January 1261. It seems to have been briefly in the custody of William of Gloucester, but this was cancelled. The die was first committed to Ambrose of Canterbury and Henry of St Edmund, former clerks of the exchange, with the die to be cut in Ambrose's name; they were to be custodians, to answer for all the revenues of the die. This too was cancelled, and the treasurer was ordered to consider what to do with the die. The die was finally committed in March 1261 to Ambrose of Canterbury and Robert Burre (or Polre), for a farm of 20 marks a year – much higher than the traditional 100*s.*⁶⁴ They paid this farm, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, to the Wardrobe (rather than the Treasury) on 9 January 1262.⁶⁵ In July 1261, the surgeon Weseham returned his die and the charter by which it had been granted; he was awarded £40 compensation, and the exchequer undertook to recover a £10 debt for him. The die was granted to Walter of Brussels (one of the consortium of moneyers at the London exchange).⁶⁶ The consortium were not to keep their dies for much longer. They were only held liable for the farm of the London dies for the first quarter of 1261–62, up to the point when Legh and Gisors took over as wardens of the exchanges. Similarly, William of Gloucester only owed the farm of his die at Canterbury up to the arrival of the new management, in January 1262.⁶⁷ The new wardens, Legh and Gisors, were to answer for all the revenues of the exchanges, including those previously enjoyed by the farmers of the dies. When they took over, early in 1262, there was a new approach to the dies. On 24 February, the king's five dies at Canterbury were all committed to Robert Burre, who was to answer at the Exchequer for the revenues from the dies. At the same time, the exchangers of London and Canterbury, Roger Talbot and William Brewer, were sworn in.⁶⁸ A few days later, on 27 February, two keepers of the London dies, Richard de

⁶¹ The lowest rate for mint charges, 6*d.* in the pound, was only charged on £16,467 of the £20,808 in silver exchanges for which we have data for this period; the remainder was charged higher rates, up to 30*d.* in the pound (TNA: PRO, E 101/288/6).

⁶² Allen 2012, 68.

⁶³ *CPR 1258–1266*, 73. TNA: PRO, E 159/33 m. 11.

⁶⁴ *Close Rolls 1259–1261*, 351, 352. TNA: PRO, E 159/34 m. 7*d.*, 10*d.*, 12. E 159/35 m. 9*d.*, 12. Some of these sources are contradictory, and the process must have been taking place at the same time as the exchange inquiry, which is recorded in the same part of the memoranda rolls.

⁶⁵ TNA: PRO, E 159/37 m. 10*d.* *Close Rolls 1261–1264*, 19.

⁶⁶ TNA: PRO, E 159/34 m. 20. E 159/35 m. 18. *CLR 1260–1267*, 52.

⁶⁷ TNA: PRO, E 372/107 rot. 6*d.* E 372/108 rot. 1.

⁶⁸ TNA: PRO, E 368/36 m. 8. E 159/36 m. 6*d.* (damaged).

Berdefeld and William de St Martin, came to the Exchequer and delivered to the treasurer 87 dies. The treasurer had these dies destroyed. He also received some Irish dies from Legh and Gisors, which were to be placed in the Treasury awaiting the king's orders.⁶⁹

The new exchange regime following the inquiry of 1261 was thus more than just a change of personnel (although there was clearly something of a purge, with new wardens, new die-keepers and a new assayer, William Herlewin, appointed on 1 February).⁷⁰ There was a change of approach, with the dies held by custodians, rather than farmers. The announcements of appointments of keepers of dies disappear from the rolls (apart from occasional mentions of the keepers of the archbishop's dies), as it is no longer necessary to record their liability to pay the farm. The revenue which had once enriched the keepers was absorbed into the foundry profits.

Such foundry profits continue to appear in the accounts of the wardens of the exchange from 1262 onwards, but we do not have the details of the payments, as no foundry accounts survive for later periods. William son of Richard replaced John de Gisors, who had become infirm, in January 1263. Roger de Legh continued as warden until July 1264, when he was relieved of responsibility for the exchanges because he was also looking after the business of the Exchequer (he was chancellor of the exchequer and acting treasurer). William son of Richard carried on alone as warden to November 1265, and with Richard de Bamfield to July 1266. The wardenship was then shared by Bamfield and Bartholomew de Castello, and in 1269 the exchanges were committed to Castello alone; Bamfield was commanded 'not to intermeddle with them.'⁷¹ There was thus continuity at the exchanges throughout the turbulent period of Henry's return to power and the drift to civil war, and then the rule and fall of Simon de Montfort. The wardens were presumably appointed for financial competence and experience (Legh was an exchequer official, who had been king's remembrancer; Gisors and William son of Richard had both been mayor of London), rather than political allegiance. Indeed, three of the wardens of the 1260s, Gisors, William son of Richard and Castello, were on the list of London royalists supposedly targeted for assassination by supporters of de Montfort in 1265. William carried on as warden throughout the period when de Montfort was in control; but he was such a loyal royalist that he was appointed as the king's keeper of the city of London in 1266, when Henry III had resumed control and the city was in disgrace for its support of de Montfort.⁷²

Until January 1264, the exchanges were thriving. Output was at a high level, some £50,000 a year, and the king's revenues from the exchanges up to £1,500 a year. It was only with the outbreak of war between the royal and baronial parties that exchange activity collapsed. The revenue contributed by the exchanges fell to only £162 in January–July 1264. During the period of Simon de Montfort's dominance, between the battles of Lewes, in May 1264, and Evesham, in August 1265, the exchanges were almost at a standstill. Output from the London exchange in the year to July 1265 was only £5,390, while Canterbury produced nothing between July and January (the word Canterbury is underlined for cancellation in the account heading, *quia nichil fuit fabricatum ibidem*).⁷³ On the other hand, after de Montfort's defeat, the mint output

⁶⁹ TNA: PRO, E 159/36 m.7. E 368/36 m. 8d. Berdefeld and St Martin delivered the dies on behalf of their colleagues, the London die-keepers; there does not seem to have been an announcement of the appointment of these new die-keepers. The dies are described as 24 *estapell'* (obverse dies) and 24 *puniall'* (reverse dies), with another 39 *puniall' de incremento* (additional reverse dies). The Irish dies are also rather mysterious: the Irish mint had closed in 1254, when all the dies should have been returned to the council in England (*Close Rolls 1253–1254*, 13).

⁷⁰ TNA: PRO, E 159/36 m. 5d. E 368/36 m. 7.

⁷¹ Appointment of Castello and Bamfield, in June 1266 at Kenilworth, where the king was besieging the remaining rebels: *CFR 1265–66*, 373. Castello pays William son of Richard the surplus outstanding from his account: TNA: PRO, E 159/43 m. 1. *CPR 1266–1272*, 394.

⁷² Appointments: *CPR 1258–1266*, 197, 249, 513, 516; *Close Rolls 1261–1264*, 350; *CFR 1264–65*, no. 110. Mayors: Weinbaum 1976, no. 3. Stapleton 1846, 115. In 1256 Gisors had been pardoned amercements for exchange offences: *Close Rolls 1256–1259*, 1. Roger de Legh appears to have announced his presence as king's remembrancer by writing his own name in large capital letters across his memoranda roll on 10 May 1251: TNA: PRO, E 368/25 m. 10d. William son of Richard accounts for London: E 372/110 rot. 11.

⁷³ TNA: PRO, E 372/109 rot. 11.

rate rose to £50,000 a year, and net revenue recovered equally quickly, equivalent to £1,400 a year, in the period from November 1265 to July 1266.⁷⁴

One reason for the collapse of trade, and thus exchange revenues, in 1264–65 was the fear of invasion by the king's supporters in France. One royalist account claims that the men of the Cinque Ports, having put to sea to prevent a foreign invasion, then took to piracy, attacking shipping, both English and foreign, with de Montfort and his sons taking a third of the spoils. Another says that Henry de Montfort seized all the wool in the country, which Flemish and English merchants were taking to the ports. Although these stories are unconfirmed, they indicate the precarious situation for merchants during a period of civil war, which must have affected their willingness to bring silver to the exchanges. Following de Montfort's defeat, the king once more encouraged foreign merchants to come to England to change money and do business, and had it proclaimed in the Cinque Ports that merchants were not to be molested; merchants of Ghent were given safe conduct to come to England to change their silver at the London exchange.⁷⁵

The accounts for the year to July 1265, roughly corresponding to the period when Simon de Montfort controlled the king and the kingdom, perhaps surprisingly show almost all the exchange revenue, such as it was, being devoted to purchases for the king.⁷⁶ The following year, to July 1266, mostly falls after the royalist victory at Evesham, and saw a rapid recovery in revenues; £200 was allocated to Roger Leyburn's expenses in Kent and Essex, where he was engaged in putting down the remaining rebels. The disturbed state of the country is also indicated by a payment of 8s. 6d. to six servants guarding the London exchange overnight because of the danger of thieves (*propter periculum latronum*).⁷⁷

Exchange output fell markedly in the final part of the reign. The mints manufactured only some £21,000 a year in 1266–70, and £10,000 a year in 1270–72. Royal revenue fell similarly, to around £600 and £200 a year in those periods. The fall was particularly marked at Canterbury, where the exchange produced only £638 in 1270–72, and did not report any profit from the foundry 'because little was made there.' This meant that the king did not receive the advantage he might have expected from the archbishopric being vacant – the archbishop's share of seigniorage, which would go to the king during a vacancy, was only £6. The warden of the exchanges ended the reign owing £65, which was carried forward to be included in the first account of the next reign.⁷⁸

The collapse in exchange output and revenue in the final years of Henry's reign can be linked to the embargo on sales of wool to Flanders.⁷⁹ It is notable that contemporaries explicitly blamed the trade dispute for the problems of the exchanges. In Easter term 1273, the memoranda roll noted a ruling by the king's council that Bartholomew de Castello should be responsible for the wages of the Canterbury exchange staff in his account for 1272, 'although the same Bartholomew did not answer in that account for any profit from the same exchange, because of the dispute then between the king and the merchants of Flanders and other overseas merchants, who then did not bring silver to that exchange as used to be done in other times, although they [the workers] remained uselessly in that exchange because nothing was done on account of the lack of silver.'⁸⁰

Throughout the last twenty years of Henry's reign, the seigniorage rate was consistently 6d. in the pound, and each set of exchange accounts shows the issues of the exchanges being

⁷⁴ Accounts: TNA: PRO, E 372/106 rot. 21; E 372/108 rot. 15; E 372/108 rot. 15d; E 372/109 rot. 11 (two accounts on this rotulet); E 372/110 rot. 13d.

⁷⁵ Stapleton 1846, 69, 73. Thomas Wykes's Chronicle, Luard 1864–69, IV, 158–9. *CPR 1258–1266*, 454, 459. Further safe conducts for merchants in final years of the reign: *CPR 1266–1272*, 82, 87, 522, 632.

⁷⁶ Although Henry was a captive king, the splendour and ceremonial of the court were maintained or even enhanced: Wild 2011, 43.

⁷⁷ Accounts: TNA: PRO, E 372/109 rot. 11; E 372/110 rot. 13d. On Leyburn's campaign, Powicke 1947, 520–2, draws attention to the problems of financing his activities, but does not mention the use of the exchanges as a source of cash.

⁷⁸ Accounts: TNA: PRO, E 372/114 rot. 19; E 372/116 rot. 2.

⁷⁹ Lloyd 1977, 25–59; Allen 2012, 258. There is a long series of exchanges with the countess of Flanders about merchants' goods and debts in Chaplais 1964, 402, 404, 405, 421, 422, etc.

⁸⁰ TNA: PRO, E 368/46 m. 7d. There is a shorter version in the other memoranda roll, E 159/47 m. 7d.

accurately calculated as one-fortieth of London exchange output, and one-sixty-fourth in Canterbury, where the revenues were shared with the archbishop, the king taking five-eighths of the total. The increment was applied inconsistently and at varying rates in London, and not at all in Canterbury, until December 1258. From then on, following the first inquiry into the exchanges, the authorized rate of *2d.* increment was added to each pound of seigniorage paid to the king, and this duly appears in each account, except for a short period in December 1261–January 1262. The addition of foundry profits, from January 1262 onwards, following the second inquiry, brought a major improvement in the royal share of exchange output, until the end of the reign, when mint production collapsed, because of the trade dispute with Flanders. Overall, between May 1252 and December 1258, the share of exchange output taken as gross revenue was 2.01 per cent; between December 1258 and January 1262, 1.97 per cent; but with the addition of foundry profits, between January 1262 and November 1272, it was 2.78 per cent. In other words, if the royal revenue from the exchanges for the last ten years of the reign, after the reforms took effect, had been limited only to the traditional seigniorage, it would have been £6,453. The addition of the increment and foundry profits raised total royal revenue for the period to £8,195 – a worthwhile improvement. The exchanges were usually a minor but reliable contributor to overall royal income. The reformers’ initiatives, inquiring into the management of the exchanges and the destination of the profits, produced a helpful boost to revenue, but they only took effect after the end of the initial period of reform.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. Exchange wardens and silver output

Note: In Tables 1 and 2 all amounts are rounded to the nearest pound. The output figures are those recorded in the pipe rolls for the amount of silver manufactured (*fabricatis*) at the exchanges during the periods shown. These figures correspond to the totals in the rolls of silver purchases. The amount of money produced can be derived by adjusting these figures at the rate of *242d.* per pound, as in Allen 2012, 408–9. Overlapping and inconsistent dates are also as shown in the pipe rolls.

<i>Source</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>London output (£)</i>	<i>London output rate (£ per annum)</i>	<i>Canterbury output (£)</i>	<i>Canterbury output rate (£ per annum)</i>
E 372/98 rot 6	9 May 1252–1 Nov. 1254	Somercote, Wroxhall	83,827	33,772	89,414	36,022
E 372/100 rot 19	1 Nov. 1254–4 Jun. 1257	Somercote, Wroxhall	79,591	30,709	98,322	37,936
E 372/101 rot 4	4 Jun. 1257–6 Oct. 1257	Somercote, Wroxhall	9,168	26,986	–	–
E 372/101 rot 4	4 Jun. 1257–9 Oct. 1257	Somercote, Wroxhall	–	–	14,119	40,578
E 372/102 rot 14	1 Oct. 1257–15 Dec. 1258	Gloucester, Wroxhall	28,060	23,277	–	–
E 372/102 rot 14	10 Oct. 1257–12 Dec. 1258	Gloucester, Wroxhall	–	–	34,594	29,502
E 372/104 rot 2d	15 Dec. 1258–1 Nov. 1259	Gloucester, Wroxhall	19,091	21,707	32,145	36,551
E 372/104 rot 2d	1 Nov. 1259–12 Mar. 1261	Gloucester	26,524	19,480	31,374	23,042
E 372/105 rot 20	12 Mar. 1261–22 Jan. 1262	Gloucester	26,047	30,086	37,094	42,846
E 372/106 rot 21	18 Jan. 1262–23 Jan. 1263	Legh, Gisors	26,163	25,810	24,009	23,684
E 372/108 rot 15	3 Jan. 1263–29 Jan. 1264	Legh, William son of Richard	34,622	34,062	18,682	18,379
E 372/108 rot 15d	29 Jan. 1264–11 Jul. 1264	Legh, William son of Richard	6,559	14,597	813	1,811

Source	Period	Wardens	London output (£)	London output rate (£ per annum)	Canterbury output (£)	Canterbury output rate (£ per annum)
E 372/109 rot 11	11 Jul. 1264–13 Jul. 1265	William son of Richard	5,390	5,361	0	0
E 372/109 rot 11	22 Jan. 1265–28 Nov. 1265	William son of Richard	–	–	14,753	17,370
E 372/109 rot 11	13 Jul. 1265–28 Nov. 1265	William son of Richard	16,933	44,787	–	–
E 372/110 rot 13d	28 Nov. 1265–11 Jul. 1266	Bamfield, William son of Richard	19,013	30,844	12,026	19,509
E 372/114 rot 19	1 Jul. 1266–24 Dec. 1270	Castello, Bamfield	70,395	15,696	25,787	5,750
E 372/116 rot 2	24 Dec. 1270–20 Nov. 1272	Castello	18,601	9,741	638	334

TABLE 2. London and Canterbury exchange revenue

Note: Sources as shown in Table 1 above, plus TNA: PRO, E 352/57 rot. 15d for 1263–64 to provide some figures where the pipe roll is damaged. All figures exclude the archbishop's share of Canterbury revenues, and revenue from amercements. The net revenue is shown after deduction of exchange expenses, the wardens' stipends, and the half share of revenues paid to Earl Richard of Cornwall up to November 1259.

Period	Seigniorage (£)	Increment (£)	Foundry & other (£)	Gross revenue (£)	Net revenue to the king (£)	Net revenue rate (£ per annum)
9 May 1252–1 Nov. 1254	3,493	24	17	3,534	1,644	662
1 Nov. 1254–4 Jun. 1257	3,526	35	2	3,563	1,662	641
4 Jun. 1257–15 Dec. 1258	1,692	5	0	1,697	785	513
15 Dec. 1258–1 Nov. 1259	980	8	0	988	457	520
1 Nov. 1259–12 Mar. 1261	1,153	10	0	1,163	1,100	808
12 Mar. 1261–22 Jan. 1262	1,231	10	0	1,240	1,199	1,385
18 Jan. 1262–23 Jan. 1263	1,029	9	278	1,316	1,273	1,255
23 Jan. 1263–29 Jan. 1264	1,157	10	347	1,514	1,499	1,475
29 Jan. 1264–11 Jul. 1264	177	1	38	216	162	361
11 Jul. 1264–28 Nov. 1265	789	7	201	996	941	680
28 Nov. 1265–11 Jul. 1266	663	6	233	901	877	1,423
1 Jul. 1266–24 Dec. 1270	2,163	18	564	2,744	2,566	572
24 Dec. 1270–20 Nov. 1272	475	4	28	507	382	200

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A CRISIS OF CREDIT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, OR OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION?

PAMELA NIGHTINGALE

Introduction

IN his Howard Linecar Lecture for 2009, published in this journal, and in his recent book, *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973–1489*, Professor J.L. Bolton has raised questions about the money supply of fifteenth-century England which have led him to dispute that the century experienced either a shortage of money or a crisis of credit. He believes that although lack of silver coin might have caused temporary difficulties, English society found its way round the problem by creating viable forms of ‘paper money’, and consequently it ‘was not in the main a society held back by an inadequate money supply’.¹ This is a surprising conclusion considering that even at its highest in the early fourteenth century, the medieval English currency was scarcely adequate for the size of the economy, while in the course of the next century it plunged critically. At its nadir in the 1440s the mint’s combined output of gold and silver coin was only about five per cent of that struck in the 1420s, and according to Martin Allen’s estimates, the silver coin, which was the currency in everyday use, fell from c.56 pence per head in 1351, to c.13 pence in 1422, and by 1470 had risen only to c.33.6 pence.² If the money supply was adequate for the needs of the economy one has to ask why the government should pass twenty-seven measures between 1390 and 1465 to conserve and increase the supply of bullion, and why falling prices, wages and rents were so widespread from the 1440s to the 1460s that John Hatcher has described the period as ‘the great slump’.³

Bolton allows that ‘shortages of coin due to bullion famines should be factored into any models of the fifteenth-century economy, to a much greater extent than they have been so far’, and he also concedes that ‘at times credit may have been squeezed by the bullion famines’.⁴ Nonetheless, he asserts that any crisis of credit ‘has been much exaggerated’, on the grounds, for which he claims M.M. Postan’s authority, that transferable credit instruments became a form of paper money which ‘did more than make up for shortage of coin. They also offered ways of payment without coin having to change hands’.⁵ I have raised two principal objections to this claim. Firstly, credit instruments were not a simple alternative to cash because even when they became legally assignable there were hazards in giving and accepting them. Moreover, because the proportion of credit was apparently high in relation to the uncertain supply of coin, even in normal circumstances, they carried a significant risk of default.⁶ Secondly, any circumstances which further threatened to reduce the supply of coin would increase creditors’ fears of default and would lead them to reduce their loans or credit. Therefore, rather than compensating for a lack of coin, assignable instruments, like all other forms of credit, would diminish with it. I have concluded in the light of publications by Munro, Day, and Spufford, and from extensive evidence of debt, that the decisions of creditors in

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¹ Bolton 2011a, 162; Bolton 2012, 73–4.

² Allen 2001, 607. At its highest total, c.1310, it is doubtful if the currency exceeded 100 pence a head, and much of this would not be in general circulation.

³ Munro 1979, 192–208 and Appendices B, C and D; Hatcher 1996, 237–72.

⁴ Bolton 2011a, 151–2.

⁵ Bolton 2011a, 157, 162.

⁶ Nightingale 1990, *passim*; Nightingale 2004, 64–6. Although Bolton claims (2011a, 156) that in 1995 I made ‘an important admission ... that the assignable bond could at least mitigate the shortage of credit caused by lack of coin’, I was referring to what was *needed*, and I went on to say that what was in fact *available* was ‘a poor substitute for specie’: Nightingale 1995, 476.

medieval England were influenced by their perception of the amount of silver coin in circulation.⁷ This was because, as silver was the coin in everyday use, its circulation determined liquidity in the economy, and it therefore both influenced the giving of credit, and its ease of repayment.

Private financial instruments as a supplement to the money supply?

Postan's work, in fact, makes the first challenge to Bolton's views, because his articles on credit do not claim what Bolton says they do. In his 'Private financial instruments in medieval England', published in 1930, Postan surveyed the credit instruments in use in the fifteenth century. The obligation, or formal bond, had by then largely taken the place of the notched tally as the most commonly used instrument of credit, and there were other bonds in use which fell into the category of informal promissory notes.⁸ From the thirteenth century Italians had also used bills of exchange to transfer funds between their branches in different countries, and as English merchants won the greater share of their country's wool exports in the second half of the fourteenth century, they, too, used them to transmit the proceeds of their sales from Europe.⁹ The Calais staple also issued transferable debentures in the fifteenth century.¹⁰

There is evidence, as Postan showed, that creditors in fifteenth-century London were assigning these instruments to third parties in order to settle other, unrelated debts.¹¹ Although the common law courts did not recognize the legality of assignment, mercantile law did, and as both the staple courts in large towns, and the London mayor's court, used mercantile law, assignments gained in Postan's view sufficient legal recognition in the fifteenth century to make them 'legally secure', despite the 'formalities and limitations which must have impeded the free circulation of the instruments'.¹² Numerous cases in Chancery show these impediments were very real and included appeals made by debtors against assignments. It was also common for creditors to ask the debtor to give formal consent to a transfer.¹³ In addition, the assignee could demand, and obtain, guarantees about repayment from the assignor himself, 'in case' said one assignee, revealingly, 'any of the debtors refused to acknowledge that they were debtors, or that they owed the sums claimed, or in case any of the debts were found not to be true'.¹⁴

These limitations, though, did not necessarily apply to the informal promissory notes, or bills obligatory, which were devised solely for mercantile convenience, and thus were extra-legal instruments. These normally changed hands without any of the formalities which applied to bonds, and so there was no legal impediment to their assignment.¹⁵ Postan commented on them, 'A financial instrument which could pass hands so many times, and apparently without any formalities or additional documents, almost deserves the name of "currency"'.¹⁶ This sentence has apparently suggested to Bolton that Postan believed these bills did indeed acquire such a status.¹⁷ However, Postan rejected this notion on the grounds that although assignment was not subject to legal restrictions, their negotiability, like that of all other credit instruments, was 'determined by the commercial and financial circumstances of each particular case' and was 'very largely a matter between the assignor and the assignee'.¹⁸ Their circulation depended on whether the 'drawer were generally known as a trustworthy and reliable debtor likely to honour

⁷ Munro 1973, 93–126; Day 1987, 16–18, 43–4, 141–61; Spufford 1988, 339–62; Nightingale 1997, 640–7; Nightingale 2004, 59–62; Munro 2003, 216–17.

⁸ Postan 1973, 29–40.

⁹ Postan 1973, 54–7.

¹⁰ Postan 1973, 50.

¹¹ Postan 1973, 41.

¹² Postan 1973, 42, 49.

¹³ Postan 1973, 44–6.

¹⁴ Thomas 1943, 166; Nightingale 1995, 476.

¹⁵ Postan, 1973, 49.

¹⁶ Postan, 1973, 49.

¹⁷ Bolton 2011a, 157, 162.

¹⁸ Postan 1973, 49.

his obligations.¹⁹ These practical restrictions meant that transferable bills and bonds were in his view, 'far removed from the modern view of negotiable instruments', that the bond 'never was a negotiable paper', while the bill of exchange, although freely transferable, 'did not become fully negotiable till late in the modern era.'²⁰ Postan concluded that all these limitations in the fifteenth century 'made the emergence of fully negotiable paper impossible'.²¹

This means that none of the financial instruments available in the late middle ages can be compared with the modern negotiable bill which is backed by governments, or by accepting firms of huge capital and international repute, which effectively act as guarantor for the debtor. The only possible exception was the debenture of the Calais staple, because it was secured by the wool customs which the staplers themselves collected. However, its circulation was limited by the fact that it was only legal tender for payments to the staple.²² This means that the use of unsecured bonds and bills was not at all comparable with that of contemporary gold and silver English coins of fixed weight and fineness. While Bolton glosses over this distinction, and stresses the primary importance of legal protection for assignability, Postan put most emphasis on confidence in the debtor's ability to repay what he owed.²³ Bolton cannot, therefore, claim Postan's authority for his own assertion that 'viable forms of paper money' were more than making up for a shortage of coin.²⁴

In fact there is no means of knowing how extensive the market for bills was in fifteenth-century England. Critics of Bolton's views do not deny that bills were assignable, but, like Postan, they cannot accept that they were fully negotiable. At best, therefore, they could contribute to velocity, but not to the money supply itself, because, as merely personal credit, they carried no guarantee of repayment.²⁵ Moreover, the evidence indicates they were used chiefly in overseas trade to transfer funds, and they did not circulate outside London.²⁶ The early fifteenth-century cases about assignment of debt which are recorded in London's Plea and Memoranda Rolls invariably involved Italian merchants.²⁷ The debentures of the Calais staple were also popular with exporting merchants because they assisted the transfer of funds from the sales of wool exporters in Calais to the importers who needed to pay for their purchases of linen in the Low Countries.²⁸ Similarly, the London clients who feature in the Borromei's ledgers were almost all engaged in trade which required them to transfer funds to and from the wool and cloth markets of the Low Countries. Bolton, though, found no evidence in the ledgers that their bills of exchange were transferred within England, and he acknowledges that assignment features little in the numerous cases involving bonds heard in the Court of Common Pleas.²⁹

There is also no evidence that Londoners used credit instruments to make payments to provincial customers.³⁰ Although exporting merchants like the Celys, and the factors of the Medici's London branch, normally used bills of exchange in their overseas business, they always bought their wool in England with coin.³¹ The amount and quality of wool they could buy in local markets depended on the size of the down payment in coin they could offer the growers, who then awaited subsequent instalments of cash. The Medici paid £215 in coin, half the total price, as the down payment for one purchase of Cotswold wool in 1473.³² Coin therefore continued to be vital for merchants' transactions, even for modest provincial wool-dealers

¹⁹ Postan 1973, 51.

²⁰ Postan 1973, 42, 49, 62.

²¹ Postan 1973, 42.

²² Postan 1973, 50–1.

²³ Bolton 2011a, 156; Bolton 2012, 73–4; Postan 1973, 42–54.

²⁴ Bolton 2011a, 157, 162.

²⁵ Munro 1979, 214–15.

²⁶ Postan 1973, 58–64; Bolton 2011a, 157–8.

²⁷ Thomas 1943, 236–7, 244, 250, 260, 261.

²⁸ Postan 1973, 50.

²⁹ Bolton 2011a, 158–9. The only exception was three bills sent by its Southampton agents to London: Bolton 2011b, 65; Bolton 2012, 300 n.67.

³⁰ Spufford 2008, 33, 42–3.

³¹ Holmes 1996, 279–80.

³² Holmes 1996, 280.

like John Heritage.³³ Payments by bank transfers were confined to account-holders in London's four or five Italian banks. Even in financially sophisticated Venice little more than ten per cent of the adult male population *c.* 1500 had current bank accounts, and in Spufford's view international trade still relied predominantly on merchants transporting bags of coin.³⁴

Edward I prohibited bills of exchange in 1283 on the grounds that they were depriving the mints of bullion, and for the same reason, from the late fourteenth century English mercantile opinion, which supported its government's insistence on sound money, became progressively more hostile towards alien merchants using bills in England.³⁵ In 1376 a committee of mint officials, which included prominent merchants, recommended that no payments for merchandise should be allowed outside Flanders by letters or bills of exchange.³⁶ Parliamentary opposition to them sharpened as the supply of bullion diminished in the fifteenth century, and it forced the Staplers in 1429 to demand payment in bullion for at least part of the wool they sold in Calais, while restrictions were imposed generally on credit given to aliens in England.³⁷ The same year the influential London Grocers' Company protested against Italians' assigning grocers' bills, on the grounds that they thereby incurred 'great shame and slander'.³⁸ The grocers' objection, presumably, was that assignment suggested their credit was unreliable, thus injuring their financial reputation and that of their livery company. In 1436 the polemical *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* attacked bills of exchange as the means by which Italians profited at the expense both of the English money supply, and the English producers of the goods they bought.³⁹

There was more than xenophobia behind these repeated attacks on bills of exchange. Supplies of bullion in England and Europe diminished particularly *c.* 1395–1415, and again *c.* 1440–60, at a faster rate than the decline in the demand for money, or the fall of the English population. In 1445 a petition to parliament complained about the shortage of coin for domestic trade.⁴⁰ The crucial question is whether in these circumstances medieval people accepted bills and bonds as a substitute for coin when they were, in fact, only unsecured instruments of credit which bore the risk that the debtor might abscond, as a prominent Spanish merchant did in 1458, leaving huge debts behind him in London.⁴¹ Even bills of exchange were exposed to the danger that Italian banks would have inadequate funds to honour them, as had happened in the fourteenth century.⁴² That danger intensified in the fifteenth century, as the supply of bullion fell, mints closed throughout Europe, and numerous European private banks collapsed, including some in Venice.⁴³

Furthermore, growing political instability in fifteenth-century England can only have increased creditors' nervousness about accepting paper promises of future payment.⁴⁴ Bills of exchange were particularly affected by any warfare that disrupted the export and import trades, such as the war with the Duke of Burgundy, and the trade embargo he imposed in 1435–39. The renewal of England's war with France, in 1449, and subsequent conflicts with the Hansards, took a similar toll on trade and mercantile confidence. Political conflicts at home also raised fears of lawlessness, and questioned the ability of governments to enforce debts. From the 1440s the weak and incompetent government of Henry VI permitted increased corruption and faction which contributed to Cade's rebellion in 1450, and anti-alien riots in London. Continued misrule ended in civil war, and Henry's deposition in 1461. Similarly,

³³ Dyer 2012, 93–7, 106, 157.

³⁴ Day 1987, 142; Spufford 2008, 32–3, 41–7.

³⁵ Munro 1979, 198–9, 213–14.

³⁶ Munro 1979, 201–3.

³⁷ Childs 1991, 70.

³⁸ Kingdon 1886, II, 191; Thomas 1943, 236.

³⁹ Warner 1926, lines 396–455.

⁴⁰ Day 1987, 58–60; Nightingale 1995, 258; Nightingale 1997, 637, 639–40; Nightingale 2010, 12–13; Bolton 2011a, 150; Allen 2007, 192–4; Allen 2012, 178–9.

⁴¹ Bolton 2012, 214; Childs 1991, 73–4.

⁴² Nightingale 2013, 491–2.

⁴³ Spufford 2008, 37–9.

⁴⁴ Nightingale 1997, 633–4.

other crises like the famine of 1438–39, or epidemics, which threatened the survival of debtors and creditors alike, also reduced confidence that debts would be repaid.

Gilbert Maghfeld and a decline in the availability of credit

I have illustrated what effect both shortages of coin, and political instability had in undermining the confidence that was essential to credit, by analysing the accounts of Gilbert Maghfeld which cover the years 1390–95. Maghfeld exported and imported various goods, and distributed them to the provinces. He also had an extensive retail trade in the City which explains why much of the credit he gave was informal, and often included relatively small sums.⁴⁵ Occasionally he accepted pledges of silver as security for credit, but he also used the normal range of credit instruments available at the time, including five recognisances of debt which he registered in the Westminster staple. His book records only one example of the assignment of debt, and that was more in the nature of a repayment, when Maghfeld accepted in June 1393 a tally from two skinnners in part payment of their debt to him of £100.⁴⁶

So extensive was the use of credit in trade that most merchants bequeathed at their deaths a large number of unpaid debts due to them which they classified as ‘desperate’, indicating they had little hope of recovering them. Whereas some might be content to let the debts continue unpaid for some time, this could only be true if they had adequate amounts of capital, and had either some hope of repayment, or, more likely, realised that they had nothing to gain from proceeding against the debtor.⁴⁷ The great majority of merchants held only modest amounts of cash, which were often insufficient to cover their own debts to others, and so they had to rely on a steady flow of repayments in coin from their retail trade to give the new credit that customers needed. Even in prosperous times their survival in business was usually a difficult balancing act.⁴⁸

The mint’s falling output of silver coin, combined with political events which interfered with London’s wool exports, and Richard II’s huge financial levies on the City’s merchants, reduced the ability of Maghfeld’s customers to repay the credit he had advanced them. Despite the various ways open to him for recording, and for enforcing debts, he responded by reducing the credit he gave over five years by 97 per cent, and in 1394 he more or less abandoned trade. Even in normal trading conditions his accounts show that his retail trade in the city had a 12 per cent risk of default, whereas the credit he registered under statute staple, which usually involved much higher sums, had a 20 per cent risk of default.⁴⁹ When he abandoned trade he chose to employ his remaining capital in large loans to prominent people, both because of the good security they offered, and the high interest rates they could pay. Since it is unlikely that Maghfeld was alone in pursuing this policy, the effect of lending to a few people of high worth, instead of to a large number of London and provincial merchants, depressed commercial activity.⁵⁰ As London was the centre of the kingdom’s trade and credit, the result was a spreading commercial recession throughout England which affected output and employment in the cloth industry, caused prices and wages to fall, made rents harder to collect, and depressed the land market, leading to the first of the fifteenth-century depressions.⁵¹ That effect is visible in the statute merchant and staple certificates for the whole kingdom. They fell from 147, worth £8,218, for debts recorded in 1391, to 83, worth £4,690, for debts recorded in 1395. Five prominent exporters in the London Grocers Company became bankrupt in 1397, the year that Maghfeld died, when he, too, was facing bankruptcy.⁵² The next decade witnessed an even greater decline in the certificates of debt.⁵³

⁴⁵ Nightingale 2004, 60.

⁴⁶ TNA: PRO, E 101/509/19, f. 39v.

⁴⁷ Bolton 2011a, 160.

⁴⁸ Childs 1991, 69; Postan 1973, 21–3.

⁴⁹ Nightingale 2004, 63–4.

⁵⁰ Nightingale 2004, 56–68.

⁵¹ Nightingale 2004, 67–8; Day 1978, *passim*.

⁵² Nightingale 1995, 341–2; 2004, 68.

⁵³ Nightingale 2010, 12–13, 14 (fig. 2).

Statute staple and merchant certificates as evidence of the availability of credit

The debate about the relationship of credit to the money supply can only be determined by evidence, and Bolton admits that his argument about paper money is speculative and the evidence for it ‘both sparse and obscure’.⁵⁴ My conclusions, by contrast, are drawn from an analysis of 36,595 debts recorded on the statute staple and merchant certificates in the National Archives.⁵⁵ It is this evidence which Bolton now claims is ‘not as solid as it might seem’.⁵⁶ However, his judgment is based on major errors of fact, derived chiefly from Postan’s minimal investigation of this source, and from his unsubstantiated speculations about it. Bolton confidently repeats these speculative views uncritically, without apparently studying the evidence itself.

The certificates were created by a system established in 1283 by Edward I’s statute of Acton Burnell, which was amended by the Statute of Merchants of 1285. These statutes established registries in London and other leading towns to record recognizances of debt which had the legal advantage of giving the creditor an automatic judgment against his defaulting debtor. Although Acton Burnell stated that the parties should be merchants, in practice the certificates show that anyone could use the system apart from in the years 1311–c.1330, following the Ordainers’ decree that only merchants could do so. The statute staple legislation of 1353 created new registries, but, contrary to what Bolton states, it did not extend the registration of debts ‘beyond London to the courts at Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter and Bristol’, for the reason that there had been statute merchant registries in almost all these towns for many years, and these continued to exist alongside the new staple registries.⁵⁷ The major exception was Westminster which, for political reasons, was given a staple court and registry instead of London, although the city continued to have its own statute merchant registry. Together the two systems produced certificates of debt from every part of the kingdom over the entire period 1284–1529.

The local registries originally recorded the debts on rolls. When the debtors defaulted, the registries sent certificates recording their details to Chancery to initiate enforcement. Whereas few of the original local rolls survive, the certificates remained in Chancery’s keeping. The clerks filed them in bundles according to the date when they received them, but as this could be many months, and not infrequently, years, after the date when the debt was due for repayment, the economic circumstances in which the debts were first registered can only be revealed by rearranging them by a computer, according to that date.⁵⁸ To be certain of including all the certificates registered in any year requires the collection to be studied as a whole. Its bulk has the virtue of presenting a sample of recorded debt, selected only by the unpaid creditors, which covers all regions, and almost two-and-a-half centuries. The problem for the historian has been to discover how representative the unpaid debts are of the number and value of those which were originally registered, and to deduce what factors influenced the rate of default. Alice Beardwood first carried out such an exercise in 1939 for her edition of the *Coventry Statute Merchant Roll* of 1392–1416. This showed that in two decades of differing economic circumstances, the percentage of Coventry debts which produced certificates of non-payment was 21.7 in the 1392–99 and 19.3 in 1400–09.⁵⁹

London has most surviving original rolls, all of which record debts, popularly called ‘statutes’ registered under statute merchant. I have matched 2,671 debts recorded on nine London rolls between 1291 and 1315, with the certificates of non-payment, and this has revealed a consistent default rate matching that of the Coventry roll. This was despite the very

⁵⁴ Bolton 2012, 74.

⁵⁵ TNA: PRO, Classes C 241 and C 152. In addition Class C 131 contains 1,265 certificates relating to debts registered on the Close Rolls which have not been included in this analysis because they come from a different source, and do not reflect the same geographical pattern.

⁵⁶ Bolton 2011a, 153.

⁵⁷ Bolton 2011a, 153.

⁵⁸ The date of registration appears on all certificates from 1330, except for those issued by Lostwithiel. Before then they have to be analysed by the date of repayment which was usually within six months of registration.

⁵⁹ Beardwood 1939, 939; Nightingale 1990, 566, Table 2.

different economic circumstances in which the rolls were compiled. These included years of warfare against France from 1294 to 1298 which severely disrupted the wool trade, and, therefore reduced the output of the mints, and also imposed heavy taxation on the kingdom. The figures for defaults are 19.3% in 1291–92, 18.8% for 1293–94, 20.1% for 1295–96, and 22% for 1298–99. From 1304 to 1309 the output of the mints soared, and remained good to 1315, but the default rate was unchanged at 22 per cent for 1309–10, 22.9% for 1310–11, 20.8% for 1315–17, and 20.3% for 1315–16. Overall, the mean rate of default was 20.7 per cent, compared with a mean of 20.5 per cent for Coventry's rolls for 1392–1409, and 20 per cent for Maghfeld's own statutes of the 1390s.⁶⁰ What may seem a surprising consistency is explicable by creditors reacting very swiftly to threatening circumstances by refusing to give credit. Contrarily, much improved prospects encouraged the expansion of credit. This supposition is borne out by the varying numbers of debts recorded on the London rolls. The two between 1291 and 1294 record between 265 and 195 debts, whereas those for the difficult years, 1295–96 and 1298–99, show a reduction to 137 and 166 debts respectively. Those for 1295–96 are worth less than half of those on the earlier rolls. After the restoration of peace, and the huge increase in the output of the mints, the numbers of recorded debts expanded spectacularly in 1309–10 to 845.⁶¹

This is evidence which most economic historians would take seriously, but Bolton dismisses it with the sentence 'What proportion of debts registered they (the certificates) represent simply cannot be known, whatever statistical methods are applied to the evidence'.⁶² Similarly, he maintains that since the 'totality of the credit market can never be satisfactorily measured', any conclusions drawn from the statute merchant certificates 'may be misleading'.⁶³ These strictures, of course, apply to most statistics that medieval historians have to use, and to none more so than to his own claims about negotiable bonds, since he cites no sample of them to prove his assertion that their increased use more than compensated for falling supplies of coin. They also apply to the sample of 67 English merchants' accounts he has selected from the Borromei's London register for 1436–39 to show 'reality' in the 'actual workings of the credit and exchange markets' compared with the 'secondary evidence' of the certificates.⁶⁴

Credit or penal bonds?

Several other scholars have used the statute merchant and staple certificates, but all have done so selectively to study particular towns, or for limited periods, and these limitations have given rise to divergent views on their suitability as a sample of late medieval credit. So forbidding has been the task of analysing the certificates as a whole, that no-one has questioned Postan's views, or the very limited evidence on which he based them. He investigated only some of the surviving rolls of London's statute merchant registry, and although he recognized that non-merchants used them, he concluded that the first three (1285–93) show over three-quarters of the entries recording debts between merchants.⁶⁵ He based this claim on the fact that the sums involved were relatively small and not in round figures. However, McNall's investigation of those enrolled between 1291 and 1307, led him to conclude that the great majority show non-mercantile creditors. This supports my own assessment that only about 28 per cent of them were mercantile in that period.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Nightingale 2004, 56–68; Nightingale 2010, 2, n.11. The City's first recognisance roll, which was compiled under the Acton Burnell legislation, produced fewer certificates of default because mayors could sell the debtor's goods and property in his absence, whereas under Statute Merchant, if the debtor was not present, the mayor had to send a certificate to Chancery. Few debtors chose to await imprisonment.

⁶¹ Corporation of London Record Office: London Recognisance Rolls, I–IX.

⁶² Bolton 2011a, 153.

⁶³ Bolton 2011a, 162.

⁶⁴ Bolton 2011b, 54–6, 58.

⁶⁵ Postan 1973, 38.

⁶⁶ McNall 2002, 76. His assessment that only c.20 per cent were mercantile should most likely be increased to a figure nearer the average of 28 per cent, because he was unable to search for relevant certificates beyond the Chancery bundle for 1307. Many more relating to the debts recorded on the London recognisance rolls in his period were sent to Chancery in the reign of Edward II, and the last of them in 1397.

Postan, though, used his criterion of odd sums for mercantile credit to claim that their greater presence in the early rolls, in contrast with the larger, rounded, sums of the later ones, shows that the latter ceased to record mercantile credit. In fact the relatively few odd sums in the early rolls mostly arise from the common use of the mark, worth 13s. 4d., and its fractions. Although it is likely that many sums were rounded up to include interest, and despite larger mercantile debts becoming more common as English trade expanded in the fourteenth century, Postan decided, without any supporting evidence, that round sums in statute merchant and staple records most likely referred to penal bonds. The latter were penalties for default which could be used to enforce transactions, and were often twice the value of any debt involved.⁶⁷ There are a few certificates in most decades which do appear to represent penal bonds, but these were predominantly issued by statute merchant registries. This was because lawyers who used penal bonds to enforce family settlements, or land transfers, could not record them in the later staple registries since they used the law merchant and had no competence in pleas of land.⁶⁸ However, from their creation in 1353, staples attracted mercantile business away from statute merchant registries because they offered merchants a cheaper and more effective system of registering and enforcing debts.⁶⁹ In 1370 staple registries were issuing 40 per cent of the certificates, but by the 1390s their proportion had risen to more than 70 per cent.

This tendency for a distinction to arise between the types of debt recorded by the statute merchant, and the staple registries, became most obvious in London where merchants increasingly resorted to the staple at Westminster to register their trading credit, while continuing to record other kinds of monetary transactions on the city's statute merchant rolls. Postan only considered the latter, and ignored the certificates of debt produced by the Westminster staple.⁷⁰ If merchants had no nearby staple then they would register both mercantile credit, and settlements involving penal bonds, on the same statute merchant roll. Alice Beardwood noted the penal bonds on the Coventry statute merchant roll, but contrary to what Bolton claims, she did not say that only fifteen of the 288 Coventry recognisances actually involved debt. She merely observed that only fifteen recognisances record odd sums, and then referred to Postan's views that round numbers suggested the debts were not commercial.⁷¹ However, she then went on to say that she had found only three out of eighteen Coventry cases on the plea rolls at the end of the fourteenth century which were definitely penal bonds. Moreover, she noted that many of the other debtors and creditors named on the rolls belonged to the trades and crafts of the city, and that they reveal business connexions with twenty-two counties.⁷²

By contrast, Bolton states unequivocally that 'by the late fourteenth century the statute staple recognisance had become the preserve of non-merchants who used them to register loans and penal bonds rather than straightforward commercial debts'.⁷³ Although the most cursory examination of the certificates disproves this rash claim, he maintains that 'Doubts continue about the use of these certificates of debt as a measure of the amount of commercial credit', and he refers to the work of other scholars to prove his case. He cites Maryanne Kowaleski's analysis of the Exeter certificates for the ten years 1377–87. She thought they confirmed Postan's views about their diminishing commercial character because she identified only 32.3 per cent of the creditors in those years as merchants.⁷⁴ However, my analysis of the 207 statute merchant certificates recorded for Exeter creditors between 1300 and 1309 indicates that only 28.5 per cent of them then had mercantile interests, which suggests that in the intervening period there was an actual increase in the mercantile use of the statutory bonds in keeping with the growth of the city's commercial class.

⁶⁷ Postan 1973, 38–9.

⁶⁸ Rich 1934, 36–7.

⁶⁹ Nightingale 1995, 565.

⁷⁰ No original roll of staple debts has survived.

⁷¹ Beardwood 1939, xx–xxi; Bolton 2011a, 153; Bolton 2012, 278.

⁷² Beardwood 1939, xx–xxiii, xxv–xxvi.

⁷³ Bolton 2011a, 153; Bolton 2011b, 54–5.

⁷⁴ Kowaleski 1995, 213. The difficulty in distinguishing mercantile creditors is illustrated by the fact that some Devon knightly families like that of Guy Brian, had wide-ranging mercantile interests (see Nightingale 2000, 52–55, 57–8).

Bolton's unwarrantable assumption that most debts where the creditors cannot be proved to be merchants must be long-term loans, or penal bonds, seems to be the foundation of his claim that my figures, which show credit falling steeply in the fifteenth-century recessions, are 'surely uncertain evidence on which to build a model linking the availability of credit to changes in the money supply'.⁷⁵ In fact there are very few certificates which reveal the characteristics of penal bonds. Normally these appear in pairs bearing identical information, apart from recording two different debts, the higher one of which was the penalty which was invoked if the lower sum was not repaid.⁷⁶ There are, though, in most decades, some individual certificates for round sums of 1,000 marks, or, more commonly, £1,000, which are outside the normal range of debts, and because it is possible that these were penal bonds I have excluded them from my totals. These types of certificate, though, never amount to more than 3.2 per cent of the total for any decade, and average only 1.25 per cent of the total overall. Those for £1,000 or more amount to only 0.82 per cent of the total. This is hardly surprising because the purpose of penal bonds was to deter defaults, and since debtors knew the penalties were enforced, they would do everything possible to avoid paying them.

Bolton also confuses the two quite separate issues of penal bonds and non-commercial loans.⁷⁷ Whereas penal bonds were used as deterrents against default for any kind of debt, it is certainly not true that certificates recording transactions between apparently non-mercantile parties usually record penal bonds or non-commercial loans. In fact many creditors who describe themselves in certificates as clergy, knights, or gentry, can be observed in others actively trading in wool, lead, or tin.⁷⁸ More importantly, distinguishing between mercantile credit and loans given for other purposes is irrelevant to the question of what circumstances encouraged or discouraged the lending of money in general. The various purposes for which money was borrowed, or credit extended, do not alter the fact that whether mercantile or not, such transactions required one party to have money to invest, or to lend short-term, and the other party to find the cash, or goods, within a specified time to repay what he had borrowed. Both kinds of credit depended on how confident the creditor was that he would be repaid. His perception of the sluggishness, or otherwise, of the coin in circulation, naturally played a significant part in his calculations.

The certificates also prove the error of Postan's claims, repeated by Bolton, that in the fifteenth century, statute merchant and staple recognisances increasingly recorded long-term investments of more than a year's duration, rather than short-term credit.⁷⁹ Sampling five years' certificates in every decade shows that this is not true. The proportion which specified repayment in less than one year dropped only slightly from 69.2% for 1284–1399 to 61% for 1400–1524, and this seems to reflect, if anything, an increased difficulty in meeting short terms of repayment rather than any decisive shift to long-term investment. Throughout the period 1284–1524, a mean of 96.1 per cent of the recorded debts had a repayment term of under two years, and this did not change significantly in any decade. Moreover, it is close to the 94.5 per cent of debts registered by the London scrivener, William Styfford, in 1457–59 in which credit was given for up to two years.⁸⁰ The Borrromei bank in London gave similar terms, and credit given for one to two years is commonly recorded in the London Plea and Memoranda rolls.⁸¹

Furthermore, Postan's and Bolton's claims that the recognisance of debt ceased to be popular because it lost all its former advantages while it 'retained most of its defects' are also mistaken. The recognisance's automatic remedy against a defaulting debtor was, Postan believed, eroded by the encroaching jurisdiction of Chancery. Far from Chancery's interfering to restrict the execution of the certificates, the opposite happened, with a spectacular rise in their number

⁷⁵ Bolton 2012, 278.

⁷⁶ One example is TNA: PRO, C 241/206/49–50.

⁷⁷ Bolton 2011a, 154.

⁷⁸ Bolton 2012, 278; Nightingale 2000, *passim*; Nightingale 2008, *passim*; Nightingale 2010, 9.

⁷⁹ Postan 1973, 39; Bolton 2011a, 155.

⁸⁰ Childs 1991, 90.

⁸¹ Bolton 2011a, 158; Bolton 2011b, 58; Thomas 1932, *passim*.

and enforcement under Henry VII and Henry VIII.⁸² Bolton considers that the greatest disadvantage of recognisances was that because they were enrolled they could not be assigned.⁸³ However, in the late 1450s numerous country wool merchants, and 69 London merchants, preferred to record their credit in two scriveners' registers in London rather than accept assignable bills, even though most of the credit they gave was for the export trade, and 84 per cent of the debtors, and 30 per cent of the creditors in William Styfford's ledger were Italians who were accustomed to use such bills. The scriveners' registers also show that the creditors, who were lending sums up to £800, normally demanded repayment in silver. They scarcely mention barter, and only occasionally payment by bills of exchange.⁸⁴ This suggests a disinclination to accept bills, and, also, that the assignability of debts counted for little in England compared with merchants' need for, and use of, payments in coin. Furthermore, by recording credit with scriveners, or in statute staple registries, creditors gained copies of the enrolment which they could, and did, use as security for repayment of their own debts.⁸⁵ The criticisms which have been levelled since the 1930s at the suitability of the certificates to serve as a sample of credit have, therefore, no foundation, and the charge that the system lost popularity, or effectiveness, is disproved by the fact that after a long decline in the fifteenth century they steadily increase in numbers from 1495 to the end of the series in 1530.⁸⁶

Continuity and representativeness of the certificates

The essential continuity of the certificates, and their value as evidence of credit, whether registered under statute merchant or statute staple, is visible in the social classes and geographical range of the debtors and creditors who used them, and in the modal values of their debts. The credit registered in the years 1300–49 show that knights and other gentry then accounted for 6.4 per cent of the creditors, clergy for 25 per cent, and merchants, and trades with a mercantile element, for 28 per cent.⁸⁷ These proportions did not change greatly in later periods, apart from falling numbers of clerical creditors in the fifteenth century. Between 1285 and 1309 the modal value of the certificates was under £5, but when the system was restricted to merchants, their modal value rose to between £20 to £50. It remained at that figure thereafter, in keeping with the expansion of English trade, although throughout the whole period at least a quarter of the debts were for under £20. This range is very similar to those in the two London scriveners' books of the 1450s, and in the Borromei's accounts.⁸⁸ About 73 per cent of the parties identified in the fifteenth-century certificates belonged to the social classes below the richer gentry, thus contradicting Bolton's supposition that only wealthy creditors would 'take the extreme step' of enforcing debts using this system.⁸⁹ In fact creditors calling themselves husbandmen did just that.⁹⁰ Moreover, despite the increasing concentration of credit in London, in the certificates of 1520–29 thirty counties had creditors, and all but two had debtors.

It is this strong element of continuity which makes the certificates a valuable sample for examining how monetary, political, social and economic changes affected credit over nearly two and a half centuries. The continuity is evident as much in statute staple, as in statute merchant, certificates, and it means that there is no foundation for Bolton's comments, that because no staple rolls have survived, conclusions drawn from the staple certificates are uncertain.⁹¹ He has also questioned how representative they are of credit recorded elsewhere.⁹² Their modal value is, of course, considerably higher than those of debts recorded in manorial or

⁸² Nightingale 2008, 10–11, Table I, 24–8.

⁸³ Postan 1973, 39–40; Bolton 2011a, 154–5.

⁸⁴ Childs 1991, 83–4.

⁸⁵ Thomas 1932, 292.

⁸⁶ Nightingale 2010, 4, Figure 2; Challis 1992, Appendix I.

⁸⁷ Most of the others are not socially identifiable.

⁸⁸ Childs 1991, 82–3.

⁸⁹ Bolton 2011a, 154.

⁹⁰ TNA: PRO, C 241/257/19; 279/32, 65; 283/65.

⁹¹ Bolton 2011a, 154.

⁹² Bolton 2012, 278–9.

local borough courts, but the main purpose in comparing them is to discover whether they reveal similar chronological trends of expansion and contraction. I have compared their trends with those of the outlawries for smaller debts listed on the Patent Rolls, with the debt-cases which came before the common law courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, the London mayor's court, and rural manorial courts, as well as with those recorded in towns like Colchester, Exeter, and Coventry. Before the certificates can be dismissed as unrepresentative critics have to explain why all these disparate sources reveal similar trends.⁹³

One might expect the greatest disparity to be visible in debts recorded in manorial courts because people in villages who had crops and animals to barter had far more opportunities than townsmen to substitute food, goods and services for loans of cash. However, court rolls show that villagers had as commercial an outlook as townsmen in their dealings with each other, and peasants' use of a range of markets required them to use coin and credit extensively beyond their village.⁹⁴ Loans of cash were common, but were likely to bear interest, while creditors often required security for them, and were ready to foreclose on debts, forcing land sales. They also withdrew credit altogether in times of economic hardship, when they feared they would not be repaid.⁹⁵ It is therefore not surprising that, when the supply of coin diminished, the average number of debt cases per court in Writtle fell steadily from 2.38 in 1400–09 to 0.55 in 1480–89, and, significantly, there was no increase in cases involving labour and services to compensate for the fall in cash loans.⁹⁶ Despite Havering's favoured access to the London market the number of actions for debt dropped there sharply between 1405–06 and 1444–45, only to recover in the late 1460s as coin became more widely available. Rich Londoners then bought up large units of land, new immigrants came to farm it, and money-lending increased.⁹⁷ Credit in Oakington, near Cambridge remained high in the decades after the Black Death when the output of silver was high, despite the huge loss of population, but the number of its debt cases, like those in Willingham, fell in the 1390s with the declining output of silver. They plunged by 48 per cent in the first decade of the new century, and all but disappeared with the onset of the mid-century recession. Swaffham's cases also declined, albeit in a more protracted fashion.⁹⁸ This was because major changes in the money-supply did not necessarily affect the economies of every village or region identically, any more than they do today.⁹⁹ Much depended on the market opportunities available to them and whether the demand for their specialized products in the home or overseas markets could provide them with coin.¹⁰⁰

Conclusions: credit and the money supply

Bolton's argument in favour of credit's easing the slump, rather than itself diminishing in accordance with the output of the mints, is that in the fifteenth century it 'was not limited by contractions in the English money supply'.¹⁰¹ This, of course, was always true, to a limited extent, of credit in England's foreign trade, because sales of wool and cloth in Bruges and Venice were paid for in local currencies in Flanders and Italy, and Italian banking services assisted their transfer to London by bills of exchange, as well as through short-term loans given to English merchants in Europe. The Borrromei's accounts in 1437–38 show this happening, and Bolton calculates that transferring funds in this way accounts for about 40 per cent

⁹³ Nightingale 1997, 640; Nightingale 2010, 9–10, 12–13, 15, 17–20.

⁹⁴ Schofield 2003, 146–9.

⁹⁵ Schofield 2003, 137–45, 148; Schofield 2008, 54–61.

⁹⁶ Clark 1981, 251 (table 8.2), 254 (table 8.6)

⁹⁷ McIntosh 1986, 192–3 (table 10), 221–31.

⁹⁸ Briggs 2008, 9 (table 3).

⁹⁹ Bolton 2012, 264, asserts quite wrongly that historians who explain the recession of the 1440s to the 1460s primarily by the bullion famine, posit that a shortage of coin affects transactions and prices 'on a nationwide basis and not just regionally' (cf. Nightingale 2010, 9–10, 12, 14–15, 17–18, 19–20).

¹⁰⁰ Nightingale 2010, 17–18.

¹⁰¹ Bolton 2011a, 158.

of the transactions he analysed from his sample of 64 English clients of the firm.¹⁰² However these loans were repaid in sterling, and therefore depended ultimately on the English money supply.¹⁰³ The Borromei in Bruges borrowed from Venice and Barcelona to finance the purchase of English wool and cloth for export to Italy, but this arrangement came increasingly under pressure from falling supplies of bullion.¹⁰⁴ The silver and gold from the Balkans which supplied Venice were diminishing from the 1420s, and mints began to close throughout Europe from the 1430s.¹⁰⁵ The Bruges branch of the Borromei was making substantial losses from 1437, partly because of the Burgundian embargo on English trade which followed intense competition between their mints for limited supplies of bullion.¹⁰⁶ The profits of the London branch fell by a third in 1438, and both ceased trading by 1441.¹⁰⁷ These developments mark the onset of the second great depression to assail fifteenth-century Europe, and they indicate how the trade and credit of European, as well as English merchants, was affected by falling supplies of bullion and by the political conflicts these could engender.

In these circumstances it is hard to see how Italian money can have maintained the supply of England's domestic credit in the fifteenth century. The value of the Borromei's exports from England far exceeded the profits they made from their imports, and they contributed to the Italians' overall adverse trade balance with England which Bolton has analysed.¹⁰⁸ Their increasing inability to finance their English trade is shown by the Italians' insistence from the 1430s on ever longer terms of repayment for their purchases of wool and cloth. The *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* described c.1436–38 how Italians bought wool in England on long-term credit, profited from its sale in Venice, and then transferred the proceeds by bills to Flanders, to lend it again, in interest-bearing bills, to Englishmen to buy Flemish goods.¹⁰⁹ Only when their English debtors repaid them in instalments of sterling could the Italians finally pay the wool-growers whom they had kept waiting for their money for up to two years.¹¹⁰ One Londoner who sold the Borromei wool worth over £727 in 1438 was still owed over £527 in 1440.¹¹¹ The practice prompted English legislation in 1437 forbidding more than six months' credit to aliens.¹¹² Nonetheless, the two London scriveners' registers, and the prosecutions in the Exchequer, show that Italians were still acquiring illegal credit for up to five years on their purchases of wool, cloth, pewter and tin in the late 1450s.¹¹³

Any bullion which Italians, or other aliens, did bring to England had, of course, to be exchanged at the London mint. This means that it was recorded in the figures of mint output, and cannot, therefore, be counted as additional to that output when assessing the relationship of credit to the money supply. The small *soldini* which were illicitly imported by Venetian galleys in the early fifteenth century were the only foreign coins to evade to any significant degree the ban on the circulation of foreign coin.¹¹⁴ These tiny coins, worth less than a halfpenny, were welcomed by English people because they met a desperate need for small change. Despite their usefulness, the government still ordered them to the mint in 1415 and put pressure on the Venetian senate to ban their export.¹¹⁵ Apart from these, and Burgundian silver double patards, which were accepted at the end of the century as having the same value as groats, foreign coins had little part to play in the circulation of fifteenth-century England.¹¹⁶

¹⁰² Bolton 2011b, 61–6, 68.

¹⁰³ Bolton 2011b, 62–4.

¹⁰⁴ Bolton 2011b, 68.

¹⁰⁵ Spufford 1988, 356–60.

¹⁰⁶ Munro 1973, 68–9, 81–2, 134–5; Bolton 2012, 246, 248.

¹⁰⁷ Bruscoli and Bolton 2001, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ Bolton 1980, 313–14.

¹⁰⁹ Warner 1926, lines 396–455.

¹¹⁰ Bolton 2011b, 59–61.

¹¹¹ Bolton 2011b, 55–6, 58.

¹¹² Bolton 2011a, 150.

¹¹³ Childs 1991, 68–98.

¹¹⁴ Daubney 2009, 187–8, 193.

¹¹⁵ Childs 1991, 363.

¹¹⁶ Allen 2012, 365–6.

Moreover, any gold that the aliens brought to the mint would not have affected the level of credit employed in the wider domestic economy. This was because the retail trade, as Bolton acknowledges, could not function without an adequate supply of silver coin, since even the smallest gold coin was worth about three to four days' labour of a skilled man, and so had too great a value for everyday exchanges.¹¹⁷ A retail trade constricted by lack of silver reduced demand in the domestic economy, and stemmed the cash-flow of exporters who depended on receipts from their distributive and retail trade to help finance their overseas investments.¹¹⁸ The certificates illustrate the effect on credit of a money supply too heavily dominated by gold. Even though their average value is high, and the credit they represent was therefore most easily repaid in gold coin, their number fell strikingly when the amount of silver coin in circulation fell after 1400. They indicate that the credit produced by an overwhelmingly silver coinage in the 1340s was four-and-a half times greater in value than that of the predominantly gold coinage of roughly the same value in the 1410s.¹¹⁹ Even if one adjusts the calculations to take into account the probable loss of 50 per cent of the population in the interval the credit represented by the certificates had fallen by two-thirds.¹²⁰

Bolton bases most of his speculations about the impact of negotiable bonds on the credit market in fifteenth-century England on what Eric Kerridge wrote about trade and banking in the seventeenth century, even though he admits that much changed between the two periods in both monetary and economic terms.¹²¹ However, Barry Supple showed in 1959 in his book *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600–1642*, how a society which commonly used negotiable credit instruments, could still suffer a devastating financial crisis, leading to recession and mass unemployment in the cloth industry, when the amount of coin available for daily transactions was much reduced. Even the issuing of token coins, which was another form of credit, did nothing to alleviate the situation, because they, too, depended for their acceptance on confidence that they could be redeemed.¹²²

In summary, Bolton's supposition that negotiable bonds more than made up for any shortages of coin and credit in the fifteenth century is not supported by any statistics, and it fits ill with those which Hatcher assembled showing a long-lasting economic slump from the 1440s. Although Bolton claims Postan's authority for his assertion that negotiable bonds served as a form of paper money, Postan stressed that although they were legally assignable, they could not be accorded the same status as gold and silver coin because they gave no guarantee of payment. Transferable instruments of credit had long been used in overseas trade, but they had only a limited circulation in fifteenth-century London, and none in the provinces. Even leading London merchants were hostile to their use on the grounds that they deprived the mints of bullion, and they opposed their assignment because they believed it impugned their personal credit-worthiness. The scriveners' registers, and statute staple certificates, show that many English merchants in London, like their fellows in the provinces, preferred to register debts rather than accept transferable instruments of unsecured credit, because they wanted payment in coin, and were prepared to wait years for it, if necessary. Far from losing popularity for the reasons Postan and Bolton have asserted, the rising number of statute merchant and staple certificates from the end of the fifteenth century shows the increased use of registered debts.

Bolton's attack on the use of the certificates as evidence of credit is based on an uncritical adoption of Postan's views which are contradicted by the documents themselves. Postan was mistaken in his judgments because he did not study the certificates, and did not grasp the effect the Westminster staple had on the business of London's statute merchant registry. Both Postan and Bolton have unnecessarily sought to distinguish mercantile creditors from others, despite knowing that landed gentry and clergy were heavily involved in England's wool trade and in the credit associated with it. All forms of lending, whether recorded through assignable

¹¹⁷ Bolton 2011a, 149–52.

¹¹⁸ Nightingale 1997, 635–6, 641–6.

¹¹⁹ Nightingale 2010, 14–15.

¹²⁰ Nightingale 2010, 14–15.

¹²¹ Bolton 2011a, 162.

¹²² Supple 1959, 173–8.

instruments or registered credit, were equally affected by changes in the supply of silver coin because creditors would not lend if they feared they would not be repaid. Accordingly the certificates almost certainly illustrate the trends that all forms of credit would follow. When the supply of silver coin recovered at the end of the fifteenth century they show how credit expanded with it.

It is therefore regrettable that Postan's mistaken assumptions are still being used to discredit the evidential value of the statute merchant and staple certificates. These offer a unique sample of credit transactions over nearly two and a half centuries, which, when analysed correctly, can indicate the quantitative changes in the volume of credit in relation to the money supply. They also illustrate how the uncertainties of that money-supply bred caution in the attitude of medieval Englishmen to credit. They were reluctant to accept as the equivalent of sound money the kind of innovatory, transferable instruments of credit which contributed in the hands of their descendants, to the global financial crisis that began in 2008. That crisis showed that the fundamental rules governing credit have changed little over the centuries, and that historians, no more than bankers, cannot afford to ignore them.

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REPLY TO PAMELA NIGHTINGALE'S 'A CRISIS OF CREDIT'

JAMES L. BOLTON

DR NIGHTINGALE kindly sent me a draft of her article for comment before its publication here.¹ I read it with great interest but have not subsequently changed my opinions in any way and we have cordially agreed to disagree. The answer to the question asked by Peter Spufford in 2008, 'How rarely did medieval merchants use coin?', seems to be 'As little as possible', judging from the evidence of the Borromei ledgers, where most payments were made by book transfers.² My purpose has been to try to ask another question, 'Could society at large cope with lack of coin?' and readers must draw their own conclusions as to the strength of my arguments, in the light of Dr Nightingale's reply. They may also like to read Christopher Dyer's latest work, a study of the life and commercial activities of John Heritage, a West Midlands grazier and wool merchant in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He did not make a great fortune or play a public role like other merchants from the same area but his career, Dyer argues, provides a useful guide to the activities of dozens of similar men. Unusually, his account book for 1501–20 has survived and it shows the credit arrangements that lay behind many of the calculations in it. Heritage literally juggled with money. Interestingly, he lent to wool growers, in the form of earnest payments for future wool deliveries and then became their debtors as he had to pay for the wool, which he then sold on to London merchants for export. Heritage had to chase these men for prompt payment for the sarplers of wool delivered to them, in order to have enough cash to meet his other commitments. He would use debts from one man to pay another, when possible, and make payments in gold coins at a time when silver was still in short supply. Coins were still scarce and Heritage had to respond to the demand for them 'by delaying payments, persuading his suppliers to be patient and keeping pressure on those who were supposed to pay money to him. Everyone he encountered knew only too well the difficulty of running a money economy in an environment starved of coins.'³

Yet Dyer shows how John Heritage and his like managed to do so successfully through a credit system based on trust. He did use written bonds to secure bargains but most of his business was done by word of mouth. His account book 'demonstrates the importance of a credit system based on trust and integrity.' There is no suggestion here that for 'lack of money he could not speed'.⁴ Dyer sees Heritage as a man living in that transitional period between an agrarian society and the modern world but there is much to suggest that he and his peers were coping adequately with problems that would have been familiar to his ancestors in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and demonstrating that society at large could indeed cope with a lack of coin.

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¹ Nightingale 2013.

² Spufford 2008, 4–47; Bolton 2011, 53–73; Bolton forthcoming.

³ Dyer 2012, 120–5; see also Dr Justin Colson's review of the book at www.history.ac.uk/reviews; and the author's interesting reply on the same site.

⁴ The refrain from 'London Lickpenny', a mid-fifteenth-century poem: Robbins 1959, 130–4.

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COIN HOARDS OF CHARLES I AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, 1625–60, FROM ENGLAND AND WALES

EDWARD BESLY AND C. STEPHEN BRIGGS

THE ‘English’ Civil War, fought between 1642 and 1648, gave rise to an immense number of unrecovered coin hoards, relative to any other period of British history, apart from the later third century AD. The principal purpose of this paper is to present an up-to-date inventory of these hoards, together with others that terminate with coins of Charles I or the Commonwealth of England, in succession to that published in 1987 (*English Civil War Coin Hoards*, henceforth *ECWCH*).¹

The first listing of Civil War hoards was produced by Brown, who enumerated 89, subsequently expanding this to 130 records.² The present writer (EB), in publishing a rash of finds made in the early 1980s and with the assistance of a number of regional museum curators, took the corpus to 204 ‘Charles I’ hoards (82 of which were known only from accounts in local newspapers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and another nine from the Commonwealth, listed in *ECWCH*. Twenty-five years on, how has this picture developed? New discoveries (and the occasional ‘rediscovery’) have continued at an average rate of more than two per year, giving (to the end of 2012) an additional 59 hoards closing with Charles I which may be dated with reasonable accuracy and four from the Commonwealth period.

In the meantime, the development of the internet and online availability of digitized versions of journals and newspapers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has provided us with a new source which may be searched systematically for information which, if of limited purely numismatic value, greatly expands the picture for this period – providing, as it were, a social history of English and Welsh coin finds. The newspaper record has also supplied a good deal of new information relating to the dates, locations and nature of previously-known finds, as well as identifying, to date, a further 92 hoards discovered between 1739 and 1893.

As a result, and including a small number of records gleaned from other sources, a new Inventory can now be presented which comprises 347 hoards closing with coins of Charles I and a further 22 from the time of the English Republic. This new listing therefore represents an expansion of 73 per cent over that published in *ECWCH*. Since 1800, on average, more than one ‘Civil War’ hoard has been found every year; since the 1970s, with the widespread use of metal detectors, this rate has increased to two per year (Fig. 1 summarizes find dates of 340 hoards). Further discoveries are inevitable, so this new inventory will by no means represent the last word on the topic. The distribution of the hoards is given in Fig. 2.

The newspaper record (CSB)

Researching newspapers and obscure antiquarian periodicals is not an activity new to numismatics and the study already owes much to such sourcing. Harrington Manville can be said to have pioneered newspaper research on a grand scale, successfully publishing a plethora of noteworthy discoveries during the 1990s from valuable repositories like *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and *The Scots Magazine*.³ His successes were achieved by painstakingly combing the periodicals

Acknowledgements. EB would like to thank Roger Bland for precipitating a long-held intention to update *ECWCH*; this forms one of two papers and should be read in association with Besly forthcoming. Mark Lodwick and Tony Daly created the map, Fig. 2.

¹ Besly 1987.

² Brown 1968; Brown and Dolley 1971.

³ Manville 1993a; 1993b; 1995.

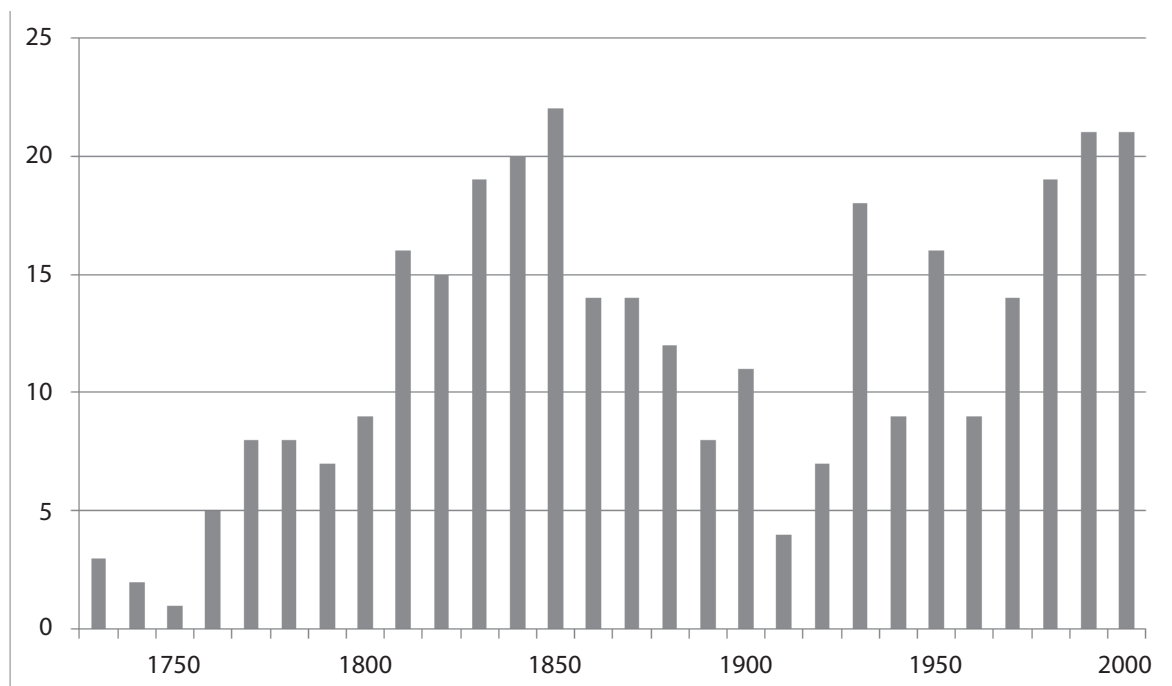


Fig. 1. Finds of hoards, by decade to 2010 (decades reckoned as 1731–40, etc.).

themselves: the spectacular addition here of 92 ‘new’ hoards discovered between 1739 and 1893 has, however, been enabled by the growing availability of searchable historic printed news media digitized *c.* 2000–2013 (and ongoing in, for example, The British Newspaper Archive).

Although it is clear that quite a number of these discoveries benefited from well-informed numismatic expertise, both of local and national origin, by this point some readers may be expressing concerns about the reliability or otherwise of the fruits of this new-found research tool. And it has to be admitted that hoaxing was not unknown in the past, just as it is practised today.⁴ There is, however, a major difference in the general quality of reportage between then and now. Before the First World War, most newsprint probably came jointly from professional journalists and regular or occasional local correspondents. What did actually come as a surprise whilst undertaking this research was the realisation that once an article had appeared in print somewhere, rival editors throughout the land felt free to reprint verbatim anything that would sell newsprint. Therefore, whereas some important accounts of treasure first appeared in quite obscure local papers, such material often found its way into regional or even national journals. It is therefore important to appreciate that reports on coin discoveries were being replicated in increasing numbers of newspapers country-wide as the nineteenth century progressed. Consequently, when searching the limited number of newspapers already digitized, it is not unusual to encounter several verbatim reprints of the same story. The number of such replications will obviously progress as the volume of digitization slowly increases.

The initial potential for newspaper research on any topic should not be underestimated. Intermittent searching for coins in Thomson-Gale’s *The Times Archive* online began in 2005, to which *British Nineteenth-Century Newspapers* online and *Nineteenth-Century Newsvault* online were later added. By early 2012 more than 500 had been extracted. *The British Newspaper Archive* online enabled far more intensive searching during 2012. That produced at least 800 more – due at least in part to that Archive’s new strong eighteenth-century component. After this initial flush of success, future research is unlikely to progress anything like so quickly, as the resource is not infinite. What can probably be expected is a steady drip of small numbers

⁴ An example from 1927 being *ECWCH*, 115, N2 (section N: ‘non-existent hoards’).

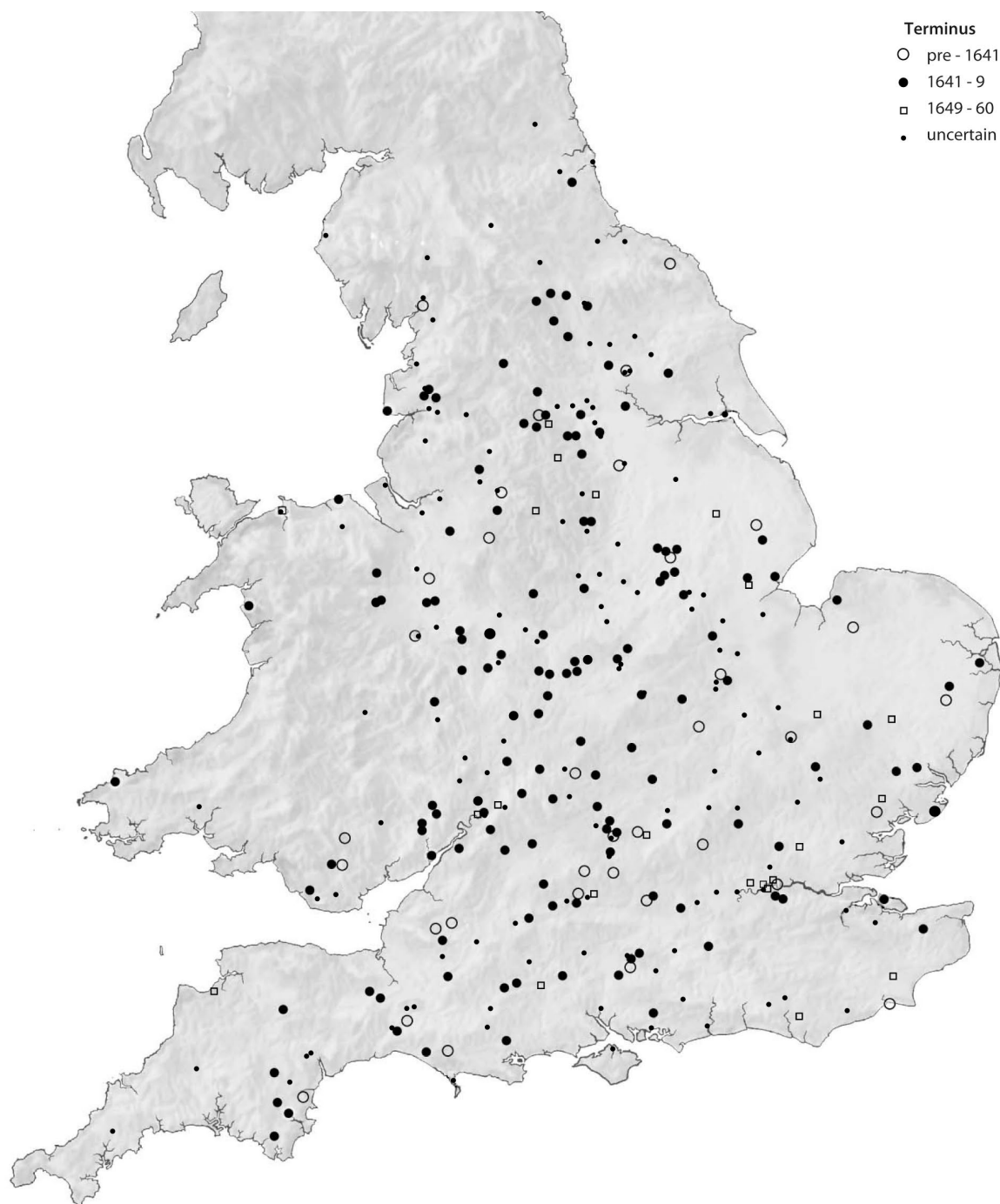


Fig. 2. England and Wales: all hoards with termini 1625–1660.

of 'new' finds, made as further newspapers are digitized, and some enhancement in the lengths or occasionally in the numismatic quality of a few known accounts.

Whereas the numismatic information to be derived from newspapers is generally of quite limited quality, compensation for that deficiency is often to be found in the detail provided about circumstances of discovery, related social matters and attitudes to Treasure Trove. The first of these has been vital in enabling the compilation of the analyses which follow.

Finding Civil War hoards (EB)

In updating the 1987 Inventory, the publications cited there have been revisited and an opportunity taken to incorporate much more detail regarding the discovery and burial locations of the hoards. The circumstances of recovery are recorded for over 300 hoards and are summarized in Table 1. Almost all have been discovered by chance, though a small number of early accounts describe recovery by the owner or depositor, or by an heir (D27 Wardour Castle; K85 Scriven; K86 Hartley Mauditt).⁵

TABLE 1. Recovery of Civil War hoards

Repair or demolition of existing building	92
Ground works for new building	36
Ground works: roads, drainage, trenching	17
Ground works: agricultural*	62
Disturbed by animals**	4
In gardens	17
Quarrying, mining	6
Found by children	7
Metal detecting	48
Other†	20

* ploughing, hedging, ditching, digging, levelling, planting

** cattle (2), rabbits, mole

† includes: bridge building; digging allotment, digging graves; walkers; erosion; archaeological excavation (In a few cases, an individual hoard may fall into more than one category.)

The demolition of, or repairs to existing buildings forms at present the largest category, mainly in older accounts but still occasionally encountered (e.g., F22, Castle Cary in 2006). Recovery peaked in the middle of the nineteenth century (see Fig. 1) – matching today's electronically-assisted rates, the result of a mix of repairs/demolition of older buildings (particularly as old thatch needed to be replaced) and through agricultural and infrastructure improvements. Farm workers and labourers came across hoards in the course of their work, grubbing out hedges and banks as well as during cultivation; navvies too, building the railways (E13 Pocklington, 1848; K167 Shipley, 1890). With the patchy application of Treasure Trove procedures during the nineteenth century, such finds might come to official notice only after a cheerful evening in the local pub, as enjoyed by the fortunate 'ironstone getters' of Wingerworth, Derbyshire in 1856 (K150). Many coins were disposed of to local silversmiths as 'old silver' at rates such as 4s. 6d. (K137 Gloucester, 1847) or 5s. 3d. (Wingerworth); gold twenty-shillings of Charles I were valued at £1 0s. 10d. each in 1804 (K7 Gallow Hill, Bolam). Other infrastructure works have played their part: the provision of main drainage for the village of Lazenby in 1879 finds a modern parallel in trenching for storm sewers in Wolverhampton (1999), both leading to the finding of hoards (K164, E29).

Several hoards came to light in the nineteenth century as graves were dug in local churchyards (e.g., K110 Havant; K132 Farnham); another in 1905 as a grave was prepared for a horse (K48 Newsam Green). Nor should the contribution of children (E3, K68) or of animals go unnoticed. Cows (A4 Muckleford; D16 Luton), rabbits (F2 Ashdon) and a mole (D36 Wortwell) have all played their parts.

The decade of the Great War of 1914–18 provides a readily-explained dip in recovery, while the 1930s and 1950s – decades of construction and reconstruction – frame a similar dip in the 1940s. Since around 1970, discovery has been boosted by metal detecting, the main contribution of which is the location of many smaller hoards, pursefuls of coins, often amounting to no more than a few shillings, found away from habitation, presumably lost in transit, such as C14 West Crewkerne, Somerset (2007, £0 3s. 8d.) and H22 Trellech, Monmouthshire (2010,

⁵ For these and other hoards referenced in the text see the bibliographical information in the individual entries in the Inventory.

£0 14s. 0d.); the Tockwith hoard (D45, £1 9s. 8d.) was found during a detecting rally in 2005 on the battlefield of Marston Moor. Nevertheless, it is metal detecting that has uncovered the biggest reliably-recorded Civil War hoard to date, the three pots making up £313 in silver found near Middleham, North Yorkshire in 1993 (J9).

Home improvements continue to play a considerable part, for instance a new patio in Wiltshire (E28 Wroughton, 1998), a tennis court in North Pembrokeshire (J10 Tregwynt, 1996) and a barn conversion in Cheshire (D43 Prestbury, 2004).

Burying Civil War hoards (EB)

The additional finds recorded since 1987 have broadened the scope of the study of the dates and locations of Civil War hoards as a whole and their relationship (if any) to contemporary events. This was first attempted in a pioneering lecture by Brown, subsequently published in Seaby's *Bulletin*;⁶ the theme was revisited by Kent, who on the basis of the data then available questioned the degree to which hoards reflected specific events.⁷ A new study has returned to this topic and, with the benefit of many more hoards than were available to either previous author, has concluded that as the evidence stands, there does seem to be some broad spatial relationship between events and hoarding.⁸ This will not be discussed further here; rather, the local 'how and where' of the hoards and their burial will be examined in more detail than was possible in the recent paper.

The locations of hoards are tabulated in Table 2, under three headings: essentially, hoards buried in or around buildings, those hidden (or lost) away from buildings and a small 'miscellaneous' group.

In urban areas, it is natural that hoards were deposited within buildings. They come from a variety of locations, with no single favoured hiding-place; some hoarders buried their money in the back yard. Rural finds have additionally been divided according to a perception of the scale of the establishment. For many dwelling in 'cottages' and smaller houses there were perhaps fewer available hiding places but there seems to have been a clear preference for the roof – usually thatched, on occasion specifically at the junction between wall and roof (e.g., K161 Blyton). Often, however, the coins were discovered subsequent to demolition, so a clear sense of their placement cannot be gained. Other locations are recorded: under the hearth (K13 Devizes), under the doorstep (K10 Church Hanborough) or in the chimney in some form (e.g., J6 Whittingham; K52 Rochester; K54 Samlesbury). Hearths and thresholds were traditional locations for protective charms, notably 'witch bottles'; perhaps these locations were regarded as similarly fortunate places for the protection of worldly goods.⁹

Inhabitants of larger houses and farms appear more to have exploited their external spaces, with few hoards in the house, but considerable use of barns or other outbuildings as well as gardens, even the moat or a fishpond (K96 Bossall; K84 Compton). Farmyards were also popular with marked burial spots near boundary walls noted at Breckenbrough (E2) and Ampney St Mary (F1). Two hoards were revealed beneath manure heaps (K75 Winterbourne Stoke; K106 Waudby); this may be coincidental, but a specific part of the yard might be used for this function, though the protective value of the spot might be compromised by lowering of the ground surface through regular clearing over a long period (and by the corrosive effect of ground seepage: the Breckenbrough deposit suffered noticeably in this regard). It appears that all levels of society sought to secure their cash: one reason, perhaps, why both sides had such difficulty laying their hands on enough money to pay their soldiers and to acquire necessary supplies.¹⁰

Away from buildings, it is harder to be sure of the contemporary land use: many finds in fields or pasture may have gone into the ground in or near a building (e.g., A2 Farmborough;

⁶ Brown 1968.

⁷ Kent 1974.

⁸ Besly forthcoming.

⁹ See, for instance, Merrifield 1987, 119–21, 167–8.

¹⁰ See discussion on hoarders and sums of money in Besly forthcoming.

TABLE 2 Locations of Civil War hoards

Location (1A): in or near buildings

	<i>In Town</i>	<i>Rural: larger and farms</i>	<i>Rural: house/cottage</i>
In roof or thatch	3	2	13
Upstairs	4		
In/under staircase	1		1
In wall	5	1	2
Downstairs/under floor	4		3
Basement/cellar	2		
In foundations	3	1	
In chimney	2		2
In/under a beam	3		2
In barn or outbuilding	2	9	
Behind house/in yard	9		1
In farmyard		7	
In garden		8	1
'Adjacent'/'near'	1	8	4
'site of former'		1	4
'at'/'in', unspecified	4	6	1

Other

In former suburbs (2)
 Former religious sites: in drain (1), in staircase (1)
 Castles: in walls (2), in well (1)
 In a wall (unspecified) (4)
 Under capstone of a well (1)
 Outside garden wall (1)

Location (1B): larger rural buildings and farms, subdivided

	<i>Hall/mansion</i>	<i>'Manor House'</i>	<i>'Manor Farm'</i>	<i>Other Farm</i>	<i>Glebe/vicarage</i>
In roof				2	
Wall			1		
Foundation				1	
Barn or outbuilding	1		1	7	
Garden	4	1	2		1
Farmyard			1	6	
'at', 'near', etc	7	2		5	1

Location (2): rural

Fields/pasture (19: includes one orchard)
 Banks, lynchets (6); boundaries, hedges (9); banks of stream, brook (3)
 In woods, copses (14)
 In roots of trees (10)
 On hills: at side of a track (1), on 'mountain' (1)
 'Near': village (1), castle (1)
 Site of Civil War battle (2)

Location (3): miscellaneous

In lining of armour (1)
 Accompanying human burials (3)
 River bed (Thames, London) (2)
 Beach (1)
 In a coffer (1)

J2 Boston) or in land that at the time was woodland or unexploited (K121 Ditchling Common). At least fourteen hoards have been found in woods or copses; banks, lynchets and hedgerows have produced further eighteen. The importance of boundaries may be noted as a factor, no doubt serving as aids to recovery of the hoards. It is likely that many burial places will have been marked, whether overtly (E2) or more subtly; a number of hoards were covered by large stones, presumably an aid to their relocation. Ten hoards have been recovered from the roots

of trees, perhaps planted deliberately. The Crowood hoard (K12) found in 1867 unites several of these themes, buried as it was at the foot of an oak tree in a coppice, on a bank that divided the parishes of Aldbourne and Ramsbury in Wiltshire. A relatively modern parallel is found in the Llanafan hoard, Ceredigion: thirty sovereigns and three halves buried around 1914 at the foot of the middle of three ash trees on a garden bank, probably saplings at the time.¹¹ The Newsam Green, Leeds hoard (K48) came to light in a field 'about the centre of a triangle formed by three ancient oaks'. A Commonwealth period hoard (L5 Theydon Mount) was found in a wood at the intersection of two paths.

The hoards themselves were buried in a variety of containers, specified in some form in 117 cases. A significant majority (71, or 61 per cent) were buried in ceramic containers, over half of them 'earthen' or otherwise unspecified pottery. Recent hoard reports have tended to include a specialist pottery report, so specific regional wares may be identified, for instance the Potovens, Wrenthorpe products containing the Bradford (Wyke) hoard (J7) or the Ryedale wares noted at Breckenbrough (E2) and Middleham, pot A (J9), to take some Yorkshire examples. More unusual is the Delftware (tin-glazed earthenware) drug jar used at Foscoote (D9). In three cases, stoneware vessels have been identified (curiously, all buried under the Commonwealth: L1 Soham; L3 Laughton; L5 Theydon Mount). Forms vary: jars, 'urns', even a glazed chamber pot (E16 St Anne's) and a 'flower pot and a coffee pot' (K77 York).

Other containers include twenty-six 'bags' or 'purses'; eight of these are specified as leather (e.g., K23 Garforth), one a catskin bag (L9 Salisbury) and five of fabric including three linen (e.g., K146 Alne) and one of blue calico (G1 Atherstone). Three possible items of clothing comprise a 'stocking' (K31 Hinkley), a buckskin glove (K42 Llysworney) and a 'woollen cloth' (J6 Whittingham). Seventeen other containers include wooden boxes (7), an iron box, two silver vessels (D6 Dersingham; K32 High Ercall), a pewter measure (K30 Heskin) and six lead containers, one of them a pipe sealed at both ends (D29 Weston-sub-Edge).

While a hoard might be covered by a large stone as marker, smaller items appear simply to have served as lids; examples include a tile (E2 Breckenbrough), a lead sheet (J10 Tregwynt) and a 'thin piece of sheet iron' (K79 Weymouth).

The contents of Civil War hoards (EB)

The contents of the hoards were discussed in *ECWCH* and summarized there.¹² The broad trends observed there are confirmed by the more recent discoveries (Table 3). Recent hoards have continued principally to comprise silver, though two large finds (J10 Tregwynt and H23 Ackworth) contain gold representing around half their total face values. Royalist issues appear regularly but in small numbers, as for the most part do Continental coins. These latter (mainly ducats and patagons from the Spanish Netherlands) continue to turn up hoards from the north Midlands and Yorkshire, notably Middleham (J9) and Ackworth (H23) where they form significant proportions of those deposits. The appearance of such coins in a small Oxfordshire hoard prompted a discussion on the possible mechanism for their entry into English circulation.¹³ The broader picture is however, quite complex, and detailed analysis beyond the immediate scope of this 'inventory' paper. Some hoards, by their very size, might dictate the average shape of a group; others by exceptional content, might distort it. These, where identified, are considered separately, but it becomes a matter of judgement as to how far to take such segregation.

At the outset, there may also be regional variation, while later in the war years the occasional significant presence of royalist or foreign coins complicates matters by depressing the proportion of Tower issues and hence those of individual reigns, nowhere more so than in the later 1640s. Consideration of the Tower Mint contents alone might therefore prove fruitful; by way of example the cases of multi-container deposits such as the late Yorkshire hoards from

¹¹ Besly 1993, 90.

¹² Besly 1987, 56, 116–18.

¹³ Mayhew and Besly 1998.

TABLE 3. The silver contents of Civil-War hoards (*termini* 1641–49)

<i>Group: hoard</i>	<i>Edward VI– Philip and Mary</i>	<i>Eliz.</i>	<i>James</i>	<i>Charles</i>	<i>All Tower</i>	<i>Aberystwythl Royal</i>	<i>Other*</i>	<i>Silver %</i>
D: 25 hoards (1)	1.4	37.2	15.8	44.0	98.4	0.2	1.4	95
D34: Ryhall (a)	0.4	13.0	4.3	82.3	100.0			>99
E: 20 hoards (2)	1.7	27.5	11.8	52.7	94.0	1.6	4.4	91
E14: Prestatyn (b)	1.3	66.6	28.9	2.9	99.6		0.4	100
E13: Pocklington (c)		3.6	1.9	45.6	51.1	34.6	14.3	100
F: 14 hoards (3)	1.0	16.6	8.5	69.9	96.1	2.1	1.8	99
G: 2 hoards (4)	1.9	21.0	9.9	64.6	97.4	0.6	2.0	100
G2: Cotswolds (d)				82.7	82.7	17.3		100
H: 10 hoards (5)	1.4	19.8	8.9	62.6	92.8	5.7	1.6	>99
H23: Ackworth (e)	0.5	14.0	5.7	63.9	84.0	2.5	13.5	47
H1: Ampney (f)	2.3	47.8	20.0	26.2	96.2	1.8	2.0	100
J: 6 hoards (6)	1.0	18.1	9.0	70.4	98.5	0.6	0.8	100
J2: E Worlington (g)	0.3	28.9	8.5	59.6	7.3	2.5	0.2	100
J10: Tregwynt (h)	0.7	17.7	7.5	67.1	93.0	4.9	2.1	53
J7: Wyke A (i)	6.4	40.7	14.8	29.1	90.9		9.1	100
J7: Wyke B	5.7	13.8	7.3	64.8	91.6	1.6	6.8	100
J9: Middleham A (j)	0.9	21.1	8.6	47.6	78.2	0.3	21.4	100
J9: Middleham B	0.6	17.8	8.2	42.7	69.3	0.8	29.8	100
J9: Middleham C	0.5	17.3	6.9	59.9	84.6	0.1	15.3	100

(Qualification: hoard including at least 20 shillings in silver.)

* Scottish, Irish, Continental

Notes

1. Bedale, Bingley, Crigglestone, Denby, Dersingham, Donnington, Elland, Foscoate, Fovant, Glewstone, Great Lumley, Harlaxton, Lutton, Newark, Orston, Prestbury, Revesby, Temple Newsam, Thorpe Hall, Tidenham, Tockwith, Weston-sub-Edge, Wheathampstead, Winterslow, Wortwell.
 2. Askerswell, Bitterley, Breckenbrough, Caunton, Chesterfield (Vicar Lane), Constable Burton, Flawborough, Glympton, Grewelthorpe, Hawkstone, Itchen Abbas, Oswestry, Preston Candover, St Anne's, Taunton, Uttoxeter, Welsh Bicknor, Winsford, Wolverhampton, Wroughton.
 3. Allington, Ashdon, Buckfastleigh, Castle Cary, Enderby, Erdington, Idsworth, Leicester, Old Marston, Penybryn, Sibbertoft, Stanton St Quintin, Trehafod, Winchcombe.
 4. Atherstone, Nuneaton.
 5. Aston, Barton, Gloucester, Kettering, Lighthorne, Netherton, Priorslee, Salford, Stowe, Washbrook.
 6. Boston, Guildford, Haddiscoe, Hadleigh, Sheerness, Uncertain.
- a. Large hoard, exceptional Charles I (1700+ mint-fresh T-in-c).
 - b. Very low Charles I.
 - c. High royalist (York); record known to be incomplete.
 - d. Charles I only; half crowns only; high royalist.
 - e. Large mixed gold/silver hoard; high Continental.
 - f. Low Charles I.
 - g. Very large hoard; three pots, contents not recorded separately.
 - h. Mixed gold/silver hoard; significant royalist content.
 - i. Two-pot hoard, different termini – see discussion in text.
 - j. Very large three-pot hoard, different termini, high Continental – see discussion.

Bradford (Wyke) and Middleham. The values of their Tower Mint silver contents, normalized to 100 per cent, are summarized in Table 4.

The three Middleham deposits are united by their high proportions of ducats/patagons, but it appears that pots A and B drew on the same currency pool in Tower terms, where pot C differs, as well as closing with a single coin with the Sceptre mark (interestingly, the container pot C came from a separate source, as well), confirming Barclay's observations.¹⁴ Bradford (Wyke) shows a more dramatic difference between its two pots and at first sight is more obviously a

¹⁴ Barclay 1994, 85–6.

TABLE 4. Bradford (Wyke) and Middleham hoards:
Tower Mint contents compared with other hoards closing with p.ms Sun and Sceptre.

	<i>Pre-1560</i>	<i>Eliz.</i>	<i>James</i>	<i>Charles</i>	<i>Latest</i>
J7 Bradford (Wyke)					
Pot A	7.1	44.7	16.2	32.0	(P)
Pot B	6.1	15.0	8.0	70.8	Sceptre
Overall	6.7	32.8	12.9	47.5	
J9 Middleham					
Pot A	1.2	27.0	11.0	60.9	Sun
Pot B	0.9	25.7	11.8	61.7	Sun
Pot C	0.6	20.5	8.1	70.7	Sceptre
Overall	0.9	24.3	10.4	64.5	
Group H, 10 hoards*	1.5	21.4	9.6	67.5	Sun
H23 Ackworth	0.6	16.6	6.8	76.0	Sun
Group J (6 hoards)**	1.0	18.4	9.1	71.5	Sceptre
J10 Tregwynt	0.7	19.1	8.0	72.2	Sceptre
J2 East Worlington	0.3	29.7	8.7	61.2	Sceptre

*Aston, Barton, Gloucester, Kettering, Lighthorne, Netherton, Priorslee, Salford, Stowe, Washbrook

**Boston, Guildford, Haddiscoe, Hadleigh, Sheerness, Uncertain

two-phase deposit. However, both potfuls end weakly and the picture is complicated by a possible deliberate segregation of the larger denominations (overwhelmingly of Charles), virtually all of which were in pot B; this might still allow for a single burial event (the high proportion of pre-1560 coins results from the significant number of groats in both deposits, which with other small denominations also might form a unifying factor). Even within this small exercise, broad similarities may be observed between Middleham A and B, the averaged group H (Sun) profile and East Worlington (Sceptre/group J) on the one hand and, on the other Middleham C, Tregwynt, the group J averaged figure and the (Sun/Group H) Ackworth hoard. A further complication in these later deposits lies in the relative scarcity of the Sceptre-marked issues of 1647–49: Tower output declined dramatically from 1647 and of the eleven hoards in Section J of the Inventory, five are dated by a single Sceptre coin, three more by two; only Sheerness (J5), close to London, which has eleven, contains more than four. It is therefore quite likely that some hoards apparently dated by ‘Sun’ issues and accordingly included in Section H, were in the event buried during the currency of the Sceptre mark (e.g., H23 Ackworth?). For that matter were the four apparent ‘Sceptre’ shillings in the enormous East Worlington hoard correctly identified in 1895?

Further work could no doubt be carried out on (for instance) regional variation and some of these matters might become clearer as, inevitably, more hoards come to light.

INVENTORY OF COIN HOARDS OF CHARLES I AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, 1625–60, FROM ENGLAND AND WALES

The format of this new inventory follows in most respects that published in 1987; it covers all hoards known to the authors to the end of 2012. As far as possible, the following information is given for each hoard:

Running number; when and where found.

Size; face value (£. s. d.); containers; how found.

L: The latest Tower Mint issues present; also the presence of Aberystwyth mint coins, which in groups A–D could potentially be the latest present.

R: Issues from Royalist mints.

S: Scottish coins present.

I: Irish coins present.

F: Other ‘foreign’ coins.

Explanatory notes or supplementary information.

Principal sources of information (ED, EO, EP, EQ and ET references are to Brown and Dolley 1971).

Hoards are numbered in groups, according to the latest coins within them; those discovered or brought to attention since 1987 are numbered in sequence to the 1987 list, in the order of their original discovery (occasionally, where this is not known, the date of the original report). The '1987' numbers are unchanged, except that K39 – previously inadvertently unallocated – has now been used. In section K, newspaper evidence has clarified details of several finds, some of which have been relocated or renamed in the light of this; two (K3 Bath; K26 Hadleigh) may not in the event be from this period: their entries are maintained, parenthetically, with explanatory notes; a group of 'Charles I' hoards, from their contents probably deposited later in the seventeenth century are similarly retained, but more recent finds of this nature have not been added. With the exception of M6 (=K141 Tenbury, now confirmed as Charles I) the small group (M) of possible hoards of the period has been omitted. Where newspaper sources are cited, the earliest-known is given.

Abbreviations

m/d metal detector

N. J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage. Volume 2. Edward I to Charles II 1272–1662* (London, 1991)

nd no date

A: Hoards closing with coins issued before 1639

- A1 BOTLEY (Tyler's Hill), Chesham, Bucks, November 1888
About 200 AU, in a corked brown and white earthenware pot; digging a drain next to a cottage.
L: Charles I, Tower 20/–, Portcullis (1633–4)? Coins with p.m. 'Anchor' presumably first anchor (1628–29).
S: James VI, sword and sceptre piece 1602.
Four coins in BM: James I unite (Trefoil), double crowns (Castle, Tun); Charles I unite (Lys) [1888–1–1, 'Amersham find'].
EP 28; H. Montagu, 'Find of gold coins near Chesham, Bucks', *NC* 1890, 48–50; *Numismatic Magazine* 4 (1889), 90–1; CSB: *Buckinghamshire Herald*, 1 December 1888.
- A2 FARMBOROUGH, Bath, May 1953
3 AU, 517 AR, £26 2s. 0d., 'in three rolls'; found digging foundations for a road, in a field, site of a former building.
L: 2/6 and 1/– Anchor (1638–9).
EP 34; R.H.M. Dolley, 'Farmborough Treasure Trove', *NC* 1953, 150–3; 'Farmborough Treasure Trove – Addenda', *NC* 1954, 218–19.
- A3 HORNCastle, Lincs, 1884/5
15 AU, £?
L (of 3 English coins in BM): 20/–, Anchor (1638–9).
S: James VI, sword and sceptre piece 1602 (BM).
BM Dept of Coins and Medals, Reports, 3 February 1885.
- A4 MUCKLEFORD (Higher Muckleford Farm), Bradford Peverell, Dorset, January 1935
115 AU, £114 18s. 0d., originally packed 'in two columns' in a purse; in a field bank, disturbed by a cow.
L: double crown, Tun (1637–38).
EP 35; D.F. Allen, 'The Muckleford Treasure Trove', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History & Archaeological Society* 57 (1935), 18–38; D. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 184.
- A5 OXFORD, Cornmarket, July 1796
3 AU, plus unknown number AR, £2 1s. 0d.++; found 'removing rubbish from a house'.
James I, double crown; Charles I, 20/– (Anchor), double crown (Feathers).
Likely to be a wartime deposit.
EP 121; Ashmolean Museum (Christ Church loan collection); CSB: *Oxford Journal*, 9 July 1796 for date of find, location and presence of silver.
- A6 RYE, Sussex, in or before 1937
1 AR, 5 AE, £0 1s. 1½d., in a purse or pocket; beach find, Rye Bay.
James I 1/–; Charles I Maltravers farthings.
Exhibited at BNS, 27 January 1937; *BNJ* 22 (1934–7), 333.
- A7 SHREWSBURY, Shropshire, March 1823
9 AR, £0 9s. 0d.; found 'in forming the foundation of a house in High Street. They are of that coinage of shillings of Charles 1st which have the King's head crowned, with a ruff, and 'XII' behind the head ... The mint-mark a cross.' (= Cross Calvary, 1625–26).
Shrewsbury Chronicle, 21 March 1823; CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 2 April 1823.
- A8 UPTON, Didcot, Oxfordshire (Berkshire), March 1960
7 AR, £0 5s. 0d.; found under a beam during demolition of an old cottage.
L: 1/–, Tun (1637–8).
EP 115; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports XVI–XX centuries', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 138–45, at p. 139.
- A9 WORMINGHALL, Thame, Oxfordshire, 1894
2+ AU, £?, small hoard.
James I, unite, Cinquefoil; Charles I, 20/–, Lys [BM 1894–8–1].
BM Dept of Coins and Medals, Reports, August 1894.
- A10 YORK, Coppergate, April 1970
12 AR, £0 15s. 0d.; concealed in an upright beam, found during alterations to the Three Tuns, Coppergate.
L: Scottish.
S: James VI 30/–, 1st coinage (1604–9); Charles I 30/–, 1st coinage (1625–34).
EP 140; Listed in *ECWCH*, 77.

- A11 MYNYDD FOCHRIW, Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan, April 1991
8 AR, £0 9s. 9d.; m/d find on hillside at the side of a track.
L: 2/6, Tun (1637–8).
I: James I, 1/–, 2/4 Rose.
E. Besly, 'Recent coin hoards from Wales, 1985–1992', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 84–90, at p. 88.
- A12 FRESSINGFIELD, Suffolk, October 1997
17 AR, £0 14s. 4d.; m/d find on site of a former cottage.
L: 1/–, Bell (1634–5).
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 146–72, at pp. 146–7.
- A13 WARMSWORTH, South Yorkshire, 1999
122 AR, £4 6s. 8d.; found excavating foundations for a new house, with pottery fragments.
L: 6d., Harp (1632–3), the only coin of Charles I in the hoard.
B.J. Cook, *TAR 1998–1999*, 140, no. 361; *NC* 2000, 325.
- A14 WARMINGTON, Northamptonshire, December 2001
10 AR + two fragments, £0 9s. 0d.+; found during controlled archaeological excavation.
L: 1/–, Anchor (1638–9).
B.J. Cook, *TAR 2003*, 168, no. 399.
- A15 HAZEL GROVE, Stockport, Greater Manchester, February–April 2004
10 AR, £0 6s. 8d.; m/d find.
L: 1/–, Tun (1637–8).
K.F. Sugden, *TAR 2004*, 190, no. 476.
- A16 WYMINGTON, Bedfordshire, October 2008
4 AR, £0 3s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: 1/–, Crown (1635–7) (2).
B. Cook, *Portable Antiquities and Treasure Report 2008*, 228, no. 620.
- A17 OSWESTRY, Shropshire, 26 June 2010
6 AR, £0 1s. 4d., with a silver gilt medal; m/d find in pasture.
L: pennies, Group D (2).
The medal for the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria, 1626, *Medical Illustrations*, I, p. 238, 1.
Information from B.J. Cook (Treasure 2010 T418).
- A18 GREAT HOLLAND area, Essex, August–December 2010
11 AR, £0 2s. 5¾d.; m/d find.
L: Charles I, half groat, N.2250 (1630–1–2); remaining coins are of Elizabeth.
Treasure 2010 T627/2011 T114; PAS ESS-D92222 and ESS-4BFBBO.
- B: Hoards closing with p.m. Triangle (1639–40; pyxed 26 June 1640)**
- B1 CHILDREY MANOR, Wantage, Berkshire, April 1937
44 AU, £46 2s. 0d., in a mottled brown glazed earthenware cup; found by a workman c.30 ft from the north wall of the manor.
L: 20/–, Triangle (1), Anchor (1).
S: James VI £12 (unites) (2).
EP 31; 'The Curator of Reading Museum' and D.F. Allen, 'A find of Stuart coins at Childrey Manor', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1937), 82–4; see also Spink Auction 34, 14–15 March 1984, 559–63 for five coins of James I from the hoard, where the find spot is given as 17 ft from the front door of the manor, 'positioned under a heavy stone'.
- B2 NEWARK (Balderton Gate), Nottinghamshire, August 1961
97 AU, £61 0s. 0d.; electricity board excavations, construction of old people's bungalows.
L: 20/–, Triangle (1).
S: James VI, ½-sword and sceptre piece 1601 (2); Charles I, Britain crown (1).
F: United Netherlands, Zeeland, ½ grote gouden rijder 1623 1).
List with weights on file at BM; a group of 64 gold coins, face value £64 12s. 0d., examined in trade in 1963, may have come from the same find, since there was a suggestion that not all coins were declared. However, the second group includes later 20/– (Triangle-in-circle and Eye), and consists entirely of 20/– and laurels, whereas smaller denominations form over half of the Balderton Gate group.
EP 21; J.P.C. Kent, 'Newark siege money and Civil-War hoards', *Newark-on-Trent: The Civil-War Siege-Works* (Royal Commission for Historical Monuments, 1964), 72–3 summarizes these two groups of coins; reprinted in *Cunobelin* 1969, 22–5.
- B3 POPLAR, Tower Hamlets, 1878
2 (or more) AU, £?
James I, ½-laurel, Rose (1); Charles I, double crown, Triangle (1).
BM 1878–6–9, 'Treasure Trove ('Old Commodore' Tavern, Poplar)'.
- B4 PONTYPRIDD, Glamorgan, September 1988
35 AR, £0 16s. 9d.; m/d find on hillside, scattered in rubble, perhaps the remains of a former *hafod*.
L: 1/–, Triangle (1).
E. Besly, 'Recent coin hoards from Wales, 1985–1992', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 84–90, at pp. 88–9.
- B5 LOWER BRAILLES, Warwickshire, March 1999
9 AR, £0 7s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: 1/–, Triangle (2).
B.J. Cook, *TAR 1998–1999*, 140, no. 362; *NC* 2000, 325–6, no. 55.
- B6 STON EASTON, Somerset, May 2011
4 AR, £0 2s. 0d.; m/d find in pasture.
L: 1/–, Triangle (1639–40); Aberystwyth groat, N.2339.
Treasure 2011 T342/Portable Antiquities Scheme ref. PAS SOM-FBA455, where two heavily-

worn groats of Elizabeth are identified as six-pences.

- C: Hoards closing with p.m. Star (1640–1; pyxed 15 July 1641)**
- C1 ALLER, Devon, 1982
10 AR, £0 4s. 6d.; found in a quarry at Aller Park Brake.
L: 1/–, Star (1); 6d Tun (1).
N. Sheil, 'Two Devon coin hoards', *Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings* 41 (1983), 139–41.
- C2 ALRESFORD, Hampshire, 1871
17 AR, £0 10s. 6d.; found by workmen grubbing up a hedgerow at Godsfield Row.
L: 1/–, Star (1).
I: James I, 1/– (2).
EP 38; R.H.M. Dolley, 'Godsfield Row (Alresford) find 1871', *BNJ* 27 (1952–4), 361.
- C3 BRACKNELL, Berkshire, August 1956
9+ AR, £0 17s. 6d.+.
L: 1/– Star (1).
In Reading Museum, recorded by J.D.A. Thompson; summary list, *ECWCH*, 78.
- C4 CAMBRIDGE (Pembroke College), 1874–5
41 AU, £35 7s. 9d.; found by workmen demolishing buildings in the Old Court.
L: double crown, Star (1).
S: James VI, sword and sceptre piece 1602 (1) [corrects *ECWCH*]; unit (£12 piece) (1).
EP 104; M. Allen, 'The Pembroke College, Cambridge hoard of Tudor and Stuart gold coins', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 222–6.
- C5 CONGLETON, Cheshire, 1956
18 AU, £18 0s. 0d.; during repairs to 12 Moody Street, embedded in a wattle-and-daub panel at the rear of cottage.
L: 20/–, Star (1).
EP 15; J.P.C. Kent, 'The Congleton (Cheshire) Treasure Trove', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 419–20; *SCMB* December 1956, 483–4.
- C6 EGTON, North Yorkshire, June 1928
23 AR, £1 1s. 0d.; in thatch, demolishing the Old Mass House.
L: 1/–, Star (1).
S: James VI, 30/– (1).
Building used as an oratory by Father Nicholas Postgate, a Roman Catholic priest put to death in York in 1679; a small slipware alms dish was also found.
EP 7; G.C. Brooke, 'Recent English coin hoards', *NC* 1928, 335–8, at pp. 335–6; *NCirc* September 1928, 403, quoting *Yorkshire Post*, 6 July.
- C7 LAMBOURN, Berkshire, April 1949
60 AU, £54 15s. 0d.; in a hedge bank at Woodlands St Mary.
L: 20/–, Star (1), Anchor (3).
EP 29; R.A.G. Carson, 'Lambourn (Berks) Treasure Trove' *NC* 1949, 257–8.
- C8 MESSING, Colchester, Essex, August 1975
2,223 AR, £118 12s. 6d., in a red ware jar; leveling ground in a garden.
L: 2/6, Star (8), Triangle (97); 1/–, Star (53), Triangle (555).
Coin Hoards II (1976), no. 474 (omits 43 shillings of Elizabeth: see *ECWCH*, 79) and VII (1985), no. 562 (for sixpences of Charles I).
- C9 READING, Berkshire, 1935
62 AR, £2 8s. 0d.; Morrell's Shaw copse, Ashampstead.
L: Star? ('date of burial about 1640').
EP 3; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183–4.
- C10 WHITCHURCH, Shropshire, February 1945
4 AU, 39 AR, £4 19s. 9d.; digging a trench at the Bull Ring.
L: 6d, Star (1).
I: James I, 6d (2).
EP 18; J. A(I)llen, 'A Civil War hoard from Whitchurch', *NC* 1945, 124.
- C11 BRADFORD, West Yorkshire, May 1985
27 AR, £0 17s. 8½d.; m/d find in Low Wood, Wyke, a few hundred metres from J7.
L: 1/–, Star (1).
S: Charles I, 6/– (1).
I: James I, 1/– (3), 6d (1).
F: Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, ½-reals (2).
ECWCH, 42.
- C12 WEST ACRE, Norfolk, March 2000
3 AR, £0 2s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: 6d, Star (1).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2000, 131–2, no. 290.
- C13 HINCASTER, Cumbria, July 2004
6 AR, £0 6s. 0d.; m/d find.
L: 1/–, Star (1).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2004, 192, no. 478; *NC* 2007, 269–70, no. 77.
- C14 CREWKERNE, Somerset, April 2007
10 AR, £0 3s. 8d.; m/d find at West Crewkerne.
L: 1/–, Star (1).
B.J. Cook and D. Thornton, *Portable Antiquities and Treasure Annual Report* 2007, 210–11, no. 574.
- C15 LAPLEY STRETTON/WHEATON ASTON, Staffordshire, August 2011
5 AR, £0 9s. 0d., Elizabeth and Charles I; m/d find on ploughed land.
L: 2/6 Star (1).
Information from B.J. Cook (2011 T544 and 2012 T433).
- D: Hoards closing with p.m. Triangle-in-circle (1641–3; pyxed 29 May 1643), or royalist issues dated 1642**
- D1 ABINGDON, Oxfordshire (Berkshire), c.1870–5
English silver, 'about two gallons'.
L: 2/6 T-in-c (one of four coins in Ashmolean Museum).
EP 2; see *ECWCH*, 80.

- D2 BINGLEY, West Yorkshire, April 1948
320 AR, £13 10s. 6d., in a cylindrical earthenware pot; found in Gawthorpe Hall Wood.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (3), 1/- (6), 6d (2).
EP 11; R.A.G. Carson, 'A Civil War hoard from Bingley, Yorkshire', *NC* 1947, 180-1.
- D3 CRIGGLESTONE, West Yorkshire, 1928
170 AR, £7 6s. 8d.
L: T-in-c, no further details.
S: Charles I 30/- (1), 6/- (1).
I: James I, 1/- (2), 6d (2).
EP 13; G.C. Brooke, 'Recent English hoards', *NC* 1928, 335-8, at p. 336.
- D4 DENBY, Barnsley, West Yorkshire, March 1887
51 AR, £1 13s. 2d.
L: T-in-c, no further details.
S: James VI, thistle merks (2).
I: James I, 1/- (2).
EP 14; Anon., 'Treasure Trove from Denby, near Barnsley, Yorkshire', *NC* 1887, 340; CSB: *Leeds Mercury*, 14 March 1887 and others.
- D5 DERBY, November 1879
76 AR, face value uncertain; found by a workman 'laying out Strutts Park into streets'.
L: Charles I, T-in-c.
R: Shrewsbury 2/6 1642 (1). A Shrewsbury 2/6, N.2373 (private collection, certainly from a hoard) was seen in November 1990 with a ticket 'found at Derby in 1880'.
S: James VI half-merk (1).
EP 24 and 96, apparently a single hoard (see *ECWCH*, 81); H.W. Henfrey, 'Find of ancient coins', *The Antiquary* III (1881), 181; BM, Dept of Coins and Medals, Reports, December 1879; *BNJ* 13 (1916), 195; CSB: *Nottingham Guardian*, 14 November 1879.
- D6 DERSINGHAM, Norfolk, July 1984
129 AR, £6 9s. 0d., in a silver cup, bullion value of £1 9s. 4d. (at 5s./oz); mechanical excavation on a building site.
L: 1/-, T-in-c (11), Star (11), Triangle (13); consists solely of shillings.
ECWCH, 2-4.
- D7 DONNINGTON, Wellington, Shropshire, March 1938
522 AR, £21 5s. 10d., in two earthenware pots; garden find, Wellington Road.
L: 1/-, T-in-c (17); coins of Charles I only 19% of face value.
EP 19; D.F. Allen, 'Wellington, Shropshire 1938', *BNJ* 26 (1949-51), 92.
- D8 ELLAND, West Yorkshire, November 1932
1,187 AR, £57 8s. 0d., in a red earthenware jar; garden find, new house in Elizabeth Street.
L: T-in-c, 2/6 (53), 1/- (72), 6d (4); Aberystwyth 1/- (2).
S; James VI 30/- (2); Charles I 12/- (1).
- EP 12; G.C. B(rooke), 'Elland Treasure Trove', *NC* 1933, 233-5.
- D9 FOSCOTE, Buckinghamshire, December 1955
199 AR, £8 5s. 0d., in a delftware drug jar; found by children.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (1), 1/- (19).
S: James VI, 6/- (1).
EP 26; J.P.C. Kent, 'Foscote (Bucks) Treasure Trove', *BNJ* 28 (1955-7), 416-18.
- D10 GLEWSTONE, Herefordshire, September 1980
87 AR, £4 18s. 0d.; in the bank of a ditch near a cottage.
L: T-in-c 1/- (2), 6d (1).
Coin Hoards II (1985), no. 564.
- D11 GREAT LUMLEY, Co. Durham, September 1950
677 AR, £26 8s. 6d.; ploughing in field near a farm.
L: T-in-c 1/- (2), 6d (1); Star 2/6 (1), 1/- (37), 6d (2); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
Total and face value adjusted to omit a Sun half crown regarded as intrusive because of markedly different preservation.
EP 5; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports: Elizabeth I - Charles I', *BNJ* 34 (1964), 151-5, at p. 154.
- D12 HARLAXTON, Lincolnshire, April 1968
1 AU, 141 AR, £6 18s. 0d.; Glebe House: garden find, together 'as if they had been in a bag'.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (4), 1/- (15), 6d (2).
S; James VI merk 1602 (1), 1/2-merk 1602 (1).
I: James I 1/- (6).
EP 99; J.P.C. Kent, 'Three seventeenth and eighteenth century finds', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 163-6, at pp. 165-6.
- D13 HARTWELL, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, 1835
2,436 AR, £94 10s. 0d.; found between the Great House and the church.
L: T-in-c 2/6, 1/-, 6d, numbers uncertain.
EP 27; *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society* 22 December 1842, 87; Anon, 'Visit to Hartwell', *NC* 1863, 147-8; H.W. Morrieson, 'A find of Tudor and Stuart silver coins', *NC* 1921, 150-2; *ECWCH*, 82; CSB: *Northampton Mercury*, 31 October 1835.
- D14 KIDLINGTON, Oxfordshire, c.1940
20? AR, £0 14s. 3d.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1), 2d (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1); 1d (2, possibly).
EP 1; see *ECWCH*, 82.
- D15 LONG BENNINGTON, Grantham, Lincolnshire, December 1944?
980 AR, of which 38 examined.
L: T-in-c, numbers uncertain.
S: James VI 30/- (1); Charles I 30/- (1), 12/- (1).
EP 23; J.D.A. Thompson, 'A Civil War hoard from Long Bennington, Lincs', *NC* 1947, 88-90.

- D16 LUTTON, Northamptonshire, May 1961
183 AR, £7 0s. 0d.; disturbed by cattle, found by children playing in a paddock adjacent to 'old Manor House'.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (6), 1/- (20), 6d (1); one possible (P) shilling 'doubtful', so hoard placed in group D.
S: James VI 30/- (1).
EP 25; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports: Elizabeth I – Charles I', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 151–5, at pp. 154–5.
- D17 MAIDFORD, Northamptonshire, November 1979
41 AR, £1 5s. 6d.; probably the residue of K43, for which see *ECWCH*, 105.
L: T-in-c 1/- (3), 6d (1).
Coin Hoards VI (1981), no. 387.
- D18 MARLBOROUGH, Wiltshire, 1901
2+ AU, 300+ AR, silver spoons, in a box?; found during a drainage scheme, 'near the river'.
L: T-in-c, numbers uncertain; Aberystwyth present.
R: 'Exeter' (i.e., Truro or Exeter).
S: 'Edinburgh', no details.
Coin Hoards IV (1978), no. 378; P. Robinson, 'A find of silver spoons from Marlborough – the problem of concealment of "Treasure Trove"', *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine* (1984), 239–41.
- D19 NEWARK (Crankley Point), Nottinghamshire, August 1957
17 AU, 466 AR, £31 19s. 4d., in a brown glazed jug; found during gravel working.
L: T-in-c double crown (1), 2/6 (16), 1/- (12), 6d (3).
F: Spanish Netherlands, patagons (2), ½-patagon (1), ¼-patagons (2); 'penny size silver coin' (1).
The jug also contained a silver thimble, a sealing wax case with the arms and crest of Vaughan of Sutton-on-Trent, a small brass or bronze casket, a bone counter and the remains of a bead bag.
EP 20; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports, XVI–XX centuries', *BNJ* 37 (1969), 138–45, at pp. 138–9.
- D20 ORSTON, Nottinghamshire, February 1952
2 AU, 1,411? AR, £57 6s. 0d. approx; ploughing on site of former building.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (8), 1/- (48), 6d (4); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
S: James VI 6/- (1); Charles I 6/- (1).
I: James I 6d (1).
Totals as published add up to 1,418 coins; one 1/- published as '4^s or 6^s: illegible' (potentially 1645 or later) has been disregarded as suspect.
EP 22; R.H. Dolley, 'Orston Treasure Trove', *NC* 1952, 118–22.
- D21 PAINSWICK, Gloucestershire, March 1941
34 AU, 8 AR, £22 15s. 1d.; chance find in field.
L: T-in-c 20/- (1), double crown (1).
S: James VI ½-sword and sceptre pieces (2).
F: Brabant, Philip II, Antwerp Filipsdaalder 1586 (1).
EP 33; D.F.A. (llen) and R.H.M.D. (olley), 'Painswick Treasure Trove', *BNJ* 27 (1952–4), 219–20.
- D22 PRESTON CANDOVER, Hampshire, 1914
14 AR, £0 10s. 6d.+; found under the hearth of an old cottage.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
EP 105; *ECWCH*, 84.
- D23 READING (Yield Hall), Berkshire, April 1934
17 AU, £10 15s. 0d., found by 'workmen' a little to the north-west of Yield Hall.
L: T-in-c? ('date of burial about 1641').
EP 4; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 184; Anon, 'Treasure Trove: Gold coins at Yield Hall, Reading', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 38 (1934), 96.
- D24 TEMPLE NEWSAM, Leeds, June 1959
216 AR, £8 4s. 6d., in an earthenware 'vessel'; preparing ground for opencast mining.
L: T-in-c 1/- (12), 6d (1).
Shillings and sixpences only.
EP 9; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports, Elizabeth I – Charles I', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 151–5, at p. 153.
- D25 THORPE WILLOUGHBY, North Yorkshire, May 1939
1 AU, 2,678 AR, £107 2s. 10d., in a pot; found by a labourer near Thorpe Hall.
L: T-in-c 1/- (2); Star 2/6 (5), 1/- (38), 6d (3); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
S: James VI 30/- (3), 12/- (4); Charles I 30/- (3), 12/- (6), 6/- (1).
EP 8; D.F. Allen, 'Thorpe Hall, Yorks, 1939', *BNJ* 26 (1949–51), 93–4.
- D26 TRYSELL, Staffordshire, 1877
4 AR, £0 7s. 0d.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (1).
EP 134; *BNJ* 37 (1968), 211; *ECWCH*, 85.
- D27 WARDOUR CASTLE, Tisbury, Wiltshire, 1643
£1,200 in money, plate and jewels; walled up by royalist defenders before 8 May 1643, when the castle was surrendered by Blanche, Lady Arundel, to Parliamentary forces under Sir Edward Hungerford, following a short siege. Col. Edmund Ludlow, who commanded the Parliamentary garrison, made the discovery when the royalists in their turn besieged the castle. Part he expended on the garrison, offering most of the rest to Parliamentary forces at Poole and Southampton to relieve the castle. Before surrendering in March 1644, Ludlow and a servant reburied the plate; he subsequently revealed its whereabouts to Arundel's son, as a return for his considerate treatment after he surrendered.
EP 128; *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq* (Vivay (Switzerland), 1698), vol. I, 71, 85 and 93; *ECWCH*, 85; A.D. Saunders and R.B. Pugh, *Old Wardour Castle*, 2nd edition (London, 1991), 22.

- D28 WATER ORTON, West Midlands, November 1979
1 AU, 25 AR, £1 17s. 10½d.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
S: James VI, merk (1).
I: James I 1/- (1).
Coin Hoards VII (1985), no. 563.
- D29 WESTON-SUB-EDGE, Gloucestershire, July 1981
2 AU, 307 AR, £17 13s. 0d., in a sealed lead pipe; during building works, in soil under village hall (in the precise centre of a former barn).
L: T-in-c 2/6 (14), 1/- (31), 6d (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (3), 1/- 1642 (1).
S: Charles I 12/- (1), 6/- (1).
Included with the coins was a piece of paper reading 'hoard is 18li'.
Coin Hoards VII (1985), no. 565; N.J. Mayhew and D. Viner, 'The Weston-sub-Edge coin hoard', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 105 (1987), 213–22.
- D30 WHEATHAMPSTEAD, Hertfordshire, March 1974
8 AU, 24 AR, £9 8s. 6d.; Nomansland Common, m/d find 'behind the cricket pavilion'.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (2), 1/- (5).
Coin Hoards I (1975), no. 393.
- D31 WINTERSLOW, Salisbury, Wiltshire, March 1910
50 AR, £2 10s. 0d.; garden find.
L: T-in-c, numbers uncertain; hoard solely shillings.
EP 32; G.C. B(rooke), 'Find of coins at Winterslow, near Salisbury', *NC* 1910, 205.
- D32 Uncertain, perhaps Waltham Abbey area, Essex
24 AR, £1 0s. 6d.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
P.H. Robinson, 'A Civil War hoard, possibly from the Waltham Abbey area', *BNJ* 40 (1971), 174–5.
- D33 FISHTOFT, Lincolnshire, 1935
18 AR, £0 16s. 6d.; found ploughing near Manor House.
Elizabeth 1/- (3), 6d (3); James I 1/- (3); Charles I 1/- (9).
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
Unpublished manuscript (R.H.M. Dolley) in BM and details supplied by Lincoln Museum.
- D34 RYHALL, Rutland, February 1987
1 AU, 3,262 AR, £160 1s. 0d., in an oak box; found in hedge planting near river bank, close to a probable former boundary.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (146), 1/- (1,713); includes an uncirculated batch of over 1,400 T-in-c coins from three obverse dies.
T.H.McK. Clough and B.J. Cook, 'The 1987 Ryhall Treasure Trove', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 96–101; eadem, 'The Ryhall hoard', *Rutland Record* 9 (1989), 305–11.
- D35 REVESBY, Lincolnshire, January 1989
109 AR, £4 7s. 0d., originally wrapped in leather?; m/d find, scattered.
L: T-in-c 1/- (7); shillings and sixpences only.
B.J. Cook, 'Four seventeenth century Treasure Troves', *BNJ* 60 (1990), 87–98, at pp. 89–90.
- D36 WORTWELL, Norfolk, 1989–91
82 AR, £3 14s. 10d.; initially discovered in soil from a molehill, location 'adjacent' to the village.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (2), 1/- (5).
J.A. Davies, 'A Civil War coin hoard from Wortwell, South Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* 42 (1994), 84–9.
- D37 BROUGHTON, Oxfordshire, December 1996
16 AR, £0 18s. 10d.; m/d find near castle.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
F: Spanish Netherlands, Philip IV, patagon (1), ½-patagon (1), ½-ducaton (1).
N.J. Mayhew and E.M. Besly, 'The 1996 Broughton (Oxon) coin hoard', *BNJ* 68 (1998), 154–7; reprinted with minor alterations in *Cake and Cockhorse* (Banbury Historical Society Magazine) 15(7) (Autumn/Winter 2002), 233–9.
- D38 TIDENHAM, Gloucestershire, August 1999
1 AU, 118 AR, £6 9s. 6d.; m/d find in a copse.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (6), 1/- (4).
R: Shrewsbury 1/- 1642 (1); Oxford 2/6 1642 (1).
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England II', *BNJ* 72 (2002), 95–114, at pp. 100–3.
- D39 THORNCOMBE, Dorset, August 1999
10 AR, £0 9s. 0d.; m/d find in pasture.
L: T-in-c 1/- (2).
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England II', *BNJ* 72 (2002), 95–114, at pp. 99–100; idem, *TAR* 2000, 131, no. 288.
- D40 LLANBEDR, Gwynedd, September 1999
11 AR, £0 7s. 6d.; m/d find in bank near house.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
E.M. Besly, *TAR* 2000, 130–1, no. 287.
- D41 FOVANT, Wiltshire, September 1999
135 AR, £5 3s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (1), 1/- (18), 6d (1).
D. Algar and B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2000, 131, no. 289.
- D42 GARGRAVE, North Yorkshire, April 2004
6 AR, £0 6s. 0d.; m/d find, cultivated land.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2004, 192, no. 479.
- D43 PRESTBURY, Cheshire, June 2004
1 AU, 1,365 AR, £53 19s. 1½d., in a cylindrical storage jar; digging footings for conversion of former barn.
L: T-in-c 1/- (3); Aberystwyth 6d (1).

- S: James VI merks (21), 30/- (1), 12/- (1); Charles I 12/- (2).
I: James I 1/- (26).
Most of hoard sold Dix Noonan Webb Sale 68, 12 December 2005, 1–153.
K. Sugden and I. Jones, 'The Prestbury Civil War hoard', *BNJ* 82 (2012), 133–45.
- D44 LODDISWELL, Devon, May 2005
11 AR, £0 7s. 0d.; m/d find.
L: T-in-c 6d (1).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2005/6, 217, no. 1211.
- D45 TOCKWITH, North Yorkshire, August 2005
37 AR, £1 10s. 2d.; m/d rally on site of Marston Moor battle.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
S: Charles I, twenty pence (1).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2005/6, 217, no. 1212 [36 coins listed].
- D46 BEDALE area, North Yorkshire, August 2009
731 AR, £27 6s. 9d., in two pots; m/d find on uncultivated land.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (1), 1/- (6), 6d (1).
S: James VI 12/- (1); Charles I 30/- (1), 12/- (1).
F: Spanish Netherlands, Philip IV, ½-ducaton (1).
Information from B.J. Cook (2009 T549).
- D47 UPTON, Leicestershire, April 2010
6 AR, £0 5s. 0½d.; m/d find during Bosworth battlefield survey.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (1).
I: James I 6d (1).
Find includes a half groat of Henry VII.
Information from B.J. Cook (2010 T282).
- D48 FINSTALL, Worcestershire, September 2011
5 AR, £0 3s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: 1/-, T-in-c (1).
Information from PAS database/B.J. Cook (2011 T539).
- D49 HARTPURY, Gloucestershire, January 2012
4 AR, £0 10s. 0d.; m/d find slightly scattered in ploughed land.
L: T-in-C 2/6 (1).
Information from B.J. Cook (2012 T384).
- E: Hoards closing with p.m. (P) (1643–4; pyxed 15 July 1644) or royalist issues dated 1643 (including York mint)**
- E1 ASKERSWELL, Bridport, Dorset, 1958
25 AR, £1 1s. 9d.; found under the thatch of a cottage.
L: (P) 2/6 (1), 1/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (1).
EO 1; *ECWCH*, 49.
- E2 BRECKENBROUGH, Kirby Wiske, North Yorkshire, June 1985
30 AU, 1,552 AR, £93 5s. 0d., in a Ryedale ware jug, covered by a broken tile; levelling ground in stockyard at Castle Farm, buried alongside a former perimeter wall, marked by a large stone.
L: (P) 1/- (4); T-in-c 2/6 (17), 1/- (42), 6d (1); Aberystwyth 2/6 (3), 1/- (1).
R: York 2/6 (5), 1/- (5).
S: James VI merks (17), ½-merks (2), ¼-merks (2); 30/- (3), 12/- (3); Charles I 30/- (4), 12/- (2).
I: Elizabeth I fine 1/- (1); James I, 1/- (25), 6d (9).
F: Spanish Netherlands, Albert & Elizabeth, ¼-patagon (1); Philip IV, patagon (1); ducatons (7), ½-ducats (3); Liège, teston (1).
The pot also contained two receipts for cheese taken on '17 January 1643' [=1644 N.S.] by John Guy, deputy Provider-General for the royalist forces at York.
ECWCH, 6–16.
- E3 BARTON, Preston, Lancashire, November 1967
5 AR, £0 10s. 3d.; found by children in the bank of a brook.
L: 1/- '1643–4' (1).
F: Spanish Netherlands, ¼-patagons (2); Spain/Spanish America, 8-reales (1).
ECWCH, 87; *SCMB* 1968, 177.
- E4 CANTERBURY, Kent, February 1947
39 AR, £0 9s. 10d.; under upstairs floor, 5 Castle St.
L: (P) 1/- (3).
EP 36; J.A(l)len, 'A Civil War hoard from Canterbury', *NC* 1946, 152.
- E5 CHESTERFIELD (Vicar Lane), Derbyshire, 1934
32 AR, £2 3s. 6d.
L: 'date of burial about 1643'.
R: York 2/6 (1), in Royal Mint collection.
EP 37; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183–4.
- E6 CONSTABLE BURTON, North Yorkshire, February 1909
236 AR, £8 13s. 6d.; replanting Wild Wood.
L: T-in-c 1/- (9); Star 1/- (8), 6d (3).
R: York 1/- (1); 2Cc, latest coin in hoard.
Shillings and sixpences only.
EP 6; G.C. Brooke, 'A find of English coins at Constable Burton', *NC* 1909, 285–91.
CSB: *The Times*, 5 March 1909 and *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 19 March 1909; both accounts put the find at 244 coins.
- E7 FLAWBOROUGH, Nottinghamshire, 1877
327 AR, £13 7s. 6d.
L: (P) 1/- (17); T-in-c 2/6 (5), 1/- (44), 6d (2).
EP 41; C.F.K(eary), 'Treasure Trove, 2: Flawborough find' *NC* 1877, 164–6.
- E8 FOUNTAINS ABBEY, North Yorkshire, November 1850
354 AR, face value unknown; found in a drain during excavations of the monks' dormitory.
L: (P) 1/- (1).

- R: York 2/6 (1), 1/- (1).
S: James VI 30/- (1), Charles I 30/- (2), 12/- (1), Falconer issues.
F: 'Spanish' (7).
ECWCH, 51; C. Barclay, 'The Fountains Abbey hoard of Civil War silver', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 66 (1994), 235-7 and references cited; CSB: *York Herald and Yorkshire Gazette*, 22 February 1851 and many others; Briggs 2012, no. 32.
- E9 GLASCOED, Gwent, November 1979
11 AR, £0 7s. 9d.; m/d find in woodland.
L: 1/-, N.2232 (1643 or later), p.m. illegible.
I: James I 6d (2).
Coins described as 'in worn condition' and perhaps deposited some time after date of latest coin and therefore not a true Civil War deposit.
Coin Hoards VII (1985), no. 579.
- E10 GLYMPTON, Oxfordshire, March 1948
44 AR, £2 14s. 0d.; 'excavating soil' in a field.
L: (P) 2/6 (1), 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 1/- 1643 (1).
EP 42; R.A.G. Carson, 'A Civil War hoard from Glympton, Oxon', *NC* 1947, 180.
- E11 ITCHEN ABBAS, Hampshire, 1914
234 AR, £12 1s. 6d.; garden of Manor Farm.
L: (P) 1/- (at least 1); a mint fresh coin, in Royal Mint Museum.
R: Oxford 2/6 1643, Mor. E2 (1), in fresh condition (in BM).
EP 82; G.C. Brooke 'Itchen Abbas Treasure Trove', *NC* 1927, 280.
- E12 OSWESTRY, Shropshire, November 1904
4 AU, 401 AR, £16 7s. 10½d., in an earthenware pot; road making, field outside line of former town walls.
L: (P) double crown (1); T-in-c 2/6 (1), 1/- (6), 6d (1); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
R: Shrewsbury 2/6 1642 (1).
S: James VI 30/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (5), 6d (1).
See *ECWCH*, 88 for a note on the dating of the find.
EP 17; R.L.I. Kenyon, 'A find of coins at Oswestry', *NC* 1905, 100-8.
- E13 POCKLINGTON, Yorkshire, East Riding, May 1848
161+ AR, £17 6s. 6d.+ in an 'earthen jar'; found by railway labourers taking down old posts from a piece of garden ground close to the former site of Pocklington Hall.
L: (P) 2/6 (7); T-in-c 2/6 (20).
R: York 2/6 (at least 48), type 3 (Hawkins 5 and 6), mint fresh.
F: Spain, Philip IV 'dollars' (9).
The hoard is the major source of surviving York type 3 half crowns and was probably considerably bigger than recorded by Hawkins. See Briggs 2012, 293-5, where there is reference to at least 558 silver coins.
EP 39 ('Yorkshire'); E.H(awkins), 'Discovery of English coins in Yorkshire', *NC* 1851, 42-3; *ECWCH*, 88; Briggs 2012, no. 30.
- E14 PRESTATYN, Flintshire, November 1934
519 AR, £20 14s. 0d.; in the ruins of an old house, High Street.
L: (P) 1/- (at least 1); only 11 Charles I in hoard.
S: James VI 12/- (1), 6/- (1).
EP 16; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183-4.
- E15 PRESTON CANDOVER, Hampshire, 1917
118 AR, of which 111 recorded, £5 14s. 4d.+; under the floor of a barn at Moundsmere Manor Farm.
L: (P) 2/6 (6), 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643.
S: James VI, 30/- (1).
EP 106; *ECWCH*, 50-1.
- E16 ST ANNE'S, Lancashire, June 1961
7 AU, 376 AR, £20 15s. 11d., in a small glazed earthenware chamber pot; uprooting a tree.
L: (P) 2/6 (1); T-in-c 2/6 (1), 1/- (8); Aberystwyth groat (1).
R: York 2/6 (1).
S: James VI sword and sceptre piece 1602 (1), 30/- (1); Charles I 6/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (1).
EP 69; J.P.C. Kent. 'Hoard reports, XVI-XX centuries', *BNJ* 37 (1969), 138-45, at pp. 139-40; R.F. Taylor, 'The St Annes hoard and other Civil War hoards from Lancashire', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 118 (1966), 39-50.
- E17 SOWERBY, West Yorkshire, September 1818
22 AU of which 20 survive, £11 18s. 6d.+; in a linen bag; demolition of old barn adjacent to Field House.
L: (P) crown (1).
F: Brabant, Albert and Elizabeth, double Albertin (1).
J. Crabtree, *Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax* (1836); Spink Coin Auctions 50, 6 March 1986, lots 690-709.
- E18 STURMINSTER MARSHALL, Dorset, July 1981
15 AR, £0 17s. 6d.; m/d find in field near Roundhouse roundabout.
L: (P) 1/- (1).
ECWCH, 5.
- E19 TAUNTON, Somerset, May 1980
277(?) AR, £14 10s. 0d.+; mechanical excavation at 32 East Street, behind former house.
L: (P) 1/- (11); T-in-c 2/6 (3), 1/- (45).
R: Truro crown A1 (1).
One crown and six half crowns, otherwise entirely shillings.

- Coin Hoards VII* (1985), no. 566; S.C. Minnitt, 'Civil War coin hoard from Taunton', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 125 (1981), 121–3.
- E20 WELSH BICKNOR, Herefordshire, September 1980
3 AU, 151 AR, £10 13s. 0d., possible lead container; ploughing near a cottage, originally covered by a large stone?
L: T-in-c 2/6 (12), 1/- (6).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1643 (1: dates hoard).
S: Charles I 30/- (1).
Coin Hoards VII (1985), no. 567.
- E21 WINSFORD, Cheshire, June 1970
243 AR, £9 2s. 5½d., pot hoard; during construction work at Nixon Drive, Over.
L: (P) 1/- (7); T-in-c 2/6 (3), 1/- (10); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1643 (1).
S: James VI merk (1).
I: James I 1/- (6).
EP 141; J. Cribb, 'Two seventeenth-century hoards and their evidence of coin wear', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 113–17.
- E22 MONMOUTH, 1868
A 'considerable number' of silver coins found in taking down the old Tan House in Monnow Street, of which 18 examined.
L: (P) 1/- (1).
Papers on Monmouth Castle and Priory ... etc., printed for the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association (1896), pp. 58–9.
- E23 WEST HATCH, near, Somerset, 1874
15 AR, £0 19s. 6d. (incomplete?); found by a farmer.
L: (P) 1/- (1); T-in-c 2/6 (3), 1/- (1).
S. Minnitt, 'A Civil War coin hoard from West Hatch', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 135 (1991), 170–2.
- E24 MANATON, Devon, May 1879
14 AR, £0 15s. 6d. in a purse or small bag, hidden between ceiling and thatch; 'taking off' the roof of old farmhouse at Easdon.
L: T-in-c 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (1).
W. Pengelly, 'Recent discoveries in the parishes of Chagford and Manaton, Devonshire', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association XII* (1880), at pp. 365–78.
- E25 HAWKSTONE, Shropshire, 1930s?
142 AR, £5 18s. 0d.
L: (P) 1/- (2); T-in-c 2/6 (4), 1/- (9).
R: Shrewsbury 1/- 1642 (1).
E. Besly, 'A Civil War hoard from Shropshire', *BNJ* 72 (2002), 180–3.
- E26 CAUNTON, Nottinghamshire, August 1988
1,571 AR, £62 14s. 9d.; chance find by walkers near a wood, m/d recovery.
L: (P) 2/6 (6), 1/- (26); T-in-c 2/6 (50), 1/- (130), 6d (3); Aberystwyth 1/- (1), 6d (1).
R: York 1/- (1); Oxford 2/6 1643 (1), 1/- 1642–3 (1).
S: James VI merks (7); Charles I 30/- (3), 6/- (2).
F: Zeeland rijksdaalder (1); Spanish Netherlands, Albert and Elizabeth ½-patagon (1), ¼-patagons (15); Philip IV patagons (8), ½-patagon (1), ¼-patagons (2); ducats (2), ½-ducaton (1).
B.J. Cook, 'Four seventeenth century Treasure Troves', *BNJ* 60 (1990), 87–98, at pp. 91–6.
- E27 GREWELTHORPE, North Yorkshire, November 1991
302 AR, £16 10s. 6d., in one or more Ryedale ware pots?; ditch-digging near Ellershaw House.
L: (P) 2/6 (9), 1/- (5); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
R: York 2/6 (7), 1/- (2); Oxford 2/6 1642 (1).
S: James VI 30/- (1), 6/- (1); Charles I 30/- (3).
C.P. Barclay, 'A Civil War hoard from Grewelthorpe, North Yorkshire', *BNJ* 61 (1991), 76–81.
- E28 WROUGHTON, Wiltshire, May 1998
219 AR, £9 15s. 8d., in a 'pot'; creating a patio near an old cottage.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (6), 1/- (25), 6d (3); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (1), 1/- 1643 (1).
I: James I 1/- (4).
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 146–72, at pp. 147–50.
- E29 WOLVERHAMPTON (Low Hill), February 1999
83 AR, £4 5s. 4d.; trenching for storm sewers.
L: (P) 6d (1); T-in-c 2/6 (4), 1/- (2).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1).
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England II', *BNJ* 72 (2002), 95–114 at pp. 104–6.
- E30 BITTERLEY, Shropshire, February 2011
138 AR, £9 16s. 6d., in a leather pouch in a blackware cup or mug; m/d find near farm (Hilluppencott).
L: T-in-c 2/6 (4), 1/- (4).
R: Bristol 2/6 1643 (1).
S: Charles I 30/- (1), 12/- (1).
Information from B.J. Cook (2011 T89).
- E31 UTTOXETER, Staffordshire, August 2012
82 AR, £3 6s. 0d.; m/d find on cultivated land.
L: (P) 2/6 (1); T-in-c 1/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (2).
Information from B.J. Cook (2012 T604).
- F: Hoards closing with p.m. (R) (1644–5; pyxed 12 May 1645) or royalist issues dated 1644**
- F1 ALLINGTON, All Cannings, Wiltshire, October 1925
106+ AR, £6 19s. 6d.; clearing site of a demolished cottage, found under the corner of the capstone of an old well.

- L: (R) 2/6 (8), 1/- (1).
R: at least one Oxford or Bristol 2/6 or 1/-, 1643, mentioned in a letter of 12 November 1925 (BM file).
EP 53; G.C. Brooke, 'Allington (near Devizes) Treasure Trove', *NC* 1927, 281-2.
- F2 ASHDON, Saffron Walden, Essex, March 1984
2 AU, 1,201 AR, £63 6s. 1d.; Ricketts Farm: chance find in stream bank, disturbed by rabbits.
L: (R) 2/6 (23), 1/- (147), 6d (2), 2d (1); (P) or (R) 2/6 (7), 1/- (51); Aberystwyth 2/6 (1).
R: York 2/6 (2); Oxford 2/6 1644 (1).
S: James VI merk (1), ½-merks (4), 6/- (1); Charles I 30/- (1), 12/- (1)
I: James I 1/- (5), 6d (3).
F: Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella real (1); Portugal, John II, vintem (1).
ECWCH, 17-22.
- F3 BERKELEY, Gloucestershire, August 1985
4 AR, £0 10s. 0d.; Crawless Farm.
L: (R) 2/6 (1).
ECWCH, 91.
- F4 BRIDGNORTH, Shropshire, January 1908
144 AR, £5+?; excavation at rear of 73 High Street.
L: (R) 2/6 (1); (P) 2/6 (10, 1/- (1); many illegible coins.
R: HC (Hartlebury Castle) 2/6 (1).
S: James VI merks (3), ½-merk (1).
I: James I 1/- (1?), 6d (1).
EP 51; R.Ll. Kenyon, 'A find of coins at Bridgnorth', *NC* 1908, 319-23.
- F5 BUCKFASTLEIGH, Devon, March 1932.
36 AR, £2 2s. 9d.; during road-making operations.
L: T-in-c 2/6 (1), 1/- (4).
R: Exeter 2/6 1644 (1).
F: Spanish Netherlands, Brabant, Philip IV Brussels ducaton 1636 (1), Antwerp ½-ducaton 16[39] (1) (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter).
EP 44; G.C. Brooke, 'Finds of English coins', *NC* 1932, 69-71, at p. 70.
- F6 CATFORD, Kent, December 1937
110 AU, £91 10s. 0d., in a pot.
L: 'date of burial about 1644', no further details; 12 in BM, latest Star.
EP 65; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183-4.
- F7 CHESTERFIELD (Prestige), Derbyshire, before 1939
18 AR, £0 17s. 0d.; found in a demolished house.
L: 'date of burial about 1644', no further details.
EP 40; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183-4.
- F8 ENDERBY, Leicestershire, October 1865
88 AR, £6 1s. 5d., in a white leather bag; in the thatch of an old house under demolition.
- L: (R) 2/6, 1/-, numbers not given.
I: James I 1/- (1).
EP 50; A. Pownall, 'Find of coins', *NC* 1866, 321-2.
- F9 ERDINGTON, Birmingham, 1955
30 AR, £1 2s. 6d., purse?; garden find, Welwyndale Road.
L: (R) 1/- (1).
EP 47; N. Thomas, 'A hoard of the Civil War period from Erdington, Birmingham', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* 75 (1957), 90-2.
- F10 IDSWORTH, Horndean, Hampshire, 1861
240 AR, £16 1s. 0d.;
L: no published details.
R: Exeter 1/- 1644 (1).
S: Charles I 30/- (1).
EP 46; A.W. Franks, 'Finds of coins', *NC* 1861, 247.
- F11 LEICESTER, December 1937
79 AR, £4 3s. 10d., in a purse?; in basement of 50 Market Place.
L: (R) 2/6 (1), (P) 1/- (3).
EP 49; *ECWCH*, 49-50.
- F12 OLD MARSTON, Oxford, November 1937
65 AR, £4 6s. 9d.; in roots of a tree, digging a trench, Headington Hill.
L: (P) 2/6 (2), 1/- (1).
R: Shrewsbury 1/- 1642 (1); Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1643 (2), 1644 (3), 1/- 1644 (1).
I: James I 1/- (4), 6d (2).
EP 43 ('Headington'); A. Thompson, 'An Oxford hoard of the time of the Civil Wars', *BNJ* 23 (1938-41), 91-6.
- F13 PENYBRYN, Ruabon, Clwyd, April 1979
105 AR, £6 12s. 1d.; ditching work near Penybryn Hall.
L: (R) 1/- (1); (P) 2/6 (3, 1 possibly (R)); Aberystwyth 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1644 (1); York 2/6 (1); W 2/6 (1); 'Chester' 2/6 (2); CH 2/6 (1).
I: James I 1/- (1).
G.C. Boon, 'A Civil War hoard from the Ruabon neighbourhood and its Royalist coins', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29(1) (1981), 368-78.
- F14 TREHAFOD, Rhondda, Glamorgan, 1941
28 AR, £1 10s. 0d.; digging allotment, by tree stump near a stream.
L: (R) 1/- (2), (P) 1/- (3); as published: another coin with illegible p.m. may be Eye or Sun.
EP 114; G.C. Boon, 'A Civil War hoard from the Rhondda valley', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29(1) (1981), 379-80.
- F15 EWENNY, Glamorgan, June 1983
3 AR, £0 3s. 0d., in lining of a breastplate buried with other armour, two pistols and a powder flask; mechanical excavation of a pipe-trench.

- L: (R) 1/- (1).
ECWCH, 93.
- F16 TOTNES, Devon, 1930s?
c.500? AR, c.£24?, 'in a jar'; under floor of former building, 23-5 High Street.
L: (P) 2/6 (2), 1/- (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (1), Exeter 5/- 1644 (1), 2/6 1644 (1).
S: James VI merk (1), ½-merk (1).
I: James I 1/- (5).
F: Spanish Netherlands, Philip IV ducaton (1).
Numbers in portion believed approx. one-third of hoard.
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 146-72, at pp. 151-4.
- F17 SIBBERTOFT, Northamptonshire, 1991-2
44 AR, £2 3s. 6d.; disturbed by ploughing.
L: (R) 1/- (3).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1).
S: James VI 30/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (2).
Find spot lies c.1500 m from centre of Naseby battlefield.
M. Curteis, 'Medieval and modern hoards', *NC* 1996, 296-7, no. 139.
- F18 CHILTON FOLIAT, Wiltshire, September 1997
75+ AR, £4 9s. 0d.+; m/d find at rally.
L: (R) 2/6 (1), 1/- (4).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1644 (1).
Many other coins not reported?
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 146-72, at pp. 154-5.
- F19 WINCHCOMBE, Gloucestershire, October 1997
251 AR, £12 15s. 1½d., in a pot; found during construction work.
L: (R) 2/6 (1), 1/- (4); Aberystwyth 2/6 (1).
R: Oxford 1/- 1643 (2).
S: James VI merk (1); Charles I 30/- (2).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 1997-1998, 45, no. 156; 'Medieval and Modern hoards' *NC* 1999, 355, no. 63.
- F20 MONWODE LEA, Warwickshire, September 1999
9 AR, £0 13s. 0d.; m/d find.
L: (R) 2/6 (1).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 1998-1999, 142, no. 366; 'Medieval and Modern hoards', *NC* 2000, 327, no. 59.
- F21 STOWE (area), Staffordshire, November 2004
10 AR, £0 8s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: (R) 1/- (2).
B.J. Cook, *TAR* 2004, 192-3, no. 481; 'Medieval and Modern hoards', *NC* 2007, 270, no. 79.
- F22 CASTLE CARY, Somerset, February 2006
152 AR, £7 1s. 6d.; pipelaying under flagstone floor, house off Fore Street.
L: (R) 2/6 (2); (P) 2/6 (4), 1/- (3), 6d (1).
R: Oxford 1/- 1643 (1); Bristol 2/6 1644 (1).
N. Payne, 'Two recently discovered Civil War hoards from Somerset', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 152 (2009), 189-95 (where incorrectly £6 1s. 6d.).
- F23 DODDERHILL, near Droitwich, Worcestershire, September 2011
3 AR, £0 4s. 0d.; m/d find.
L/R: Bristol 2/6 1644, N.2491 (1).
Unpublished; information from B.J. Cook (2012 T168).
- F24 STANTON ST QUINTIN, Wiltshire, March 2012
21 AR, £1 11s. 6d.; m/d find, scattered in pasture.
L: (R) 1/- (1); (P) 2/6 (1), 1/- (2).
Unpublished; information from B.J. Cook (2012 T355).
- G: Hoards closing with p.m. Eye (1645; pyxed 10 November 1645) or royalist issues dated 1645**
- G1 ATHERSTONE, Warwickshire, September 1957
184 AR, £9 18s. 10d., in a blue calico bag; demolishing an old house, from rear of upper floor.
L: Eye 2/6 (4); (R) 2/6 (6).
S: James VI 30/- (2); Charles I 12/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (1).
EP 48; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports, XVI-XX centuries', *BNJ* 37 (1969), 138-45, at pp. 140-1.
- G2 'COTSWOLDS'/'SOUTH MIDLANDS', c.1900?
168 AR, £21 0s. 0d.; no further details.
L: (R) 2/6 (19); (P) 2/6 (20); T-in-c 2/6 (65); half crowns only, all Charles I.
R (all 2/6): Shrewsbury 1642 (3); Oxford 1642 (5), 1643 (6), 1644 (4), 1645 (2); Bristol 1644 (4); York (1); W (1); HC (2); uncertain, Declaration 1644 (1).
EP 75; C. Oman, 'On a hoard on half-crowns of Charles I deposited early in 1645', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 32 (1909), 193-201; *ECWCH*, 93.
- G3 EMBOROUGH, Somerset, November 1930
18 AR, £0 14s. 6d.; Manor Farm, under floor above the lintel over a door.
L: Eye 1/- (1).
EP 58; G.C. B(rooke), 'Finds of English coins', *NC* 1932, 69-71.
- G4 NUNEATON, Warwickshire, April 1977
223 AR, £11 16s. 1½d.; found in a field at Barn Moor Wood Farm, Galley Common.
L: Eye 2/6 (1); (R) 2/6 (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (1).
S: James VI merk (1).
Coin Hoards IV (1978), no. 383.

- H:** **Hoards closing with p.m. Sun (1645–7; pyxed 5 February 1647) or royalist issues dated 1646**
- H1** AMPNEY ST MARY ('Ashbrook'), Gloucestershire, November 1935
347 AR, £16 12s. 6d., in an earthenware pot; Manor Farm, near farmyard wall.
L: 'date of burial about 1646': latest of 22 coins in BM is a Sun 1/–; Aberystwyth 1/– (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1643 (1).
S: James VI 12/– (1); Charles I 30/– (1).
I: James I 1/– (4).
Note: the hoard was discovered whilst shifting a delivery of gravel; the newspaper account makes it clear that this operation disturbed underlying ground, revealing the pot buried near the wall.
EP 57; *Wiltshire & Gloucestershire Standard*, 23 November 1935; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183–4; D. Viner, 'A Civil War hoard from Ashbrook, Ampney St Mary', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 110 (1992), 149–50.
- H2** BARTON UPON IRWELL, Lancashire, c.1880
131 AR, £7 13s. 11½d.; found while pulling down Barton Old Hall.
L: Sun 2/6 and 1/–,
EP 68; Sotheby, 23 December 1880, lots 31–6, 41, 46–7 ('Barton Old Hall find'); *Old South East Lancashire* January 1880, I(1), 36.
- H3** BURY ST EDMUNDS, Suffolk, 1956
About 45 AR (details of 30), c.£2 5s. 0d.?; found during demolition behind skirting in the garret of an old house in Risbygate Street.
L: Sun 1/– (1); Eye 2/6 (1).
York 2/6 (1).
EP 85; *ECWCH*, 49; *SCMB* 1957, 153.
- H4** GLOUCESTER, May 1972
21 AR, £1 7s. 6d.; building works at 17 Eastgate Street.
L: Sun 2/6 (1).
R: York 2/6 (1).
S.A. Castle, 'Gloucester Treasure Trove (1972)', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 182.
- H5** KENT?, find spot unknown
62 AR(+?), £5 13s. 1d.(+); no find details.
L: Sun 2/6 (1), 1/– (2).
I: James I 1/– (1).
F: Spanish America, Philip IV, cob 8-reales Mexico (1), Potosi (1); Spanish Netherlands, Albert and Elizabeth, patagons (2); Philip IV patagon (1). United Netherlands, West Friesland ½-rijksdaalder (1).
EP 54; J.P.C. Kent 'Mr Bruce Binney's Civil War hoard', *NC* 1957, 245–6.
- H6** KETTERING, Northamptonshire, c.1927–8
63 AR, £2 10s. 0d.; found 'in or near' Kettering.
L: Sun, no further details.
EP 56; G.C. Brooke, 'Recent English hoards', *NC* 1928, 335–8, at p.337.
- H7** LIGHTHORNE, Warwickshire, May 1972
93 AR, £4 15s. 3d.; outside garden wall in Old School Lane.
L: Sun 2/6 (1), 1/– (2).
S: Charles I 12/– (1).
I: James I 1/– (1).
J.E. Cribb and S.A. Castle, 'Lighthorne, Warwickshire, Treasure Trove', *BNJ* 44 (1974), 80–1.
- H8** NETHERTON, West Yorkshire, 1892
82 AR, £1 17s. 10½d., in a jar; found in Spring Wood.
L: Sun 2/6 (1), 1/– (1), 2d (3).
S: James VI ½-merk (1).
I: 1/– (3), 6d (1).
EP 102; G. Teasdill, *Coin Finds of the Huddersfield District* (Huddersfield, 1961), 29–30; *ECWCH*, 95.
- H9** NEWARK, Nottinghamshire, May 1960
14 AR, £1 1s. 0d., in a cloth purse?; accompanying a skeleton found during excavations for building foundations at Tithe Barn Court.
L: no details.
R: Newark siege 9d. 1646 (2).
Fourteen other coins found during the same works, including six Charles I Scottish 20d pieces; associations uncertain.
ECWCH, 95.
- H10** PERSHORE (area), Worcestershire, Summer 1983
18 AR, £0 14s. 0d.; discovered in builder's rubble, perhaps originally concealed in a beam.
L: Sun 1/– (1).
R: 'Late Declaration' 1/– 1646 (1).
D. Symons and E. Besly, 'A Civil War hoard from south Worcestershire', *Worcestershire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 3/10 (1986), 81–3.
- H11** PRIORSLEE, Telford, Shropshire, April 1982
367 AR, £26 8s. 6d.; mechanical excavation during construction work on M54 motorway.
L: Sun 2/6 (10), 1/– (1).
R (all 2/6): Shrewsbury 1642 (1); Oxford 1642 (3), 1643 (3); 1644 (1), 1645 (2), 1646 (2); Bristol 1644 (2), 1645 (2); A 1645 (1); W/SA group (9); HC (1).
S: James VI 30/– (1).
ECWCH, 23–32.
- H12** SALFORD, June 1928
31 AR, £1 4s. 0d.; in demolishing an old house.
L: Sun 2/6 (1).
EP 52; *BNJ* 20 (1929–30), 363.
- H13** LEWISHAM ('Southend'), February 1837
At least 420 AU, £420 0s. 0d.+? In two pots.
L: Sun 20/– (3); laurels and Charles I 20/– only. The vast majority of the coins were melted down. Cuff's list includes one 20/– 'M.M. Full

- blown rose ... not mentioned in Snelling', placed late in the list: an Exeter issue?? EP 64; J.D. Cuff. 'An account of gold coins of James I and Charles I discovered at Southend', *NC* 1839, 30–3; *GM* 1837, i, 413 (850 coins found in '2 old blue china jars'); CSB: numerous reports, e.g. *Bradford Observer*, 2 March 1837.
- H14 STOW-ON-THE-WOLD, Gloucestershire, 1950s? 26 AR, £1 4s. 0d.
L: Sun 1/– (2).
ECWCH, 96.
- H15 UTTOXETER, Staffordshire, c. April 1875 154 AR, value not known.
BM Dept of Coins and Medals, Reports, May 1875; *ECWCH*, 96.
- H16 WASHBROOK, Suffolk, April 1979 1 AU, 299 AR, £13 4s. 4½d., in a purse?; site of former farmhouse.
L: Sun 2/6 (3), (R) 2/6 (3).
S: James VI merk (1); Charles I 6/– (1).
I: James I 1/– (8), 6d (2).
Coin Hoards VI (1981), no. 390.
- H17 WOLVERCOTE, Oxford, before 1937 9 AR, £0 10s. 6d.; during demolition of a brick barn.
L: Sun 2/6 (1); Eye 2/6 (1).
R: Oxford 1/– 1643 (1).
EP 55; C.H.V. Sutherland, 'A Wolvercote coin-hoard of the time of the Civil War', *Oxoniensia* II (1937), 101–2.
- H18 Uncertain, West Country/Somerset?, 19th century? 480 AR. £15 5s. 2½d.
L: Sun 1/– (1).
S: Charles I 40 pence (1).
I: James I 1/– (3), 6d (1).
EP 60; R.H.M. Dolley, 'An unrecorded Civil War hoard', *NC* 1953, 153–5.
- H19 ASTON, Shropshire, 1851 39 AR, £1 17s. 6d.; under thatch in a house at 'Aston Tenement'.
L: Sun 1/– (1); Eye 2/6 (1).
Dix and Webb Auction 22, 24 April 1996, lots 48 and 56 (not identified as such in catalogue: information supplied by Michael Sharp; several possible 'Astons' in Shropshire).
- H20 TANWORTH-IN-ARDEN, Warwickshire, January 2006 3 AR, £0 4s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: Sun 2/6 (1)
A. Bolton, *TAR* 2005/6, 217, no. 1214.
- H21 SOLIHULL, Warwickshire, December 2009 5 AR, £0 12s. 6d.; m/d find.
L: Sun 2/6 (1).
Information from B.J. Cook (2011 T45).
- H22 TRELLECH, Monmouthshire, October 2010 7 AR, £0 14s. 0d.; m/d find in pasture near farm.
L: Sun 2/6 (1).
Treasure case Wales 10.14.
- H23 HIGH ACKWORTH, Wakefield, July 2011 52 AU, 539 AR, £68 13s. 9d. approx., in a Blackware or Cistercian ware jar; during ground works for a swimming pool in garden near Manor Farm.
L: Sun, 2/6 (6), 1/– (6).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (1), 1644 (1), 1/– 1644 (1); York 2/6 (2); Chester 2/6 nd (1); A 2/6 1645 (1).
S: James VI ½-sword and sceptre piece (1); merks (7), 30/– (2); Charles I 30/– (2).
I: James I 1/– (3), 6d (1).
F: Spanish Netherlands, Albert and Isabella, ducaton (1); Philip IV, ducations (11).
Information from B.J. Cook (2011 T428).
- J: **Hoards closing with p.m. Sceptre (1647–9; pyxed 9 November 1649)**
- J1 BOSTON, Lincolnshire, February 1886 291 AR, £15 14s. 6d., pot hoard; disturbed by a horse, ploughing at Brand End Farm, West Low Grounds, on the site of a former cottage.
L: Sceptre 1/– (2); Sun 2/6 (4), 1/– (12); Aberystwyth 1/– (1).
S: James VI merks (2).
I: James I 6d (11).
EP 62; H.A. Grueber, 'Recent hoards of coins', *NC* 1886, 161–7, at pp. 163–6; CSB: *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 12 February and 19 March 1886.
- J2 EAST WORLINGTON, Devon, June 1895 5,188 AR, £242 18s. 10½d., in three earthenware pots, each covered by a flat stone; during hedging work at Thorndon ('Thornham') Farm.
L: Sceptre 1/– (4), Sun 2/6 (12), 1/– (56); Aberystwyth 1/– (2).
R: Truro and Exeter (52) full details not available, but probably: Truro, 2/6 (5), 1/– (1); Exeter 5/– nd (1); 2/6 nd (37), 1644 (1); 1/– nd (3), 1644 (2), 1645 (1), 6d 1644 (1).
S: James VI ½-merk (2); Charles I 6/– (1).
F: 'Spanish dollar c.1630' (1).
Local tradition of buried treasure.
EP 59; H.A. Grueber, 'A find of coins at East Worlington', *NC* 1897, 145–58; E. Besly, 'The English Civil War mints at Truro and Exeter', *BNJ* 62 (1992), 102–53, at pp. 151–2; CSB: *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 20 June 1895.
- J3 GUILDFORD, Surrey, June 1983 196 AR, £16 15s. 6d.; revealed by erosion at the Chantry, near Guildford.
L: Sceptre 2/6 (3), 1/– (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1644 (1), 1/– 1642 (1).
Above total includes 21 coins presented to Guildford Museum in 1991: Elizabeth I 1/– (2), 6d (3: the first sixpences recorded for the find); Charles I 2/6 (9), 1/– (7).
ECWCH, 43–4; supplementary information from B.J. Cook.

- J4 HADLEIGH, Suffolk, March 1936
97 AR, £4 4s. 0d.; digging foundations, beneath a paving stone.
L: 'date of burial about 1649': Sceptre 1/- (1) in BM.
EP 63; D.F. Allen, 'Some recent Civil War hoards', *NC* 1939, 183–4.
- J5 SHEERNESS, Isle of Sheppey, August 1968
417 AR, £22 17s. 6d., in a glazed pot inverted on a tile; during ground works building a school.
L: Sceptre 1/- (11); half crowns and shillings only.
R: York 2/6 (2).
EP 110; J.P.C. Kent, 'Three seventeenth- and eighteenth-century finds'. *BNJ* 38 (1969), 163–6, at pp. 163–5.
- J6 WHITTINGHAM, Lancashire, January 1853
301 AR, approx. £15 12s. 0d., wrapped in a woollen cloth; in the soot closet, during repairs to the chimney of an old house. (207 AR, £10 15s. 0d. survive in Harris Museum, Preston.)
L: Sceptre 1/- (1).
F: 'Spanish' coins, no details.
Preston Guardian, Sat. 18 Jan 1853; R.F. Taylor, 'The St Annes hoard and other Civil War hoards in Lancashire', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 118 (1966), 39–50, at pp. 45–7.
- J7 BRADFORD, West Yorkshire, May–July 1982
1,048 AR, £38 12s. 0d. approx, in a glazed earthenware jug (A: £23 3s. 7½d. approx.) and handled cup (B: £15 8s. 4d. approx.), in a 'nest of boulders', pot B covered by a stone; m/d finds in Low Wood, Wyke, a few hundred metres from C11.
L: [A] (P) 1/- (1); [B] Sceptre 1/- (1), 2d (1).
R: [B] York 2/6 (2).
S: [A] James VI merks (9), ¼-merks (5); Charles I 20d (7 + 6 forgeries); [B] James VI ¼-merk (1), 30/- (2); Charles I 20d (1 + 1 forgery).
I: [A] James I 1/- (31), 6d (3); [B] James I 1/- (5), 6d (3).
F: [A] Spain, F and I, ½-reals (3); Campen, Arends-shelling (1); [B] Spain, F and I, ½-reals (2); Spanish Netherlands, Philip IV, ducaton (1). *ECWCH*, 33–42.
- J8 Uncertain, Wallingford area, Oxfordshire?
123 AR, £5 1s. 8½d.
L: Sceptre 2/6 (1), 1/- (1).
R: W series 1/- nd (1).
S: James VI merk (1).
I: James I 1/- (1).
E. Besly, 'Two seventeenth-century notes', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 130–2.
- J9 MIDDLEHAM, North Yorkshire, June 1993
5,099 AR, £313 7s. 3¾d., in three handled jars, each sealed with a flat capstone; m/d find on farmland. A: £76 2s. 2½d.; B: £145 10s. 8¼d.; C: £91 14s. 5d.
L: [A] Sun 2/6 (6), 1/- (7); [B] Sun 2/6 (14), 1/- (15), 6d (1); [C] Sceptre 1/- (1); Sun 2/6 (25), 1/- (32), 6d (3).
R: [A] York 2/6 (2); [B] Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1643 (1), 1/- 1643 (1); York 2/6 (7), 1/- (1); [C] York 1/- (1); A 6d 1645 (1).
S: [A] James VI merk (1), 30/- (3), 12/- (2); Charles I 30/- (1), 12/- (1), 6/- (1); [B] James VI, merks (11), 30/- (3), 12/- (3); Charles I 30/- (3), ½-merk (1); [C] Charles I 30/- (1).
I: [A] James I, 1/- (1); [B] Elizabeth I 'fine' 1/- (1); James I 1/- (6); [C] James I 1/- (2).
F: [A] Spanish Netherlands, A and I, patagon (1), ducaton (1); Philip IV, patagon (1), ducatons (44), ½-ducatons (6); Spanish America, 8-reales (2); [B] Spanish Netherlands, A and I, patagon (1), ducatons (5), ½-ducaton (1); Philip IV, ducatons (136), ½-ducatons (7); [C] Spanish Netherlands, A and I, ducaton (1); Philip IV, ducatons (36), ½-ducatons (5).
C. Barclay, 'A Civil War hoard from Middleham, North Yorkshire', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 84–98.
- J10 TREGWYNT, Pembrokeshire, September 1996
33 AU, 467 AR, £51 9s. 0d., and a gold posy ring, in a glazed pot covered by a lead sheet; disturbed by ground works for a tennis court on site of a former outbuilding at Tregwynt Mansion.
L: Sceptre 1/- (1), Sun 2/6 (3), 1/- (10).
R: Shrewsbury 2/6 1642 (1); Oxford 2/6 1643 (1), 1644 (1), 1646 (1), 1/- 1642 (1); Bristol 2/6 1643 (1); A 2/6 1646 (*sic*) (1); W 2/6 (1); SA 2/6 (1); W/ SA series 1/- (1); Exeter 5/- 1644 (1).
S: James VI, sword and sceptre piece (1), 30/- (1), 6/- (1).
I: Confederate Catholics(?), 'Blacksmiths' 2/6 (1); Lords Justices, 'Ormonde money' 5/- (1).
The hoard includes a crown of the Double Rose of Henry VIII, Bristol mint. Local tradition of buried treasure associated with French invasion of 1797.
E. Besly, 'A Civil War hoard from Tregwynt, Pembrokeshire', *BNJ* 68 (1998), 119–36.
- J11 HADDISCOE, Norfolk, July 2003
316 AR, £15 10s. 6d., possible slipware container; found during archaeological excavations/ watching brief, scattered by machinery.
L: Sceptre 1/- (1).
A. Marsden, *TAR* 2003, 167–8, no. 398.
- K: Other hoards closing with Charles I, likely to be Civil War deposits**
- Note:* Information obtained since the publication of *ECWCH*, notably from the newspaper accounts, has expanded and sometimes corrected details for a number of the entries K1–K83. In some cases, there is now doubt whether these are true 'Civil War' hoards; these entries are retained in (parentheses) to enable the new facts to be aired.

- K1 ABERNANT, Carmarthen, December 1808
60 AR; Elizabeth, James I, Charles I; 'lately dug up on a farm called Lan'.
EP 90; *Shrewsbury Chronicle* 17 February 1809; S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London, 1833), entry 'Abernant'; CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 28 December 1808 ('dug up ... on a farm called Llan').
- K2 ARMSTON, Northamptonshire, August 1841.
13 AU, at least £6, in a small lead box; '11 half-unites and 2 quarter-unites' of James I and Charles I.
J. Simpson, *Obituary and Records for the counties of Lincoln, Rutland and Northampton ...* (Stamford, 1861), 347; CSB: *Stamford Mercury*, 3 September 1841.
- (K3) BATH, Somerset, March 1831)
Nearly 400 AR, Philip and Mary-James I (?), in an old leather bag; found by a labourer removing thatch from an old building near Bath.
EP 76?; CSB: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 31 March 1831; this account mentions Philip and Mary, Elizabeth and James I; the size of the hoard suggests a Civil War deposit, though this is not certain.
NB The name 'Leigh House', previously associated with this find, almost certainly relates to another near-contemporary hoard; see K119 Chard, below.
- K4 BATTLE ABBEY, Sussex, 1815
1,600 coins, Mary, Elizabeth, Charles I, about £80 by weight, 'carefully concealed under a stone, which had been strongly cemented beneath the old stone staircase, near the postern'.
Salopian Journal, 22 February 1815; CSB: *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 February 1815.
- K5 BIRSTWITH, North Yorkshire, March 1853
Forged (?) farthing tokens of Charles I, 'two pecks'; in an iron-bound box; found by workmen demolishing an old barn at Sun Farm, Swarcliffe, under the floor, covered by stones.
Yorkshire Weekly Post, 21 September 1907; CSB: *Yorkshire Gazette*, 26 March 1853; *Worcester Chronicle*, 9 April 1853.
- K6 BODFARI, Flintshire, May 1927
11(+?) AR, £0 7s. 6d.+?; clearing overburden in limestone quarry.
EP 93; E.D., 'Discovery of English coins', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 83 (1928), 209.
- K7 BOLAM, Morpeth, Northumberland, April 1804
A quantity of AU of Charles I in an 'old bag'; found while pulling down an old farm house at Gallow Hill.
Charles I, gold twenty shillings, described accurately, and said to be worth £1 0s. 10d. each.
EP 123; S. Lewis *Topographical Dictionary of England* (London, 1845), II, 275; CSB: *Lancaster Gazette*, 16 April 1804.
- K8 BOVEY, Devon, 19th century?
Uncertain number AR; found in an old thatched roof of a cottage near Bovey [Tracy].
R: Truro 2/6 (1); the coin is Brooker SCBI 33, 1015.
Sotheby 30 June 1909, 937; *ECWCH*, 100.
- K9 BRAMPTON, Huntingdonshire, 1839
454 AR, Elizabeth-Charles I: 2/6, 1/- and 6d 'supposed to be worth £30 in old silver' in an 'earthen pot'; found 'lowering a hill' on the Earl of Sandwich's estate at Brampton.
EP 86; *GM* 1840, i, 79; CSB: several accounts, incl. *Northampton Mercury*, 16 November 1839 and *Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette*, 16 November 1839, which refers to Charles II.
- K10 CHURCH HANBOROUGH, Oxfordshire, c.1930
4 AR, part of a larger hoard?; discovered under the doorstep of a house.
R: Exeter 2/6 nd (1).
EP 95; *ECWCH*, 100.
- K11 CONWY, July 1835
4 AU, 1,174 AR, £43 17s. 6d., in a 'brown wide-mouthed earthen glazed jar with one handle' sealed by mortar; found on Town Mountain.
L: no marks given.
ECWCH, 100, citing transcript in BM of letter dated 1835; CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 22 July 1835, gives find spot as 'the sands at Conwy'.
- K12 CROWOOD, Ramsbury, Wiltshire, June 1867
280 AR, weighing 35 oz. (c.£9-10); found by a boy under the 'stem' of an oak tree, recently cut in Lovers' Coppice, on a bank dividing the parishes of Ramsbury and Aldbourne.
EP 80; (H.R. Seymour) 'Coins found at Crowood', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* XI (1869), 119.
- K13 DEVIZES, Wiltshire, March 1828
Nearly 200 AR, Mary-Charles I; found 'about a foot' under the hearth stone in pulling down an old house in Angel Street.
P.H. Robinson, *Coin Hoards* II (1976), no. 476, quoting *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* 27 March 1828; CSB: *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 28 March 1828; *Chester Chronicle* 4 April 1828 (details of location and size).
- K14 DISTINGTON, Cumberland, 1811/12
AR, uncertain number; found in a field beneath an oak tree, 'supposed to have been planted as a guide to the concealed treasure'.
EP 67; S. Jefferson, *The History and Antiquities of Cumberland* (1842), II, 76-7.

- K15 DUMMER, Hampshire, May 1919
About 200 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found at Dummer Grange, site of former outbuilding?
EP 98; summary in *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* IX, 2 (1922), 285.
- K16 EARITH, Huntingdonshire, c.1956
10 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, no details.
EP 61; I.D. Brown, *BNJ* 28 (1955–7) at p. 597, gives deposit 1645.
- K17 EASTON, Lincolnshire, 1807
151 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, for which a Stamford silversmith paid £7 10s. 0d.; no further details.
EP 87; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* 13 November 1807; J. Simpson, *Obituary and Records* ... [see K2], p. 72.
- K18 EXETER (St Sidwells), Devon, c.1767
AR and AU, uncertain number mostly ‘James and Charles 1st coins: none being of a later date’ and plate; in digging foundations ‘opposite Paris-Street’.
Perhaps no later than spring 1643: St Sidwells and Paris St lay just outside the city walls. In the summer of 1643, the Earl of Stamford ordered all the houses in the suburbs near the city walls to be demolished ahead of the expected royalist siege; in St Sidwells this was achieved in part and completed by the royalists in 1645.
A. Jenkins, *The History and Description of the City of Exeter* (Exeter, 1806), 212; *ECWCH*, 101.
- K19 EXETER, Park Street, Devon 1820
AR, large, Henry VII?–Charles I, of the order of £100?, ‘hid in pits, covered with stone’; the first part found by workmen removing foundations of houses in Park Street, a second found the following day by the owner, a builder named Nosworthy.
Described as ‘coins of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, particularly the latter. There are also a few of Henry VII and Philip and Mary, much defaced, with some Scotch pieces of James VI.’
EP 127; R. Chambers (ed.), *The Book of Days* (London/Edinburgh, 1863), I, 496; N. Shiel, ‘Exeter hoards’, *NCirc* 1977, 256 appears to conflate this find with the King John Tavern find of 1835 (K127, below), an identification followed in *ECWCH*. CSB: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 18 May 1820, for date of find, location and contents.
- K20 FONTMELL, Dorset, April 1819
AR, large number, Edward VI–Charles I, pot hoard; found about one foot deep in a lynchet in a potato field.
P. Robinson, *Coin Hoards* VI (1981), no. 391, quoting *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 12 April 1819.
- K21 FORCEGARTH, Middleton, Co. Durham, 1838
AR half crowns of Charles I; found under ‘southwestern foundation coign’ of old farmhouse.
Information from D. Coggins, 1984, quoting Parish Magazine of Laithkirk, 1869–70.
- K22 FULWOOD, Preston, Lancashire, April 1812
AR, unknown number, Edward VI–Charles I; found beneath the floor of a house near Fulwood Manor.
F: Philip IV of Spain, ‘a crown piece’.
R.F. Taylor, ‘The St Annes hoard and other Civil War hoards in Lancashire’, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 118 (1966), 39–50, at pp. 47–8; CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 29 April 1812.
- K23 GARFORTH, Leeds, January 1826
41 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in a leather purse; found by workmen removing an ‘ancient wall’.
J. Mayhall, *The Annals of Yorkshire* (Leeds, n.d.), I, 321 (CSB comment: probably taken from account in *Leeds Mercury*, 7 January 1826); *ECWCH*, 102.
- K24 GRANTHAM, Lincolnshire, 1865
180 AR: Mary, Elizabeth, James I, Charles I.
EP 122; A. White, ‘Medieval and later coin hoards, Lincolnshire and South Humberside’ (manuscript, 1978) quoting Treasure Trove returns; *American Journal of Numismatics* January 1878, 57; CSB: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2 May 1865 and others.
- K25 GREAT SHEFFORD, Berkshire, December 1888
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, shillings and sixpences, in a small earthen pot; found under the stairs of an ‘ancient half-timbered cottage’ in the village.
EP 30; *Victoria County History Berkshire* 4 (1924), 238; CSB: *Reading Mercury*, 15 December 1888 and *Cornishman*, 17 January 1889.
- (K26) HADLEIGH, Suffolk, c.1841)
AR, Edward VI–Charles I (and II?), substantial hoard?; found excavating a cellar between the High Street and the Churchyard. See also K64.
L: perhaps Sun (45 coins in Ipswich Museum include 14 Charles I 1/–, to Sun).
EP 84; *NC* 1841, 63–4; *ECWCH*, 102; CSB: *Stamford Mercury*, 26 March 1841.
Perhaps not a true Civil War hoard, because the *Stamford Mercury* account includes reference to coins of ‘the first and second coinage’ of Charles II (i.e., the ‘hammered’ issues).
- K27 HALESEND IN CRADLEY, Worcestershire (now Herefordshire), 1842
AR, Edward VI–Charles I, pot hoard.
J. Allies, *Antiquities and Folklore of Worcestershire*, 2nd edition (1852), 241.
- K28 HALTON CASTLE, Frodsham, Cheshire, 1658
AU and AR?, £506 0s. 0d.; found in the walls of the castle during repairs under Col. Henry Brooke.
EP 125; C.R. Beard, *The Romance of Treasure Trove* (London, 1933), 252.

- K29 HEMINGTON, Leicestershire, April 1848
52 AR, including Elizabeth and Charles I, in a bag; from the thatch of some cottages.
Leicester Journal, 14 August 1848; CSB: *North Wales Chronicle*, 25 April 1848, from *Leicester Mercury*.
- K30 HESKIN, Chorley, Lancashire, January 1852
AU, James I and Charles I, £200(+), in a pewter Baluster measure; found by workmen in a field.
Staffordshire Advertiser, 24 January 1852, p. 3; the container and a 20/- of Charles I, p.m. Lys were sold, Christie's 28 May 1992, 330, confirming this to be a 17th-century deposit: CSB: *Morning Post*, 20 January 1852.
- K31 HINKLEY (? 'Hickley'), Leicestershire, May 1816
AR (presumed), Edward VI–Charles (I), placed in a 'knitted stocking or purse' within an earthen jar covered by a 'rough and flattish stone'; found by a carpenter fixing some paling 'in the yard attached to Mr Power's house'.
Leicester Journal 24 May 1816; CSB: *York Herald*, 8 June 1816.
- K32 HIGH ERCALL, Shropshire, December 1820
2 'small' AU, uncertain number AR, James I and Charles I, in an 'antique silver vase'; dug up by a labourer.
Shrewsbury Chronicle, 21 December 1820; CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 27 December 1820 and *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 1 January 1821, which also records two gold rings.
- K33 HONINGTON, Shipston on Stour, Warwickshire, March 1741
AR, Elizabeth–(mostly) Charles I, £24+? (weight 7 lb. 9 oz.), in an 'old Wine-Quart'; struck by mattock of a workman during alterations to house and garden at Honington Hall.
EP 71; B.R. Osborne, *Coin Hoards* VII (1985), no. 568.
- K34 HOPWOOD, Middleton, Lancashire, January 1851
19 AR, Charles I, £2 7s. 6d.? (half crowns?); found by a farmer pulling down an old fence.
Staffordshire Advertiser, 25 January 1851, p. 3; CSB: *Morning Post*, 23 January 1851.
- K35 HOUGHTON CONQUEST, Bedfordshire, 1852
c.100 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, pot hoard; found during ploughing.
Notes of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archaeology Society no. 2 (May 1853); CSB: *Reading Mercury*, 8 February 1890: four coins from the hoard presented to Royal Grammar School Museum.
- K36 HUDDINGTON, Worcestershire, January 1903
32 AE in a purse; found on the thigh of a skeleton.
S: James VI turner (1), Charles I bodles (30).
F: France, Louis XIII, double tournois 1637 (1).
EP 100; *Victoria County History Worcestershire* 3 (1913), 409.
- K37 HULL, 1909
9+ AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, £0 8s. 1½d.+
S: James VI merk (1).
EP 121; T. Sheppars (ed.) *Quarterly Record of Additions XXXI* (Hull Museum Publications 68, December 1909), 8.
- K38 LAMBETH PALACE, May 1784
197 AU, James I and Charles I, c.£150?
Joan Martin card index (BM), quoting *Bibliothecae Topographica Britannica*, II, p. 79.
- K39 LUDLOW, Shropshire, 1785
AU, AR, in a 'large pot'.
James I, Charles I, no further details.
D. McGrory, 'In an earthen pot', *Coin News* June 1993, 38–9, quoting *Coventry Mercury*, May 1785; CSB: *Northampton Mercury*, 23 May 1785.
[K39 not allocated in *ECWCH*]
- K40 LICHFIELD, Staffordshire, 1788
AR, half crowns of Charles I, 'in a large pot'; Bore Street, no further details.
EP 132; P.H. Robinson, 'Unpublished finds of the early 17th century from Staffordshire', *BNJ* 39 (1970), 166(–7).
- K41 LLANGUNLLO, Radnorshire, 1814
'Many' AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; land belonging to Malagoed Farm, near Creignant.
EP 101; *The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire III – County of Radnor* (London, 1913), 99, no. 392.
- K42 LLYSWORNEY, Cowbridge, Glamorgan, 1864
c.60 AR, Philip and Mary–Charles I, in a buckskin glove; from thatch removed from an old farmhouse.
S: James VI 30/- (1).
Archaeologia Cambrensis 1865, 204–7.
- K43 MAIDFORD, Northamptonshire, 1910
c.40(?) AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; 'loose in soil' in a field.
R; 'Oxford 1/-' (1).
S: James VI merks (2).
I: James I '6d' (2).
See also D17, which may be part of this find.
A. Adcock (ed.), *Northampton County Magazine* IV (1931), 39; *ECWCH*, 105.
- K44 MOULTON, Lincolnshire, May 1811
22 AR, Elizabeth and 'some immediately succeeding English sovereigns'.

- EP 89; A. White, 'Medieval and Later Coin Hoards ...' (manuscript, 1978), quoting *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 3 May 1811; J. Simpson, *Obituary and Records ...* (Stamford, 1861), 112.
- K45 NEWBY WISKE, Thirsk, North Yorkshire. March 1858
270 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in a red clay pot; found under a thorn tree.
R: 'Oxford'.
F: Philip IV of Spain, 'all dollars' [ducations?].
T. Whellan and Co., *History and Topography of the City of York; and the North Riding of Yorkshire* (re-issued by J.J. Sheahan, Beverley, n.d.), II, 538.
- K46 WILLOUGHBY, Nottinghamshire, November 1785
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, shillings and sixpences, with a few half crowns, in a purse; found in the thatch of an old house.
R: York 2/6 (1).
S: James VI merks (2).
I: James I 1/- (1).
EP 70; W. Merrey, *Remarks on the Coinage of England* (Nottingham, 1789), 103–4; *ECWCH*: 'Nottingham (region)'; CSB: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29 November 1785.
- K47 OLDCOT (Golden Hill), Wolstanton, Staffordshire, before 1843
36 AU, about 2 lb. AR, c.£44–45?, Elizabeth–Charles I; found with a parochial notice dated 5 July 1648 in the roof of a thatched cottage under demolition.
P.H. Robinson, 'Unpublished finds of the early 17th century from Staffordshire', *BNJ* 39 (1970), 166–7, at p. 166.
- K48 NEWSAM GREEN, Leeds, October 1905
258 AR, Philip and Mary–Charles I: half crowns, shillings and sixpences; found digging a grave for a horse at Lawns Stud Farm, Newsam Green. Location in Tan Pit Field, about the centre of a triangle formed by three ancient oaks.
(Formerly 'Oulton' = location of treasure trove inquest on 17 November 1905.)
EP 10; Anon, 'Old silver coins found near Leeds', *NCirc* 1906, col. 8913; see also H.E. Manville, 'Additions and corrections to Thompson's *Inventory* and Brown and Dolley's *Coin Hoards* – Part 2', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 169–84, at p.176.
- K49 PENDOYLAN, Glamorgan, June 1907
27 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found by children in thatch from a 'dilapidated house'.
South Wales Daily News, 11 June 1907 (cutting in National Museum of Wales illustrates shillings of Edward VI, Elizabeth, James I and a Group II half crown of Charles I).
- K50 PUDSEY, Yorkshire, January 1833
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, including sixpences; found in 'removing some earth' in a field, at a depth of about one foot.
J. Mayhall, *The Annals of Yorkshire* (Leeds, n.d.), I, 396–7; Briggs 2012, no 11.
- K51 RADWINTER, Essex, June 1851
602 AR, Edward VI–Charles I, c.£25–30; found by four labourers 'stubbing down an old stiff clay bank', near Bendysh Wood, on Bendysh Hall Farm.
L: 'none later than 1644'.
C. Morsley, *News from the English Countryside, 1851–1950* (London, 1983), quoting *Ipswich Journal*, 28 June 1851.
- K52 ROCHESTER, Kent, August 1838
158 AR, Edward VI–Charles I, in a wash-leather bag; found by a workman pulling down an old house in St Margaret's Street, in the brickwork of the chimney.
EP 83; *GM* 1838, ii, 181; CSB: *Bristol Mercury*, 12 May 1838; *Hereford Journal*, 16 May (taken from *Kentish Observer*).
- K53 ROPSLEY, Lincolnshire, 1820
125 AR, weight 3 lb. 5 oz. = c.£10; found in the yard of a farm.
Philip and Mary and James I mentioned, but weight suggests a high proportion of half crowns, so a probable Civil War deposit.
EO 10 ('might possibly belong to the Civil War period'); A. White, 'Medieval and Later Coin Hoards ...' (manuscript, 1978), no. 34.
- K54 SAMLESBURY, Lancashire, early 1900
37+ (55?) AR, in a leather bag; found inside the chimney at Higher Barn Cottage during roof repairs.
Coin Hoards IV (1978), no. 384; A. Lewis, *Coins and Medals*, June 1977, 59–62. Six coins in Blackburn Museum probably from this hoard, latest T-in-c.
CSB: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 2 April 1900 and others: describes a find of 55 silver coins, in a 'washleather' bag, said to have been found under the thatch of the roof of a farmhouse at Hoghton. Virtually identical text in *Numismatic Magazine*, March 1900 (Manville 1995, 177). Hoghton lies about 1 km SE of the find spot.
- K55 SALFORD ('Sanford'), Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, 1793?
AU and AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; demolition of an old house. The account refers to a second such hoard found 'about 25 years ago' next door (perhaps K90, below).
EP 72; *GM* 1793, 83.
- K56 SCARBOROUGH, Castle, 1907
Forged farthings and scissel; found in castle yard well at a depth of 130 feet.
EP 109; *NCirc* 1907, col. 9940.

- K57 **SCHOLES**, near Leeds, March 1824
AR, Mary–Charles I; found by a ‘servant’ and a day labourer, levelling the foundation of an ancient building at the east end of Scholes, in the parish of Barwick-in-Elmet.
‘About three or four generations’ previously, a ‘sackin bag’ full of silver coins had come to light when a high wind blew down a thatched roof (date of deposit uncertain).
J. Mayhall, *The Annals of Yorkshire* (Leeds, n.d.), I, 307; CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 17 March 1824; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 11 March 1824 (reference to previous find).
- K58 **SHEFFIELD**, May 1855
c.200 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; in a cavity in ‘foundation walls’ of an old house in Sheffield, now in course of removal.
P.H. Robinson, quoting *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 12 May 1855, p. 3.
- K59 **SHREWSBURY**, Shropshire, 1825
c.90 AR, ‘chiefly shillings of Elizabeth and Charles’; found during demolition of St Mary’s almshouses, concealed between the joists and the floor.
CSB: *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 25 November 1825.
- K60 **SIBBERTOFT**, Northamptonshire, before 1866
AU, James I and Charles I; found ‘previously’ in a field.
EP 11; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 2,3 (1866), 346.
- K61 **SOUTH PETHERTON**, Somerset, 1887/8
34 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, £1 9s. 6d.; Prig Lane, in a cluster 8–10 inches deep in bed of road.
EP 79; *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* 1888, 177; *ECWCH*, 108.
- K62 **STOCKTON-UPON-TEES**, 1792
A ‘considerable number’ AR, Mary–Charles I, in a bag; found by workmen pulling down an old house near the market place, concealed in an inner wall.
R: *Shrewsbury/Oxford* 2/6 1642, 1643, 1644.
ET 4; ‘*Cam. Chro.* Sep’ 1. 1792’ (cutting in S.S. Banks papers, BM); *ECWCH*, 108.
- K63 **STOKE SUB HAMDON**, Montacute, Somerset, 1800
A ‘quantity’ AR, including Charles I 2/6; digging in the yard of a public house.
CSB: *Sherborne Mercury*, 28 July 1800; *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 31 July 1800; *Reading Mercury*, 11 August 1800 (also undated cutting in S.S. Banks papers, BM); *ECWCH*, 108.
- K64 **BILDESTON**, Suffolk, c.1845
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I from a find said variously to be 60 lb. or 80 lb.; ‘recently discovered’.
ECWCH, 108: ‘Suffolk’; perhaps the same find as K26. Charles Roach Smith exhibited ‘a quantity’ of coins of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I ‘discovered near Bilston, in Suffolk’ to the Committee of the recently-founded British Archaeological Association, 23 April 1845. Bildeston lies approximately 5 miles/8 km NNE of Hadleigh.
EP 113; *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society*, 24 April 1845; ‘Proceedings of the Central Committee’, *JBAA* 1 (1846), 138.
- K65 **TAUNTON**, near, Somerset, January 1816
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, including 2/6, 1/-; found about a mile from Taunton by a man ‘turning up some ground’.
Taunton Courier, 25 January 1816; CSB: *Morning Post*, 1 February 1816.
- K66 **TOTTENHAM**, Middlesex, 1770
AU, James I and Charles I and AR not specified, £70+, part in a horn?; found by ‘Mr Harding’s men, plowing in his grounds’.
EP 139; *Annual Register*, 7 March 1770, 90; CSB: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 17 April 1770.
- K67 **TRESCO**, Isles of Scilly, 1744
c.500 AR, including Charles I 2/6; found by a mason in the wall of an old house.
M. Dolley, ‘A neglected Scillonian circulation of Wood’s halfpence’, *NC* 1972, 217–19, at p.219, quoting R. Heath, *A Natural and Historical Account of the Islands of Scilly etc* (London, 1750), 38.
- K68 **TUNSTALL**, Kent, 1737/8
614+? AU, ‘broad gold’; found by a boy in a cop-pice. Supposed to have been buried by Sir Edward Hales, Bt, a royalist.
EP 126; C.R. Beard, *The Romance of Treasure Trove* (London, 1933), 252–3; CSB: *Newcastle Courant*, 11 February 1738.
- K69 **WEDMORE**, Somerset, 1891
57 AR, Philip and Mary–Charles I, £2 2s. 6d.; in the false bottom of an old ‘plain black oak coffer’ at Blakeway.
EP 77; F. Mockler *et al.*, ‘Strange discovery of coins’, *Numismatic Magazine* 6 (1891), 91–2; CSB: *Western Telegraph*, 19 November 1891.
- K70 **WERRINGTON**, Peterborough, October 1819
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in an earthen jar.
J. Simpson, *Obituary and Records ...* (Stamford, 1861), 211; CSB: *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 15 October 1819.
- K71 **WHETSTONE**, Leicestershire, 1792
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found in an old building.
Leicester Herald, 7 July 1792.
- K72 **WHITBURN**, Co. Durham, November 1777
37 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found in the thatch of an old cottage.

- EP 66; J. Sykes, *Local Records, or Historical Register of Remarkable Events which have Occurred in Northumberland and Durham ...* (Newcastle, 1866), I, 311; CSB: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 18 November 1777 (size of hoard).
- K73 WHITCHURCH, Buckinghamshire, January 1897
28 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; in the roof of the Old Court House, revealed by a falling ceiling. EP 116; G.W. Wilson, *Chronicles of Whitchurch* (Aylesbury, 1909), 64; J. Sydney, 'Hidden Treasure ...', *Bucks & Berks Countryside*, February 1980, 24; H.E. Manville, 'Additions and corrections to Thompson's *Inventory* and Brown and Dolley's *Coin Hoards* – Part 2', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 169–84, at p. 177 (for size); CSB: *Buckinghamshire Herald*, 16 January 1897.
- K74 WINDSOR GREAT PARK, Berkshire, 1859
150+ AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, mainly 2/6, in a 'leaden case'; Shaws Farm Estate. EP 74; CSB: *The Times*, 20 April 1859.
- K75 WINTERBOURNE STOKE, Wiltshire, 1797
301 AR, James I and Charles I, pot hoard; found following removal of a dung heap in a yard. EP 81; *GM* 1797, 791–2; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 1 September 1797; CSB: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 31 August 1797.
- K76 WOLVERHAMPTON, June 1815
A 'considerable number' AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found in taking down a house in Dudley Street. EP 143; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 23 June 1815; *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 17 June 1815.
- K77 YORK, North Yorkshire, 1852
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in 'an old flower pot and coffee pot'; found during 'improvements', The Bedern. T. Whellan & Co., *History and Topography of the City of York ...* (Beverley, 1857), I, 486.
- K78 YORKSHIRE, 19th century
226 AR, £28 5s. 0d.; found during demolition of a house. L: possibly Eye (1), T-in-c (129)?: half crowns only, no (P) or (R). *Coin Hoards* IV (1978), no. 381, follows Sotheby, 26 October 1977, lots 303–9, coins said to be in poor state.
- K79 WEYMOUTH/MELCOMBE REGIS, Dorset, c.1820
A 'great number' AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in an urn covered with a thin piece of sheet iron; found during construction of the bridge connecting the two parts of the town. S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England ...* (London, 1831), IV, 443.
- (K80–K83: These numbers were allocated in *ECWCH* to four hoards closing with Charles I, the worn and clipped state of which suggested very much later dates of deposit.)
- (K80 COCKINGTON, Devon, 1981)
N. Shiel, 'Two Devon hoards', *Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings* 41 (1983), 139–40.
- (K81 REFFLEY, King's Lynn, Norfolk, February 1985)
See *ECWCH*, 111.
- (K82 SELLINDGE, Aldington, Kent, 1974–5)
S.A. Castle, 'The Sellindge (Aldington) Kent find 1974–1975', *BNJ* 45 (1975), 93.
- (K83 Uncertain, Midlands?)
A. Gunstone, 'A possible Civil War hoard of unknown provenance now in the Birmingham City Museum', *BNJ* 43 (1973), 145–6.
- K84 COMPTON WYNYATES, Warwickshire, June 1644
'5 or 6 earthen-pots of money', no details; found in a fish-pond, following the capture of Compton House. J. Vicars, *Gods Arke Overtopping the Worlds Waves* (London, 1646), 251.
- K85 SCRIVEN, North Yorkshire, late 1645?
AU, c.£40 0s. 0d., recovered from his house by its royalist owner, Sir Henry Slingsby, Bt, in a clandestine visit late in the Civil War. Deposited before July 1644. D. Parsons (ed.), *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Bart* (London, 1836), 173.
- K86 HARTLEY MAUDITT, Hampshire, March 1733
1,500 AU? In a pot; found by Sir Simon Stuart, field near house. Located using a memorandum found amongst old papers; said to have been hidden by his grandfather, Sir Nicholas Stuart, Bt 'in the time of the late Civil Wars'. H.E. Manville, 'Additions and corrections ... Part 1', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 91–113, at p. 105, quoting *GM* April 1733, 211.
- K87 GREAT BADDOW, Essex, April 1739
AR, 'a quarter of a peck', Mary–Charles I; found buried under a tree by a labourer, clearing a ditch, at Seabright in the parish of 'Boddow', near Chelmsford. CSB: *Derby Mercury*, 28 April 1739.
- K88 STOCKPORT, Cheshire, May 1755
21 AU, Philip and Mary–Charles I, 'several'/'a great many' AR, plate; found by men 'digging in a back yard'/'sinking a cellar' in Stockport. CSB: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 3 June 1755; *Derby Mercury*, 6 June 1755. Both accounts agree on

- sixteen silver spoons ('tipped with gold': *Leeds Intelligencer*); *Leeds Intelligencer*: a large silver salt and eight 'square stands on a pedestal'/ *Derby Mercury*: 'some silver cups, vases and other Antique pieces'. Total weight of silver 22 lb. (*Leeds Intelligencer*)/'the whole about twenty pounds weight' (*Derby Mercury*). Claimed by the 'lady belonging to the Manor'.
- K89 LEEDS, Yorkshire, May 1761
AR, about 6 lb weight, Edward VI–Charles I, in an old earthen jug, covered with a slate; found by workmen pulling down an old house near Timble Bridge, about 'half a yard' from the surface of the ground.
CSB: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 26 May 1761.
- K90 SANDFORD, Oxfordshire, May–June? 1762
AU and AR, James I and Charles I, said to be £2,000+; 'pulling down an old house.
?Sandford on Thames or ?Salford, near Chipping Norton: cf. K55 above, for a hoard found at 'Sanford, near Chipping-Norton' c.1793 [taken to be Salford], with a reference to another found next door 'about 25 years ago'.
CSB: *Ipswich Journal*, 12 June 1762.
- K91 LONDON, Broad St Giles, May–June 1766
A quantity of AR, said to be £100+; found by a master weaver, pulling down some old houses in Bowl Yard, near Broad St Giles.
No further details: 'supposed to have been secreted during the Civil Wars in the reign of King Charles I'.
CSB: *Derby Mercury*, 6 June 1766.
- K92 LICHFIELD, Staffordshire, February 1772
AU and AR, Charles I, around £10?; found by workmen 'among some rubble they had thrown into the street' during alterations to a house.
CSB: *Birmingham Gazette*, 17 February 1772.
- K93 WAREHAM, Dorset, July 1775
AU and AR, 'large quantity'; found by labourers working in a gravel pit near Wareham.
No details, but 'supposed to be buried there in the time of Oliver Cromwell'.
CSB: *Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal*, 28 July 1775.
- K94 INCE (Ellesmere Port), Cheshire, May 1778
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, £14+?, in an earthen jug; found by labourers digging in a field near a 'hedge cop'.
CSB: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 2 June 1778.
- K95 DUFFIELD, Derbyshire, November 1778
64 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in an old leather pocket; found in thatch, pulling down an old house near Duffield.
CSB: *Derby Mercury*, 13 November 1778.
- K96 BOSSALL, North Yorkshire, June 1779
29 AU of James I and Charles I, 22 AR chiefly Elizabeth and a silver medal of James I; found by servants 'going round' the moat at Bossall House, 'in the side of the bank ... nearly opposite the centre of the back kitchen.'
H. E Manville, 'Additions and corrections to Thompson's *Inventory* and Brown and Dolley's *Coin Hoards* – Part 1', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 91–113, at p.105, quoting *GM* 1823, ii, 305–6.
- K97 ACKWORTH, Wakefield (Yorkshire), June 1785
AR, 'upwards of two pounds weight', Elizabeth, Charles I '&c', in a 'rotten purse'; found pulling the thatch off an old house in order to enlarge it.
F: the coins described include 'several of Philip IV of Spain, rather larger than our crown pieces' (ducats?) and 'some of French coinage'.
See also H23, above; there are two Ackworths, High and Low, about 7½ miles/12 km ESE of Wakefield.
CSB: *Derby Mercury*, 16 June 1785.
- K98 NOTTINGHAM, Nottinghamshire, May 1790
AR, 'half a peck', Elizabeth, Charles I, shillings and half crowns, in a leather bag; found by workmen pulling down 'some old houses', in the thatch.
CSB: *Stamford Mercury*, 4 June 1790 (found 'On Thursday'). A much later account in the *Nottingham Guardian*, 22 May 1874 refers to a find of half a peck of silver coins of Elizabeth I and Charles I on 27 May 1786 in Nottingham, perhaps conflating this with the Willoughby find (K46, 'Nottingham (region)' in *ECWCH*). The same article refers to a find of coins 'probably from the description given of them' of the same period, in an iron box, embedded in a wall, also pulling down old buildings in Nottingham at an uncertain date.
- K99 WALTON, Merseyside (Lancashire), September–October 1790
1 AU, 1,000+ AR, 'chiefly' Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, Charles I, in an 'earthen mug'; found by men removing a large bank on the Walton Hall estate.
CSB: *York Herald*, 7 October 1790 (found 'last week').
- K100 OULTON (Otton), Stone, Staffordshire, March 1795
AR, 'a number', with 'gold rings and bracelets'; found by a 'poor working man' digging in an orchard.
No details, but dates of coins said to date burial 'during the Revolution, in the time of Charles I'.
CSB: *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 March 1795.
- K101 NEWICK, East Sussex, October 1800
300–400 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, 'shillings'; discovered in the wake of a fire which destroyed the house of 'Mr Kennard, a farmer'.
CSB: *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 3 November 1800.

- K102 RAVENSWORTH, North Yorkshire(?), December 1801
37 AR, 'mostly' Elizabeth I, James I, Charles I; found pulling down an old cottage at Loosing Hill near Ravensworth, concealed in the wall. Weight 'upwards of seven ounces' suggests a face value of £1 15s. 0d. to £2 0s. 0d. Two Ravensworths in NE: the other is Old Ravensworth, Gateshead (Durham). 'Loosing Hill' not found in either locality.
CSB: *Reading Mercury*, 21 December 1801.
- K103 KIBBLESWORTH, Durham, July 1807
A considerable number of AR of various denominations; found by workmen pulling down an old barn, secreted in a hole in the wall. 'It is conjectured that these coins have lain there ever since the civil war in the reign of Charles the 1st, as their dates are all prior to that event.'
CSB: *Newcastle Courant*, 1 August 1807.
- K104 CHELTENHAM, Gloucestershire, March 1808
1,400–1,500 AR, Edward VI–Charles I in an earthen pot 'which somewhat resembled a raising jar'; found within 16 inches of the surface by workmen digging a 'vault' in a small court at the back of 322 High Street.
CSB: *Kentish Gazette*, 1 April 1808.
- K105 ORLESTONE, near Ashford, Kent, February 1809
400+ AR, Philip and Mary James I, in a jar or pitcher; found ploughing in former woodland, cleared by its then owner, Mr Howland.
CSB: *Kentish Gazette*, 21 February 1809. No mention of Charles, but size suitable as Civil War deposit.
- K106 WAUDBY, East Yorkshire, June 1809
190 AR, Philip and Mary–Charles I; found by two labourers, digging under a manure heap.
CSB: *Hull Packet*, 7 June 1809; Briggs 2012, no. 4.
- K107 HUTTON, Westmoreland(?), May 1811
150(?) AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found in a wall. F: 'Spanish dollars of Philip IV' (2). 'Hutton, near Burton-in-Kendal' could signify Hutton Roof (Cumbria) or Priest Hutton (Lancs.), each approx. 2 miles/3 km away to the east and south, respectively.
CSB: *Lancaster Gazette*, 1 June 1811.
- K108 SLEDDALE (Shap), Cumbria (Westmoreland), July 1813
About a dozen AR, Elizabeth and Charles I; found removing the rubbish of an old building at 'Steddall' (Sleddale) Hall, described as 'near Kendal'.
CSB: *Lancaster Gazette*, 21 July 1813.
- K109 DUNSTABLE, Bedfordshire, March 1815
A few AU and a quantity of AR, Edward VI–Charles I, half crowns, shillings and sixpences, supposed about two quarts, no container; found (and appropriated) by labourers clearing away rubbish after a fire at the Saracen's Head, Dunstable, in October 1814.
CSB: *Northampton Mercury*, 11 March 1815.
- K110 HAVANT, Hampshire, January 1815
10 AR, Elizabeth and Charles I; found by the Havant sexton, digging a grave in the churchyard. Coins of Elizabeth probably shillings.
CSB: *Morning Chronicle*, 19 January 1815.
- K111 COTGRAVE, Nottinghamshire, May(?) 1815
127 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in a black pot; found by a man 'lowering a causeway, by the side of a stable' a few inches below the surface. Half crowns, shillings and sixpences. F: 'Spanish dollar', dated 1637.
CSB: *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 5 June 1815.
- K112 BOURNE, Lincolnshire, April(?) 1821
14 AU: Henry VIII, Elizabeth, James I, Charles I; found with three gold rings in the foundations of a building demolished to provide the site for a Sessions House.
CSB: *Stamford Mercury*, 4 May 1821.
- K113 STAFFORD (Broadeye), Staffordshire, May 1821
AR, about £20? in a large jar; found by workmen in the cellar of an old house during rebuilding. Not certainly a Civil War hoard: report describes 'old silver coins, consisting of half-crowns, shillings and sixpences'.
CSB: *The Examiner*, 13 May 1821.
- K114 CAMBRIDGE, Bene't Street, Cambridgeshire, June 1825
195 AU, James I and Charles I and 3,510 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, the two metals in separate pots; found by workmen in cellar of an old house, digging foundations for a house next to the Eagle in Bene't St. The gold and silver were valued at the inquest (10 Feb 1826) at £130 3s. 0d. and £70 0s. 5½d. respectively.
Contents: 'The Gold Coins are of the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.; and consist of Sceptres, Broads, Units, Double-Crowns, Crowns, and Half-Crowns. The Silver Coins are of the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I.; and consist of Half-Crowns, Shillings, Sixpences, and smaller denomination' (*Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 16/23 November 1827); '... and minor coins, even to silver halfpence' (*London Standard*, 21 November 1827).
S: James VI, Sword and sceptre pieces (2).
M. Allen and C.S. Briggs, 'The Bene't Street, Cambridge, hoard of gold and silver coins of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I', *BNJ* 83, 207–13, analyse the contents of the hoard based on the auction catalogue of 27 November 1827.
CSB: *The Derby Mercury*, 8 June 1825; *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 10 June 1825, gives location; *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 10 February 1826 reports inquest and size of

- hoard; *The London Standard*, 21 November 1827, *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 16 and 23 November 1827 for forthcoming auction (27 November). Widely reported.
- K115 LEDBURY, Herefordshire, October 1825
76 AR, most of them Charles I, in the remains of a bag; found by a man 'digging' near Ledbury. CSB: *Hereford Journal*, 12 October 1825.
- K116 NOTTINGHAM, Nottinghamshire, May–June 1825
64 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found by workmen taking down a house.
Two half crowns, the rest shillings and sixpences. CSB: *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 June 1825.
- K117 SHEPTON MALLET, Somerset, July 1826
23 AR, Edward VI, Elizabeth–Charles I; found pulling down an old house, concealed between the rafters and the thatch.
Omitted from *ECWCH* because the *Gentleman's Magazine* account gives 'Charles II'; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 'Charles I'; the wording of the two accounts is otherwise identical. Provisionally a Civil War hoard.
EP 78; *GM* 1826, ii, 70; CSB: *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 27 July 1826.
- K118 ARUNDEL, West Sussex, November 1829
16 AR: Elizabeth, Charles I; found by sexton digging a grave in the churchyard.
From the description of size, perhaps two sixpences of Elizabeth and 14 shillings of Charles I. CSB: *Sussex Advertiser*, 23 November 1829.
- K119 CHARD, Somerset, May 1831
AU, James I, Charles I, in an 'urn'; found by the gardener at Leigh House, near Chard, digging out the root of an old tree in the garden.
Initially reported (26 May) as Roman ('between five and six hundred pounds worth of the Emperor Claudius'), a second report corrected this to English coins of James I and Charles I. CSB: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 26 May and 2 June 1831.
- K120 LAUNCESTON, Cornwall, August 1832
About 50 AR, 'sixpences, shillings and half crowns, plastered up in the middle of the wall of a pig's sty'; found by a labouring boy in 'pulling down several old houses adjoining the venerable ruins at Launceston Castle'.
CSB: *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* 18 August 1832. No reigns are mentioned, but the article speculates a civil war deposit, which seems likely.
- K121 DITCHLING, East Sussex, February 1832
9 AU, James I and Charles I, with 12 silver spoons; found by a labourer grubbing up the root of a tree, former copse or woodland on Ditchling Common.
S: James VI, sword and sceptre piece (or fraction), 1602 (1).
- CSB: *Morning Post*, 22 February 1832, citing *Sussex Advertiser*.
- K122 ABERGAVENNY area, Monmouthshire, April? 1833
AU, Henry VIII, James VI and I, Charles I (plus two gold rings and silver coins?); no details of finding.
S: James VI, before English accession (1), presumably a sword and sceptre piece or fraction. The report appears to describe a civil war gold hoard, without specifying this to be the case, or whether the other objects mentioned were associated. For another gold coin of Henry VIII in a civil-war context, see Tregwynt, J10 above.
CSB: *Hereford Times*, 28 April 1833.
- K123 ABINGDON, Oxfordshire (Berkshire), 1834
25 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, mostly shillings; shaken out of an old oak post, perhaps 'part of a chimney' by workmen removing part of an 'old building' at the wharf.
CSB: *Oxford Journal*, 17 May 1834.
- K124 PUDSEY, Yorkshire, December 1834
About 360 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found by the owner of a house under rebuilding, following chance discovery of a coin of Elizabeth by a workman removing rubbish from the interior of the house. Further searching revealed the coins hidden within a wall.
The find was said to include twenty half crowns, the remainder shillings and sixpences.
CSB: *Hull Packet*, 12 December 1834; Briggs 2012, no. 12.
- K125 HATLEY ST GEORGE, Cambridgeshire, March 1835
AR, a large quantity, in an earthen jar; found by William King, a labourer, in scouring out a ditch. Coins 'presumed to have been buried during the civil wars'.
CSB: *Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette*, 7 March 1835; *Hertford Mercury and Reformer*, 10 March 1835.
- K126 WHENBY, North Yorkshire, July 1835
AR. James I and Charles I, in a coarse earthen pot; found by two labourers stubbing up an old hedge.
CSB: *Yorkshire Gazette*, 1 August 1835; Briggs 2012, no 14.
- K127 EXETER (King John Tavern, South Street), November 1835
About 30 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; 'dug up behind the site of this old house'.
'Also, a siege piece of Charles.'
CSB: *Western Telegraph*, 28 November 1835.
- K128 BLANDFORD, Dorset, March 1838
A quantity of AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in an earthen vessel; found a few miles from Blandford while digging to erect a post.

- CSB: *Trewman's Journal and Exeter Flying Post*, 22 March 1838.
- K129 CLAUGHTON (?), Lancashire, September 1838
4 AR, £0 5s. 6d.; found in the gable end wall of an old house, during demolition.
Elizabeth I 1/- (1); James I 1/- (2); Charles I 2/6d (1).
CSB: *Preston Chronicle*, 15 September 1838, 22 June 1839; similar accounts: no find spot is mentioned, though by June 1839 the coins were 'in the possession of Mr Anthony Cardwell, of Claughton, near this town'. There are two Claughtons in present-day Lancashire; the one referred to lies around 12 km north of Preston.
- K130 BARNWELL, Northamptonshire, October–November 1840
AU and AR? In a small iron chest; discovered by labourers working in a small quarry.
No further details: many 'supposed by antiquarians to be the gold and silver of Charles I and Cromwell ... hidden away during the wars which took place in the reign of that unfortunate monarch'.
CSB: *Manchester Times*, 6 November 1840.
- K131 LONDON (Temple Bar), April 1842
Several 'apparently gold coins of the reign of Charles I' found digging the new sewer near the foundation of Temple Bar.
CSB: *Sussex Advertiser*, 26 April 1842.
- K132 FARNHAM, Surrey, April 1843
50–60+ AR, 'Elizabeth and James'; disturbed in the digging of a grave in the churchyard.
There is no mention of Charles, but the greater proportion of the coins 'is in half crowns, but there are some shillings'.
CSB: *Morning Post*, 21 April 1843.
- K133 SEACOMBE/EGREMONT, Merseyside (Cheshire), October 1846
20 AU of Charles I; found with a skeleton by workmen cutting a new road from Seacombe to Egremont.
CSB: *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 31 October 1846.
- K134 BASLOW, Derbyshire, October 1846
4 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found by the sexton, William Marples, digging a grave in Baslow churchyard.
S: Charles I, twenty pence (1).
CSB: *Derby Mercury*, 4 November 1846.
- K135 ANDOVER, Hampshire, September 1846
'Several' AU, James I and Charles I, wrapped in ?linen; found by a carpenter pulling down the mantelpiece of an old fireplace of a house in High Street. Reported size suggests laurels/20s.
CSB: *Morning Post*, 17 September 1846 and *Hereford Times*, 3 October 1846, where the find is rumoured to number nearly 100 coins.
- K136 MIDHURST, West Sussex, April 1846
AR, a quantity, Edward IV (*sic*), Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, Charles I, in an 'earthen crock'; found by a bricklayer digging a drain.
CSB: *Hampshire Advertiser*, 2 May 1846.
- K137 GLOUCESTER, Gloucestershire, September 1847
100–200 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in a wooden box; found by a workman employed by Mr Niblett, builder, digging a hole for a new sawpit at Mr Niblett's yard. The finder disposed of some to a silversmith at 4s. 6d. per ounce before the owner of the land, with police assistance, claimed the find.
CSB: *Hampshire Chronicle*, 25 September 1847, quoting *Gloucester Journal*.
- K138 DONCASTER, South Yorkshire, April 1847
'AU' gilt lead counterfeits, unknown number, including two 'pounds' of Elizabeth I and a 1643 'Oxford twenty shillings' of Charles I; found in an old tenon hole in a beam during alterations to the King's Arms in St Sepulchregate.
CSB: *The Times*, 19 April 1847, citing *Doncaster Chronicle*; Briggs 2012, no. 27.
- K139 CHURCH KIRK, Whalley, Lancashire, November 1848
AR, Charles I; found by labourers, digging drains in a field belonging to the Rev. J. Birchall, about a yard below the surface.
CSB: *Blackburn Standard*, 29 November 1848; few details, though the description 'Auspice Christo' establishes the coins as silver.
- K140 LADOCK, Cornwall, February 1849
A number of AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found by a labourer in rooting up oak stumps in a wood near Ladock.
CSB: *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 2 March 1849.
- K141 TENBURY, Worcestershire, May–June 1849
400+ AR, Edward VI–Charles I, half crowns, shillings and sixpences, in a lead box, under a stone; found by workmen erecting a building in the yard adjoining the Swan Tavern, excavating 'a hole', about half a yard from the surface.
CSB: *Worcester Chronicle*, 6 June 1849; *Worcester Journal*, 7 June 1849. Also *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 8 June 1849 (information from E.J. Priestley, 1984: listed in *ECWCH*, 114, M6 as a 'possible' hoard of the period because no mention of Charles I in that account).
- K142 OXFORD(?), Oxfordshire, 1850
AR, a number, chiefly Charles I; found by a labourer beneath the floor of an outhouse lately 'occupied as a stable'.
Location not specified, taken to be Oxford.
CSB: *Oxford Journal*, 30 November 1850.
- K143 ST PAUL'S WALDEN, Hertfordshire, June 1851
602 AR, Edward VI–Charles I, weighing 10 lb. Troy (£25–30 as old silver); found by labourers

- 'stubbing down an old stiff' clay bank' near Bendish Wood.
CSB: *Newcastle Courant*, 5 July 1851.
- K144 **BOROUGHBRIDGE**, North Yorkshire, June 1851
9 AU, James I and Charles I, £8 13s. 0d., in a piece of folded lead; found by a tinner's son, in the Tut Brook, near Boroughbridge.
The HP report describes four Unites and two Laurels of James I, two twenty shillings and one crown (5s) of Charles I.
CSB: *Hull Packet*, 11 July 1851; *Leeds Mercury*, 26 July 1851; Briggs 2012, no 33.
- K145 **HARMONDSWORTH**, West London(?), March 1852
AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in a small box; found by labourers grubbing a hedge on land occupied by Mr Thomas Parker, of 'Harmsworth'.
CSB: *Hampshire Advertiser*, 13 March 1852; reference to 'one and two shilling and half-crown pieces' ('sixpences, shillings and half crowns').
- K146 **ALNE**, North Yorkshire, May 1853
82 AR, mainly shillings Elizabeth–Charles I, in a linen bag; found by workmen removing the thatch of an old farmhouse.
Value of 78 coins as old silver given as £3 2s. 6d. Reference to coins of four reigns suggests Edward VI or Philip and Mary possibly also present.
CSB: *Yorkshire Gazette*, 14 May 1853; Briggs 2012, no. 35.
- K147 **BRERETONHILL**, Staffordshire, autumn 1856
28 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; from the debris of an old cottage taken down around 1854, found 'within a few weeks back when it was carted away for manuring an adjacent field'.
Information Paul Robinson, quoting *Sussex Advertiser*, 25 October 1856.
- K148 **GALGATE** ('Golgate'), Lancashire, before 1855
62 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found 'some years ago' by a person, in 'putting down an old wall'. Sold to a local silversmith after the finder's death.
CSB: *Lancaster Gazette*, 17 March 1855; Galgate, about 3½ m/5 km south of Lancaster.
- K149 **MANSFIELD**, Nottinghamshire, May 1855
AR, large quantity, principally Elizabeth and Charles I; found by workmen digging a drain on the 'newly erected premises of the Mansfield Brewery Company, in Littleworth', about a foot below the surface.
Half crowns, shillings and sixpences; gold also mentioned but not confirmed.
CSB: *Morning Post*, 2 June 1855, quoting *Nottingham Journal*.
- K150 **WINGERWORTH**, Derbyshire, September 1856
58 AR, Edward VI–Charles I, sixpences and shillings; found by 'ironstone getters' levelling ground at Speighthill, Wingersworth.
CSB: *Morning Post and Liverpool Daily Post*, 22 September 1856, quoting *Derby Courier*; the coins were sold to a local watchmaker for the price of old silver (5s. 3d. per ounce) and the men repaired to the Compasses Inn to celebrate.
- K151 **COSBY**, Leicestershire, June? 1859
4 AR, £0 2s. 8d.(?); no details of finding.
A possible small hoard comprising two shillings (Tun, Woolpack) and one sixpence ('mint mark a bird': a groat, m.m. Martlet?) of Elizabeth I and a half groat of Charles I, exhibited at the Leicester Architectural and Archaeological Society by Mr G.C. Bellairs.
CSB: *Leicester Mercury*, 9 July 1859.
- K152 **CHORLTON CUM HARDY**, Greater Manchester (Cheshire), May 1860
1,000(?) AR, Philip and Mary–Charles I, in an 'old jar'; found in a garden.
CSB: *Birmingham Daily Post*, 23 May 1860; *Lancaster Gazette*, 2 June 1860.
- K153 **OSBORNE**, Isle of Wight, December 1860?
AU?
'An *on dit* is going the rounds, that a lucky gardener, has put his pickaxe into the immense treasure of guineas, secreted during the Civil Wars, by a Mr Mann, the Rothschild of the day ...'
CSB: *Worcester Journal*, 5 January 1861. This refers to a well-known local treasure legend; the hoard has apparently yet to be found (2012).
- K154 **DARWEN**, Blackburn (Lancashire), January 1861
200+ AR, 'of different values'; found during demolition of some 'ancient buildings'.
CSB: *Preston Guardian*, 2 February 1861. Not certainly a Civil War deposit; the only reign identified is 'Jacobus'.
- K155 **GRANTHAM**, Lincolnshire, June/July 1862
'Several' AR; 'dug up' in the neighbourhood. Possibly two small hoards, one comprising shillings of Edward VI, James I and Charles I, the other groats of Henry VI and Edward IV.
CSB: *Gloucester Journal*, 12 July 1862; taken to be distinct from the 1865 Grantham hoard (K24).
- K156 **SOUTHAMPTON**, Hampshire, 1862
A 'very large number' AR, half crowns of Charles I and some of James I; dug up near Southampton.
CSB: *Manchester Times*, 28 June 1862. Possibly a very belated reference to F10 (Idsworth, near Horndean), found the previous year?

- K157 TONG, West Yorkshire, August–September 1863
39 AU, found by a person ‘ferreting’ for rabbits. Not certainly a Civil War hoard: there are no details of rulers, coins described as ‘about the size of a half-crown’. The report speculates that they had been buried during the civil wars. CSB notes that Tong lies immediately east of Adwalton Moor, site of a regionally significant battle on 30 June 1643.
CSB: *Bradford Observer*, 12 September 1863.
- K158 BECKINGTON, Somerset, November 1865
About 300 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found pulling down a wall ‘on the property of D. Joyce, Esq’.
L/R: ‘the latest is of the date 1644’; this is likely to be the Bristol shilling dated 1644, *SCBI* 19, 203 ‘found at Beckington, Somerset’ (Bristol City Museum, ex Lockett 4568 and Evans), though it may not in itself date the hoard.
CSB: *Stamford Mercury*, 1 December 1865.
- K159 LICHFIELD, Staffordshire, March 1868
208 AR, Elizabeth–Charles I; found by ‘labourers’ at the back of a house in Conduit Street.
CSB: *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 26 March 1868; *Bristol Mercury*, 4 April 1868; the first account refers to ‘bricklayers ... repairing a house’, the second to the local coroner intending to hold an ‘inquisition of treasure trove’.
- K160 FARNHAM Essex, July 1869
AU, James I and Charles I, ‘ten and twenty shilling pieces’, in a ‘box’; found by two workmen excavating to make a new road at Capt. Gosling’s new mansion at Hassobury, in Farnham parish. The men, George Wright and Thomas Ready, were bailed after being charged with appropriating the coins for their own use, selling some in Bishop Stortford and in London, hiding others.
CSB: *Coventry Herald*, 23 July 1869.
- K161 BLYTON, Lincolnshire, March 1872
37 AR, c.£1 10s. 0d.–£1 15s. 0d.; found by workmen pulling down an old building, between the wall plate and the thatched roof.
32 coins summarized: Elizabeth 1/– (3), 6d (13); James I 1/– (5), 6d (1); Charles I 2/6 (2), 1/– (8); dates of all sixpences given.
CSB: *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 16 March 1872.
- K162 YORK, North Yorkshire, June–July 1872
2 AU, £2 0s. 0d.; no details of finding, except that the coins had been ‘deposited in the earth’.
James I, laurel (1); Charles I, twenty shillings, privy-mark Anchor (1) (1628–9 or 1638–9).
CSB: *Leeds Mercury*, 6 July 1872.
- K163 UPTON UPON SEVERN, Worcestershire, January 1878
‘About 800’ AR, Elizabeth–Charles I, in a ‘pitcher’; found by workmen digging a foundation for an extension to a house, ‘underneath the parlour window, about a foot below the surface’.
‘Buckwich, near Upton upon Severn’: place not found.
The weight of the coins given as 9 lb. 8 oz. avoirdupois (of the order of £35–40).
CSB: *Worcester Journal*, 16 January 1878.
- K164 LAZENBY, Cleveland (Yorkshire), August–September 1879
About 150 AR, Charles I, shillings and other denominations; found by a workman excavating for a new main drain through the village, about two feet from the surface.
A shilling with p.m. Anchor is described.
CSB: *Daily Gazette for Middlesborough*, 8 September 1879; *The Northern Echo*, 10 and 12 September 1879.
- K165 LONDON WALL, City of London, April 1881
288 AU and AR, mostly Charles I, and plate including a ‘reliquary containing hair and a goblet’ in a leather ‘bag or trunk’; found forming a new drain.
CSB: *Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, 30 April 1881.
- K166 DONNINGTON, Berkshire, before 1888
A brief reference to a hoard found previously in the Park Field at Donnington, ‘the coins no doubt having been concealed during the civil wars’.
CSB: *Reading Mercury*, 15 December 1888 (report of Great Shefford hoard, K25).
- K167 SHIPLEY, Derbyshire, September 1890
Several hundred AR, in a red clay urn about twelve inches high; found by navvies excavating new railway at Shipley, near Ilkeston.
CSB: *Glasgow Herald*, 28 September 1890 and *Sheffield Independent*, 29 September 1890 (‘near Heanor’); no details, but *Glasgow Herald* account describes coins of ‘various shapes, the dates of which showed they had been buried quite 200 years’. Not certainly a Civil War hoard.
- K168 BARNACK, Peterborough (Lincolnshire), April 1892
3(+) AU, unknown number AR; no details of discovery.
Gold coins mentioned: Henry VIII, angel; ‘half sovereigns’ of Edward VI and James I; silver, Edward VI–Charles I.
CSB: *Nottingham Evening Post*, 18 April 1892.
- K169 SHEPSHED, Leicestershire, August 1893
1 AU, ‘a number’ AR, James I, Charles I; found in removing soil in the stackyard at Bunker’s Hill Farm.
The gold coin likely a Unite or laurel of James I; silver probably half crowns, shillings and sixpences. The text refers also to James II, taken here to be a misprint or error for James I.
CSB: *Leicester Chronicle*, 19 August 1893.

- K170 BRENTFORD, Middlesex, 1917?
'Large number' AR(?) James I and Charles I, pot hoard; found while digging an allotment. No further details.
'Treasure found at Brentford', *JBAA* 73 (1917), 191.
- K171 EASBY ABBEY, North Yorkshire, November 1981
14 AR, £0 7s. 0d.+; m/d find in the roots of a (recent) tree.
Included Elizabeth 6d (7); Charles I 1/- (2), 6d (3).
L: said to date from 1643: one shilling 'N2231 or 2232 'heavily clipped'.
Returned to finders after being found not to be treasure trove; subsequently stolen from Richmondshire Museum. Coins said to be worn, so this may be a later deposit.
Unpublished; details supplied by L.P. Wenham, *in litt.*, 4 Sept 1987.
- K172 TIDCOMBE, Wiltshire, date unknown
A possible Civil War hoard.
R: Oxford 1/- 1644 (1); a coin sold at Bonhams, 17 October 2006, 1428, accompanied by a ticket 'ex Tidcombe find' (not mentioned in catalogue). Information supplied by M.B. Sharp to EB.
- L: Hoards closing with issues of the Commonwealth of England (1649–60)**
- L1 SOHAM, Cambridgeshire, August 1985
501 AR, £25 0s. 7d., in a saltglaze stoneware vessel; digging foundations for a new house.
L: 1/- 1649 (2).
S: James VI merks (3), 30/- (1); Charles I 12/- (1).
I: James I 1/- (5), 6d (1).
F: Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, ½-reals (3). *ECWCH*, 45–8.
- L2 GLOUCESTER, May 1952
140 AR, £4 11s. 0d., in a cloth bag; found below a flagged floor by workmen clearing site of the Old Royal Oak Inn yard, Westgate Street.
L: 1/- 1653 (1), 1652 (1); 6d 1652 (1).
R: Oxford 6d 1643 (1).
S: James VI merks (2).
I: James I 1/- (5), 6d (4).
EQ 1; R.H. Dolley, 'Gloucester Treasure Trove', *NC* 1952, 122–4.
- L3 LAUGHTON, Sussex, April 1959
524 AR, £63 1s. 0d., in a Bellarmine-type stoneware jar; found working in a field.
L: 2/6 1656 (5).
R (all 2/6): Oxford 1642 (1), Exeter nd (1), Chester (CHST) (1), 'Chester nd (1); HC (1).
S: James I 30/- (4).
492 of the coins are half crowns.
EQ 2; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports XVI–XX centuries', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 138–45, at p. 142.
- L4 STAINTON-BY-LANGWORTH, Lincolnshire, April 1962
660 AR, £34 18s. 6d.; spoil from a newly-dug ditch.
L: 2/6 1656 (1), 1/- 1656 (5); Aberystwyth 6d (1).
R: Oxford 1/- 1643 (1), 1644 (1); Exeter 2/6 nd 1).
S: James I 30/- (1), 12/- (2).
EQ 3; J.P.C. Kent, 'Hoard reports XVI–XX centuries', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 138–45, at pp. 141–2.
- L5 THEYDON MOUNT, Essex, June 1977
365 AR, £22 6s. 0d., in a stoneware pot; m/d find in High Wood, Toothill at intersection of two paths.
L: 1/- 1656 (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (2).
S: James I, 30/- (2).
J.P.C. Kent, *Coin Hoards* IV (1978), no. 387.
- L6 LANGHAM, Suffolk, 1857
Nearly 1,000 AR, Elizabeth–Commonwealth.
EQ4; *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* iii (1860–3), 396.
- L7 LONDON, Stepney, August 1770
A 'large hoard of Commonwealth coin'.
EQ6; *GM* 1770, 391.
- L8 LONG CRENDON, Buckinghamshire, March–April 1885
210 AU, 846 AR, £179 7s. 6d. approx; digging foundations on the site of a former stable (which itself post-dated burial of the hoard).
L: Commonwealth 2/6, unspecified (1).
R: Oxford 2/6 1643 (1); 1/- 1643 (1), 1644 (1).
S: James VI unit (1), sword and sceptre pieces (11), ½-sword and sceptre pieces (2); Charles I 12/- (1).
F: 'Belgic Confederation, double ducat 1616' (1); 'Austrian Belgium, ducat 1600' (1).
EQ5; C.F. K(eary), 'Find of coins at Long Crendon, Bucks', *NC* 1885, 333–8; *The Thame Gazette*, 21 and 28 April 1885 (for details of finding).
- L9 SALISBURY, Wiltshire, October 1777
200 AR, James I, Charles I, Commonwealth, in a catskin bag; found in taking up an old floor during repairs to a house.
L: Commonwealth, unspecified.
P.H. Robinson, *Coin Hoards* V (1979), no. 302, quoting *Salisbury Journal* (?) undated cutting; CSB: *Oxford Journal*, 11 October 1777.
- L10 UCKINGTON, Gloucestershire, February 1995
12 AR, £0 12s. 0d.; m/d find in field near hedge.
L: 1/- 1656 (1), 1653 (1).
B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 146–72, at p. 156.
- L11 LONDON, Blackfriars Bridge, 1995
1,582 AR, £94 5s. 0d.; m/d find from bed of River Thames.

- L: 2/6 1660 (6), 1/- 1660 (5).
 R: Oxford 2/6 1642 (1), 1644 (1), 1/- 1643 (1); Bristol 2/6 1645 (1), 1/- 1644 (1); 'Late Declaration' 2/6 1646 (1); Exeter 2/6 1644 (1); Chester 2/6 nd (1); W series 2/6 (1); HC 2/6 (1). Also Dyfi Furnace 2/6 (1).
 S: James I 6/- (1); Charles I 30/- (2), 6/- (1).
 B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 146–72, at pp. 157–72; [M.B. Sharp] Baldwin's Auction 14, 13 October 1997, lots 312–595. (Total and face value taken from sale: coins auctioned included some additional to *BNJ* report; some inconsistencies, e.g. Scottish coins.)
- L12 ABBOTSHAM, Devon, August 2001
 9 AU, 426 AR, £23 3s. 10½d., in a glazed handled pot; found digging foundations alongside an existing stable wall at a farmhouse.
 L: 1/- 1653 (2); Aberystwyth 2/6 (1).
 R: Bristol 1/- 1645 (1).
 I: James I, 1/- (7), 6d (3).
 F: Spanish America, Philip IV, 8-reales Potosi (1); Mexico (1).
 B.J. Cook, 'New hoards from seventeenth-century England II', *BNJ* 72 (2002), 95–114, at pp. 106–14.
- L13 STONE IN OXNEY, Kent, March 2008
 5 AR, £0 1s. 6d.; m/d find.
 L: Commonwealth half groat (1) [corrects *TAR*].
 L. Burnett and B. Cook, *Portable Antiquities and Treasure Annual Report 2008*, 228, no. 621.
- L14 LONDON, Thames below Bridge, September 1788
 AR, unknown number, Elizabeth, Charles I, 'Oliver Cromwell' in a box; brought up by workmen employed by Trinity House, raising ballast.
 CSB: *Derby Mercury*, 11 September 1788.
- L15 TREETON, Sheffield, South Yorkshire, May 1805
 About 50 AR, Edward VI–Commonwealth, chiefly shillings and sixpences of Elizabeth and Charles I; found by workmen among the rubbish from pulling down an old building.
 L: Commonwealth 1/- (1).
 CSB: *Lancaster Gazette*, 1 June 1805.
- L16 SWINESHEAD, Lincolnshire, October 1833
 2 AR, in an old tin box; found levelling some rubbish in an old building.
 A coronation medalet of Charles I and a Commonwealth half groat.
 CSB: *York Herald*, 26 October 1833; hardly a 'hoard', perhaps, but an unusual association. The two pieces are faithfully described.
- L17 KILBURN, London, October 1844
 Several gold, silver and copper coins, including some of the reign of Oliver Cromwell; found by a farmer ploughing a field at Kilburn adjoining the London and Birmingham Railroad.
 CSB: *The Times*, 17 October 1844.
- L18 CLECKHEATON, Yorkshire, before 1851
 122 AR, Henry VIII–Commonwealth, in a small red earthenware jar with black glaze; no details of finding.
 L: Commonwealth 1/- (2), 2d (2), 1d (3).
 S: James VI, ½-merk (1).
 I: Henry VIII, groat (1).
 F: Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella reals(?) (2).
 The hoard included significant numbers of smaller denominations: threepences (Elizabeth), half groats and pence (James I and Charles I) in addition to the Commonwealth examples.
 CSB: *Huddersfield Chronicle* and *Leeds Intelligencer*, 13 December 1851; Briggs 2012, no 34, citing details from 1855 article by William Boyne.
- L19 CLECKHEATON, Yorkshire, December 1861
 100 AR, Mary–Commonwealth, weighing 8 oz. 3 dwt. (face value of the order of £2), in an earthen jar; found by a farmer digging in the corner of a field.
 About 65 coins identified: Mary (1 or 2), Elizabeth (24), James I (11), Charles I (22), Commonwealth (6); plus many worn and unidentified 'smaller pieces'.
 L: Commonwealth 1/- 1653 (2), 6d 1653 (1), 2d (2), 1d (1).
 This find is very similar in size and general composition to L18, above; conceivably the two are the same, but differences of detail in the Commonwealth element and the lack of any mention of Scottish, Irish or foreign elements in what is otherwise a detailed account of the 1861 find suggest that they should be treated separately.
 CSB: *Bradford Observer*, 19 December 1861; Briggs 2012, no. 38.
- L20 PEAK FOREST, Derbyshire, April 1885
 AR, a number, 'from the time of Oliver Cromwell'; found by a tenant farmer digging in fields on the Duke of Devonshire's estates at Peak Forest.
 CSB: *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald*, 18 April 1885.
- L21 DENBY/BARNSLEY, West Yorkshire, October 1888
 50 AR, shillings, sixpences and groats; found by a farmer stubbing a hedge.
 The report refers to sixpences bearing dates 1623 and 1652; it refers to a similar discovery made 'two years ago' (=D4).
 CSB: *Leeds Times*, 13 October 1888.
- L22 BRIGHTWALTON, Berkshire, 'some years' before 1889
 AR, Charles I and Commonwealth, in a pot; found buried beneath farm yard at Southend Farm, Brightwalton, near Newbury.
 CSB: *Reading Mercury*, 15 December 1888.

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THE BENE'T STREET, CAMBRIDGE, HOARD OF GOLD AND SILVER COINS OF ELIZABETH I, JAMES I AND CHARLES I

MARTIN ALLEN AND C. STEPHEN BRIGGS

IN recent years the digitization of newspaper archives from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has made available a major new source of information on finds of coins and other archaeological artefacts in Britain and Ireland. Since 2005 one of the authors (CSB) has put together a large collection of information from this source, including over 1,350 coin hoards found in the British Isles. The collection of this information has enabled the publication of forty-three newsprint accounts of post-Roman Yorkshire hoards, thirty-five of them previously unknown in the numismatic literature.¹ This resource of neglected information also includes the seventeenth-century hoard found in Bene't Street, Cambridge, in 1825, discussed here.² In addition to the newspaper accounts of the discovery and disposal of this hoard, which are transcribed in the Appendix, there is much useful information in the archives of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and a copy of an auction catalogue for the sale of the hoard survives in Cambridge University Library.³

The newspaper accounts of the discovery and disposal of the Bene't Street hoard in 1825–27 consist of four short articles, each of which was reprinted by at least one newspaper other than its original source (as was common practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and an advertisement for the auction of the hoard.⁴ The earliest account of the discovery, which seems to have first appeared in *The Derby Mercury* on 8 June 1825, stated that about 200 gold coins and 3,000–4,000 silver coins had been found in two pots under the foundation of a house in Cambridge.⁵ On 10 June *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* added the information that the house was in Bene't Street, next to the Eagle (which is now one of the most well-known public houses in Cambridge).⁶ A much longer article first published in *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* on 11 February 1826 is considerably more informative about the discovery, and it provides an account of the subsequent Coroner's inquest.⁷ We learn that the hoard was found by William Smith and Stephen Woodcock in the cellar of the house, during its demolition, on 3 June 1825. A '[c]onsiderable scramble took place among the workmen', but Mr J. Howell, the building contractor for Corpus Christi College (who owned the house and the Eagle next door) managed to secure 195 gold coins and 3,510 silver coins. These were divided between Mr Balls, on behalf of Mr Howell, and the Bursar of the College, and all of the coins were eventually deposited in Mortlocks Bank in Cambridge. At the inquest the hoard was claimed by the Corporation of Cambridge and by the Treasury on behalf of the Crown, and it was redeposited in Mortlocks Bank pending a decision by the Court of King's Bench. An article published in *The Ipswich Journal* and *The Northampton Chronicle* on 24 November 1827 reveals that the Crown eventually secured possession of the hoard, but

Acknowledgements. The authors would like to thank Dr Elisabeth Leedham Green for her very generous provision of material from the archives of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Dr Lucilla Burn for bringing the auction catalogue of the Bene't Street hoard to the attention of Martin Allen, and Dr Gary Oddie for information on John Chaplyn (see n.23). Photographs for illustration have been supplied by Dr Leedham Green (Fig. 2) and Andrew Woods (Fig. 1).

¹ Briggs 2012.

² The Bene't Street hoard is not included in the corpus of English and Welsh hoards of 1625–60 in Besly 1987, 75–115. It is K114 in Besly and Briggs 2013, this volume.

³ Anon. 1827 [in 'Tracts Relating to Cambridge', Cambridge University Library, cam.c.500.27.]

⁴ Briggs 2012, 278.

⁵ Appendix, no. 1.

⁶ Appendix, no. 2. The Eagle is perhaps best known for the graffiti of Second World War bomber crews on a bar ceiling, and as the place where Francis Crick and James Watson announced their discovery of the structure of DNA to fellow lunchtime drinkers in 1953.

⁷ Appendix, no. 3.

that this was relinquished to Corpus Christi College in return for the payment of fees said to amount to £122.⁸ This article refers to an impending auction of the coins, and an advertisement placed in *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* and *The Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette* informed readers that the auction would take place in the Large Room in Trinity Street, Cambridge, on 27 November 1827.⁹

In 1831 John Lamb, who was the Master of Corpus Christi College from 1822 to 1850, published an account of the discovery and disposal of the hoard which deserves to be quoted in full:¹⁰

During the building of the College [viz. New Court], a tenement was added on to the west of the Eagle Inn, and the whole new pointed with Ketton-stone. A curious circumstance occurred in digging the foundations of this new part. The workmen found about a foot below the surface of an old cellar, two earthenware jars, containing coins; one between four and five thousand pieces of silver, of all sizes from a farthing to a crown, none of later date than the reign of Charles I: the other about two hundred pieces of gold of the same period. The finding of this treasure occasioned much dispute among the different claimants. The workmen who discovered it, the master mason, the corporation, and the College, each put up a claim, and until the matter could be settled, the prize was sealed up and deposited in the bank. The solicitor of the treasury put an end to all disputes by seizing it for the crown, as “*treasure trove*”. It was finally given, by the Lords of the treasury, to the College, upon their paying the expences, and making certain allowances to the mason and workmen. The coins were sold by auction in small lots, in November 1827. Not even any probable conjecture could be formed respecting the individual who secreted them in this place.

The building ‘new pointed with Ketton-stone’ referred to by Lamb still exists today, as no. 9 Bene’t Street (see Fig. 1). Lamb provides further useful information in a footnote.¹¹ The College received £192 11s. 2d. from the sale of the hoard, after auction expenses. According to Lamb, it paid £83 16s. 2d. to the Treasury, £20 to the Master mason (Mr Howell), and £5 each to the two labourers who found the hoard (William Smith and Stephen Woodcock), leaving only £78 15s. 0d. for the College. There are some slight discrepancies between these figures and those provided by the College’s records, which show that it agreed to pay expenses of £113 13s. 4d. to the Treasury on 17 October 1827, and that its net profit from the sale of the coins was £78 14s. 2d.¹² The £113 13s. 4d. paid to the Treasury (which was reported as £122 in the press) must have included the payments of £20 to Mr Howell and £5 each to the two finders of the hoard.

The auction catalogue of the sale of the coins in Cambridge on 27 November 1827 is unfortunately rather perfunctory in its descriptions of the coins, which are shown in Table 1.¹³ The descriptions are effectively limited to the reigns represented in the hoard (Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I) and the denominations, with silver below the sixpence simply described as ‘smaller coins’ (in lots 1–47). The press reports of 24 November 1827 say that the silver extended down to halfpennies, but the auction catalogue does not allow us to verify this.¹⁴ Nevertheless, there is much that can be learned about the composition of the hoard from the catalogue. Table 2 uses the auction descriptions to summarize the hoard by denomination and period.

The earliest gold coins in the hoard are the two Sword and Sceptre pieces of James I as James VI of Scotland, issued between 1601 and 1604, which are described as ‘Scotch’ pieces in the auction catalogue and as ‘*sceptre* pieces of King James’ in the press reports of 24 November 1827.¹⁵ The Sword and Sceptre piece of £6 Scots was made current for 10s. English in 1603 (raised to 11s. in 1611), and it has been found in six other English and Welsh hoards, from

⁸ Appendix, no. 4.

⁹ Appendix, no. 5.

¹⁰ Lamb 1831, 266–7.

¹¹ Lamb 1831, 267 n. ‘m’.

¹² Corpus Christi College Cambridge Archives, Chapter Book 6, 1824–53, CCCC: 01/C/6, p. 53; Audit Book, 1823–44, CCCC: 02/B/10, p. 66.

¹³ Anon. 1827.

¹⁴ Appendix, no. 4. Lamb 1831, 267, says that the silver was ‘of all sizes from a farthing to a crown’, but there is no mention of silver crowns in the auction catalogue and the inclusion of silver farthings is unlikely as they were last issued in 1551–53 (Withers and Withers 2004, 37).

¹⁵ Appendix, no. 4.



Fig. 1. No. 9 Bene't Street (left) and the Eagle (right). Photograph by Andrew Woods.

TABLE 1. Auction catalogue descriptions of the coins.

<i>Lot(s)</i>	<i>Description</i>
1–47	'Three half-crowns, 12 shillings, 6 sixpences, and 50 smaller [silver] coins [of Elizabeth I, James I or Charles I], among which are presumed to be many extremely valuable [in each lot]'.
48–51	'Four half-crowns and 10 shillings [of Elizabeth I, James I or Charles I, in each lot]'.
52	'Fifty miscellaneous [silver of Elizabeth, James I or Charles I]'.
53–65	'Two gold double crowns, Carolus I [in each lot]'.
66	'[Gold] Crown and half-crown, Jacobus'.
67–72	'Double-crown and [gold] crown, Carolus I [in each lot]'.
73–129	A double-crown Jacobus and a ditto Carolus [in each lot]'.
130–1	A Scotch piece [in each lot]'.
132–7	'A Unit or Broad Carolus [in each lot]'.
138–41	'A Broad Jacobus [in each lot]'.
142–70	'A Sceptre Carolus [in each lot; handwritten correction of 'Carolus' to 'Jacobus']'.

Botley, Horncastle, Long Crendon, Lytham St Annes, Pembroke College (Cambridge) and Tregwynt.¹⁶ The catalogue lists twenty-nine gold coins probably or certainly of James I's second English coinage (1604–19) and four of his third coinage (1619–25).¹⁷ The fact that 101 (51.8%) of the 195 gold coins in the auction are coins of Charles I (1625–49), and the complete absence

¹⁶ Allen 1999, 223–5; Keary 1885, 338.

¹⁷ Lots 142–70 included a total of 29 'Sceptre' coins, which were probably unites of James I's second English coinage (1604–19), but it is possible that they included one or more units of his tenth Scottish coinage (1609–25). The Pembroke College hoard included one of these Scottish units with twenty English unites of the second coinage.

TABLE 2. Analysis of the Bene't Street hoard.

<i>Metal</i>	<i>Reign(s)</i>	<i>Denomination(s)</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Lot nos. of issue</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>
Gold	James VI of Scotland (I of England) James I	Sword and Sceptre piece	1601–4	130–1	2
		Unite	1604–19	142–70	29
		Double-crown	1604–19	73–129	57
		Crown	1604–19	66	1
		Halfcrown	1604–19	66	1
	Charles I	Laurel	1619–25	138–41	4
		Unite	1625–49	132–7	6
		Double-Crown	1625–49	53–65, 67–129	89
		Crown	1625–49	67–72	6
		Silver	Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I	Halfcrown	1601–49
Shilling	1559–1649			1–51	604
Sixpence	1561–1649			1–47	282
Groat to halfpenny	1559–1649			1–47	2,350
Miscellaneous	1559–1649			52	50
Totals					3,638 (195 gold + 3,443 silver)

of any coins from the Commonwealth (1649–60), clearly suggests that the hoard was deposited during the reign of Charles I, but it is difficult to be more specific without any descriptions of the coins beyond reign and denomination.

During the reign of Charles I Corpus Christi College owned the Eagle (then known as the Eagle and Child) and the two adjoining houses on Bene't Street, in one of which (no. 9 Bene't Street) the hoard was buried. The College had been given the Eagle and Child in 1519, and it had owned the two neighbouring properties since at least 1515.¹⁸ A plan of the three properties on Bene't Street in a lease of 1826 (Fig. 2) shows the street at the bottom, with no. 9 (labelled 'late Ashby') on the street frontage to the left, the Eagle ('late Ventris' and adjoining buildings) in the centre of the frontage, and no. 5 Bene't Street ('late Ives') to the right.¹⁹ Two leases of the Eagle and Child and the adjoining properties in the time of Charles I, dated 14 March 1637 and 12 April 1641, name the tenant of no. 9 as John Ball, Chandler, but in a lease of 6 November 1662 the tenant is John Chaplyn, chandler.²⁰ There seem to be no surviving leases between 1641 and 1662 further to clarify the occupation of no. 9 Bene't Street, but it is probably safe to assume that it was a chandler's shop. The second of the two chandlers, John Chaplyn, paid a tax on two hearths in St Bene't's parish in 1662 and 1664, which probably relates to no. 9 Bene't Street, and in 1664 he was also one of the four occupiers of another property in the parish, as a tenant of John Gomer.²¹ He was the issuer of two farthing tokens, one dated 1667 and the other undated (see Fig. 3).²² Chaplyn died in 1693 and it is perhaps unlikely that he would have allowed the hoard to remain undisturbed in his cellar until then if he had known of its existence.²³ It is possible, however, that John Ball (the tenant of no. 9 in 1637 and 1641) may have had some connection with the hoard.

The total of number of gold coins in the auction (195) corresponds to that given in the press reports on the inquest, but the total for silver (3,443) is 67 short of the inquest figure (3,510), which may suggest that some of the silver coins were officially or unofficially extracted from

¹⁸ Corpus Christi College Cambridge Archives, Cambridge, St Bene't's (St Benedict's) parish, CCCC: 09/18/161, 09/18/163 (formerly CCCC: XVIII, 161, 163).

¹⁹ Corpus Christi College Cambridge Archives, Cambridge, St Bene't's (St Benedict's) parish, CCCC: 09/18/231.2 (formerly CCCC: XVIII, 231.2).

²⁰ Corpus Christi College Cambridge Archives, Lease Book, 1632–81, CCCC: 09/01/14, ff. 54–54v., 238–9.

²¹ Evans and Rose 2000, 29–30. The other three occupiers of the property owned by John Gomer were Humphrey Calie, Solomon Pitts and John Lamkin.

²² Searle 1871, 7, nos 12–13; Williamson 1889–91, I, 64, nos. 25–7.

²³ The register of St Bene't's Church, Cambridge, records the burial of John Chaplyn on 17 November 1693 (information from Dr Gary Oddie based upon the unpublished research of David Wratten).

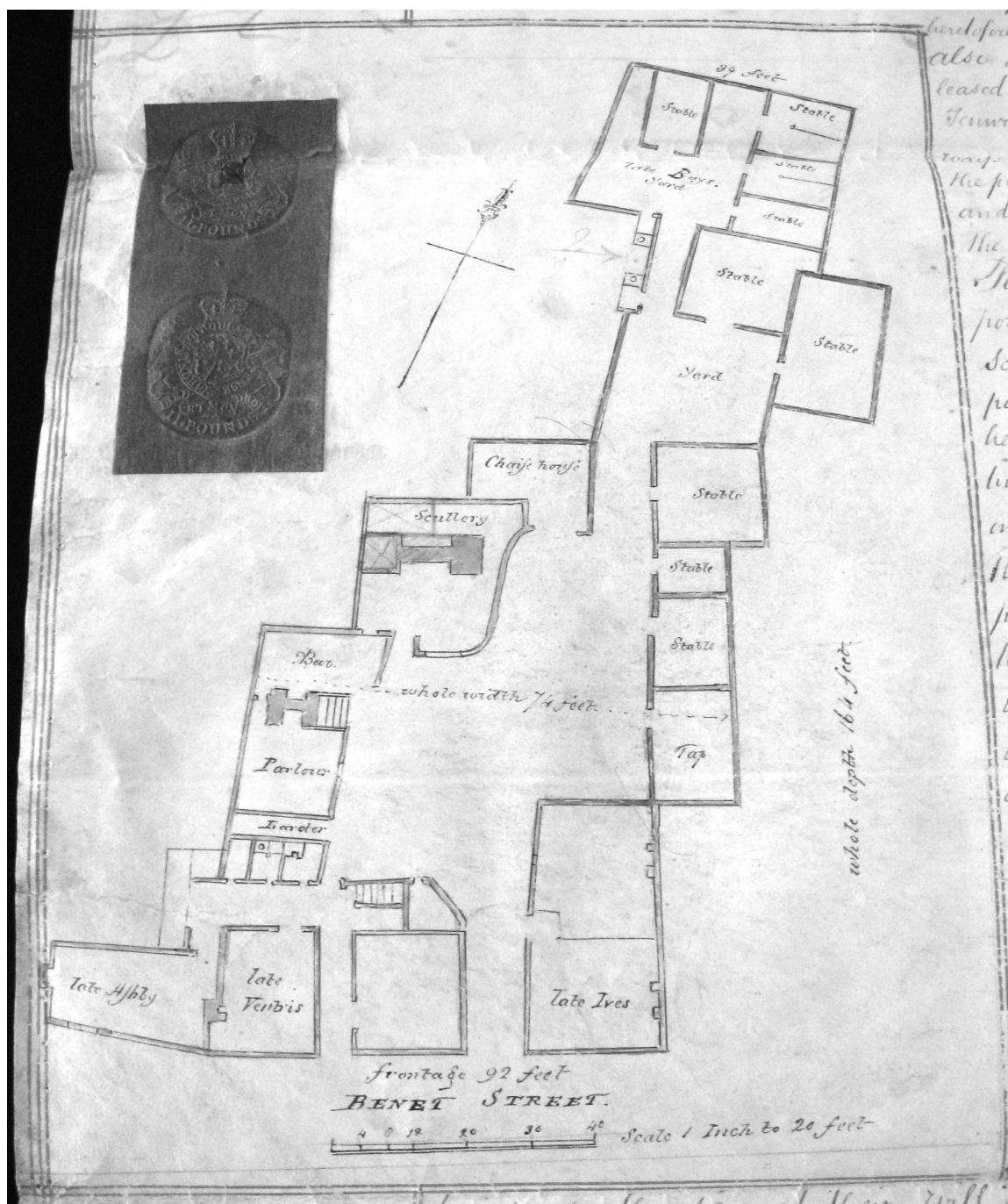


Fig. 2. Plan of properties of Corpus Christi College in Bene't Street in 1826. Photograph by Elisabeth Leedham-Green; illustrated by courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

the hoard between inquest and sale.²⁴ The numbers of coins lost to the record during the initial scramble when the hoard was discovered must remain a matter of speculation. The gold coins in the sale had a face value in the reign of Charles I of £120 15s. 3d., and the silver (not including unspecified denominations less than sixpence) was worth £56 17s. 6d., with a total of £177

²⁴ Appendix, no. 3.



Fig. 3. Farthing token of John Chaplyn, undated (twice actual size). © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

12s. 9d. (+ small silver), which is not far short of the Coroner's valuation of £200 3s. 5½d. (£130 3s. 0d. gold + £70 0s. 5½d. silver). The College only received about £192 after auction costs, which may indicate that the auction prices were close to the face values and bullion values of the coins.²⁵

APPENDIX: NEWSPAPER SOURCES

1. *The Derby Mercury*, 8 June 1825; repeated with minor variations in *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 9 June 1825; *The Stamford Mercury*, 10 June 1825; *The Northampton Mercury*, 11 June 1825; *The Hereford Journal*, 15 June 1825; *The Coventry Herald*, 17 June 1825; *The Sussex Advertiser*, 20 June 1825; *The Worcester Journal*, 23 June 1825; and *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 20 June 1825:

About 200 pieces of gold, and between 3 and 4000 pieces of silver have been discovered in two pots beneath the foundation of a house at Cambridge. They are chiefly of the reign of James I. and are supposed to have been buried during the Parliamentary war.

2. *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 10 June 1825; repeated in *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 15 June 1825:

As the workmen were lately digging for the foundation of a dwelling-house in Bene't Street, adjoining the Eagle, they discovered an earthen vessel, containing a considerable quantity of silver coins, principally of the reigns of James I and Charles I.; and soon afterwards a great number of gold coins were found near the same spot. It is conjectured they were buried during the time of Oliver Cromwell.

3. *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 10 February 1826; repeated in *The Morning Chronicle*, 11 February 1826; *The Sussex Advertiser*, 13 February 1826; *The Morning Post*, 15 February 1826; *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 15 February 1826; *The Stamford Mercury*, 17 February 1826; *The Oxford Journal*, 18 February 1826; and *The Hereford Journal*, 22 February 1826:²⁶

An inquiry of a rather novel nature was held on Saturday last [10 February 1826], at the Eagle Inn, Cambridge, before Mr. Chevell, one of the Coroners for this town, not upon a mutilated or mangled body, which in general form the disagreeable duties of Coroners' Inquests, but on view of a large quantity of gold and silver coins of the ancient Kings of this realm, the sight of which was much more pleasant to the respectable Jury summoned on this occasion, than the exhibition of a corpse of a fellow-creature. In the month of June last, as some workmen were employed in pulling down a house adjoining the Eagle Inn, they discovered, in digging up the bottom of the cellar, a quantity of silver coins, and after a further search of two hours, a jug containing a quantity of gold coins was also found. Considerable scramble took place among the workmen, but Mr. Howell, the contractor of the building for Corpus Christi College, interfered, and succeeded in securing it. A question now arose to whom this treasure belonged. The Bursar of the College took possession of part of it, and Mr. Balls, for Mr. Howell, another part; and eventually the whole was deposited in the names of the Bursar and Mr. Balls, in the bank of Messrs. Mortlocks, till it could be decided to whom it of right belonged. The Lords of the Treasury, a few days ago, applied to the Coroner to hold an Inquest; and after going through all the evidence, the Jury, without hesitation, found their verdict upon the points directed to their consideration by the Coroner, who desired them to leave out of their minds any question of right as to whom the treasure belonged, as that would be for the decision of a Jury in a superior Court, "That on the 3d of June last, 195 pieces of gold coin, of the value of 130l. 3s., and 3,510 pieces of silver coin, of the value of 70l. 5½d. were found by William Smith and Stephen Woodcock, labourers in the employment of J. Howell, bricklayer, hidden in the ground under the site of an ancient house or building situate in Benett-st. in the said town, which were of ancient time hidden as aforesaid, & the owners thereof cannot be known." – As soon as the verdict was returned, the Coroner, by virtue of his office, seized the treasure in the name of his Majesty. Mr. White, the Town Clerk, attended and served a

²⁵ Lamb 1831, 267 n. 'm', states that the College received £192 11s. 2d., but the College accounts (see n.11) imply a total of £192 7s. 6d. (a net profit of £78 14s. 2d. + £113 13s. 4d. paid to the Treasury).

²⁶ A much abbreviated version of this account appeared in *The Hampshire Chronicle*, 20 February 1826.

notice upon the Coroner, on behalf of the Corporation, who claimed it as grantees of the Crown, and the Solicitor to the Treasury also made a demand of it, but the Coroner refused to part with it till it is ascertained who is legally entitled to it, and the same was accordingly re-deposited in Messrs. Mortlocks' bank, to await this decision. – The Coroner has been served with a writ of certiorari by the Lords of the Treasury, to return his inquisition to the Court of King's Bench.

4. *The London Standard*, 21 November 1827; *The Morning Chronicle*, 22 November 1827; *The Ipswich Journal*, 24 November 1827; *The Norfolk Chronicle*, 24 November 1827; *The Northampton Chronicle*, 24 November 1827; *The Hampshire Chronicle*, 26 November 1827; and *The Hereford Journal*, 28 November 1827:

The gold and silver coins found some time ago when taking down one of the old houses, the property and now part of the site of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, are to be sold in lots, by an auction, during the next week. They were found in two earthen pots, the one full of silver the other full of gold coins, and had evidently been in currency; the first pot contained shillings, sixpences and minor coins, even to silver halfpennies; the other contained gold, whole, half, and quarter sovereigns, and *sceptre* pieces of King James; the whole consists of more than 500 pieces. It is supposed to have been concealed about the time of Oliver Cromwell. Many claimants arose, upon the discovery of this treasure, among them the Corporation of Cambridge, the Lord of the Manor, the College, and the Crown; upon investigation the right proved to be in the Crown, who gave it up to the College; for this favour 122£. were paid for fees.

5. *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 16 and 23 November 1827; and *The Huntingdon, Bedford and Peterborough Gazette*, 17 and 24 November 1827:

COINS – TREASURE TROVE, CAMBRIDGE

To be SOLD by AUCTION, By ELLIOT SMITH,

At the Large Room in Trinity Street, on TUESDAY the 27th of November, 1827, exactly at One;

The whole of the rare, valuable, and scarce GOLD and SILVER COINS found on the taking down of an Ancient House in Bene't Street, Cambridge, a short time since, – The Gold Coins are of the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.; and consist of Sceptres, Broads, Units, Double-Crowns, Crowns, and Half-Crowns. The Silver Coins are of the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I.; and consist of Half-Crowns, Shillings, Sixpences, and smaller denomination.

Most of them are in unusual fine preservation.

Catalogues may be had at No. 16, Lower Holborn, London; and of ELLIOT SMITH, Cambridge.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 2012

HOARDING IN BRITAIN: AN OVERVIEW

ROGER BLAND

Introduction: what is a hoard?

In this paper I discuss some aspects of the study of hoards found in Britain. There is a very rich heritage of hoards of coins (and other metal artefacts), and their study underpins our understanding of how coins circulated in this country. Much has been written on what hoards can tell us about coinage, or, for example, Bronze Age metalwork and there have been many studies of hoards of different periods, but there have been few attempts at an overview of hoarding across time.¹ I shall raise some questions about hoarding in general to see whether one can make connections across periods.

In the summer of 2013 the British Museum and University of Leicester initiated a research project, with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, on ‘Crisis or continuity? The deposition of metalwork in the Roman world: what do coin hoards tell us about Roman Britain in the third century AD?’ Three research assistants will be employed and a complete database of all Roman hoards from Britain will be published online at www.finds.org.uk. The project will also include a survey of a large sample of hoards to try to understand better why they were buried. In this paper I introduce some of the themes we intend to explore further in this project.

First, we need to consider what is meant by the term ‘hoard’. I will look at hoarding and the deposition of artefacts in the ground in the broadest sense and by ‘hoard’ I mean any group of objects which have been deliberately brought together, but not necessarily deliberately placed in the ground – so the contents of a purse lost by accident would also count.

In 1975 Philip Grierson divided coin hoards into four categories: accidental losses, ‘emergency’ hoards, ‘savings’ hoards and abandoned hoards.² Under ‘accidental losses’ Grierson included purses or small bags of coins lost by accident; ‘emergency’ hoards comprise groups of coins taken from circulation on a single occasion and buried in an emergency, with the intention of subsequent recovery, while ‘savings’ hoards comprise coins taken from currency over a period of time, and also deliberately buried or concealed by their owners with the intention of recovery. Lastly, Grierson defined ‘abandoned’ hoards as those whose owners disposed of their coins with no intention of retrieving them and he gave as examples coins associated with burials, foundation deposits in buildings and groups of coins thrown into wells or fountains. This classification, itself a development of earlier accounts,³ has proved very influential in subsequent literature.⁴ The distinction between ‘savings’ and ‘emergency’ hoards is now generally regarded as not very useful.⁵ In practice hoards do not fall into neat categories and

Acknowledgements. This is shorter version of a paper to be published in Naylor forthcoming. I am very grateful to Martin Allen, Philip de Jersey and Ben Roberts for data on hoards; to Martin, Sam Moorhead and Kenneth Painter for very helpful comments on a draft of this paper and to Kenneth, Richard Bradley and Edward Besly for advance sight of their papers in that volume. For an earlier exposition of some of the ideas in this paper see Moorhead, Bland and Pett 2010. I am also very grateful to Sam Moorhead for many stimulating discussions on hoards and hoarding and to Martin Allen for his many improvements to this paper in the editorial process. I am also grateful to Ian Leins for permission to reproduce Fig. 6, Daniel Gricourt for Fig. 10 and Richard Hobbs for Figs 11–13.

¹ An exception is Hobbs 2006, which discusses late Roman precious-metal deposits from across the Empire and beyond from c. AD 200 to 700.

² Grierson 1975, 134–59.

³ For example, Laing 1969, 52–68.

⁴ For example, Casey 1986, 51–67; Reece 1987, 46–70; Burnett 1991, 51–7; Reece 2002, 67–88; Blackburn 2005, 10–17; Blackburn 2011, 585–8.

⁵ Reece 2002, 72.

any attempt to categorize them this way is likely to conceal the fact that the contents of hoards will have been put together in a wide range of different ways. Both ‘emergency’ and ‘savings’ hoards are likely to have been concealed for the same reasons: because their owners felt threatened and buried their wealth in the ground with the intention of subsequent recovery. Traditionally, therefore, students of coin hoards have generally seen them as having been buried for safekeeping, although Hobbs argues for a wider range of reasons for hoarding, including the possibility that hoards might have been buried for social reasons (a theme also taken up by Guest in his 1994 PhD).⁶ In his discussion of early medieval coin finds, Blackburn proposes another method of classifying hoards, by analysing how the elements in the hoards were put together, rather than the circumstances of their burial.⁷ He notes that many hoards had complicated histories and that a single hoard could contain several distinct elements, citing as an example a hoard of coins found in Cambridge which contained 1,805 pennies of the period 1279–1351; this was no doubt drawn from circulation over a period of time, with the addition of nine gold coins in the 1350s.⁸ This is an important insight, but in this paper I am chiefly concerned with the circumstances of deposition rather than with the contents of hoards.

By contrast, when prehistorians discuss hoarding and the deposition of valuable objects they generally assume that objects are deposited for votive reasons.⁹ Such an explanation is very rarely applied to medieval or post-medieval hoards – votive deposition is not normally thought to fit into the Christian tradition¹⁰ – and it is unusual for hoards from the Roman period (although see Hobbs 2006). This makes the Iron Age/Roman transition a key period for study in any discussion of why hoards were buried in Britain.¹¹

If we focus on the reasons why hoards were buried and not recovered, we can propose the following categories: (a) accidental losses; (b) hoards buried with the intention of recovery and (c) hoards deliberately abandoned for a variety of reasons, including votive. A further variation in this simple categorization is provided by the theory that at certain periods, for example after AD 296 when radiates were replaced with *nummi*, it is possible that hoards which had been deliberately buried in the ground were not recovered by their owners because the coins had been demonetized and therefore were effectively worthless.¹²

Rate of discovery

The growth of metal detecting from 1970 and the introduction of the Treasure Act and the Portable Antiquities Scheme in 1997 have led to a great increase in the discovery and recording of hoards. Fig. 1 shows the numbers of hoards of Roman coins discovered each year from the earliest records in the fifteenth century AD to 2010, with data derived from Robertson’s *Inventory* and more recent finds reported as Treasure: the steep increase in discoveries in the last twenty years is very apparent.¹³

The pattern of hoarding in Britain

To introduce the subject of the pattern of hoarding in Britain I have attempted a very approximate and high level overview of coin hoards from Britain. For the Iron Age Philip de Jersey has kindly supplied information from his forthcoming corpus of Iron Age coin hoards. The figure for Roman finds is based on Anne Robertson’s *Inventory* which contained data on 1990

⁶ Hobbs 2006, 120–34; Guest 1994.

⁷ Blackburn 2005, 13–14.

⁸ Allen 2005; Blackburn 2005, 14.

⁹ Bradley 1988; Bradley 1998; Needham 1988; Hill 1995.

¹⁰ For an exception see Bradley forthcoming.

¹¹ Aitchison 1988 suggests that some Roman coin hoards may have been buried for votive reasons. He also makes an important distinction between hoards buried within the province of Britain and those buried north of Hadrian’s Wall or the Antonine Wall in Scotland: once coins were exported beyond the frontier their whole function changed.

¹² Casey 1986, 65–6; Reece 2002, 77.

¹³ Robertson 2000. Blackburn has carried out a similar analysis for hoards of coins of the period 450–1180: see Blackburn 2005, 26, figs. 1 and 2. The pattern he obtained is very similar to the one for Roman hoards.

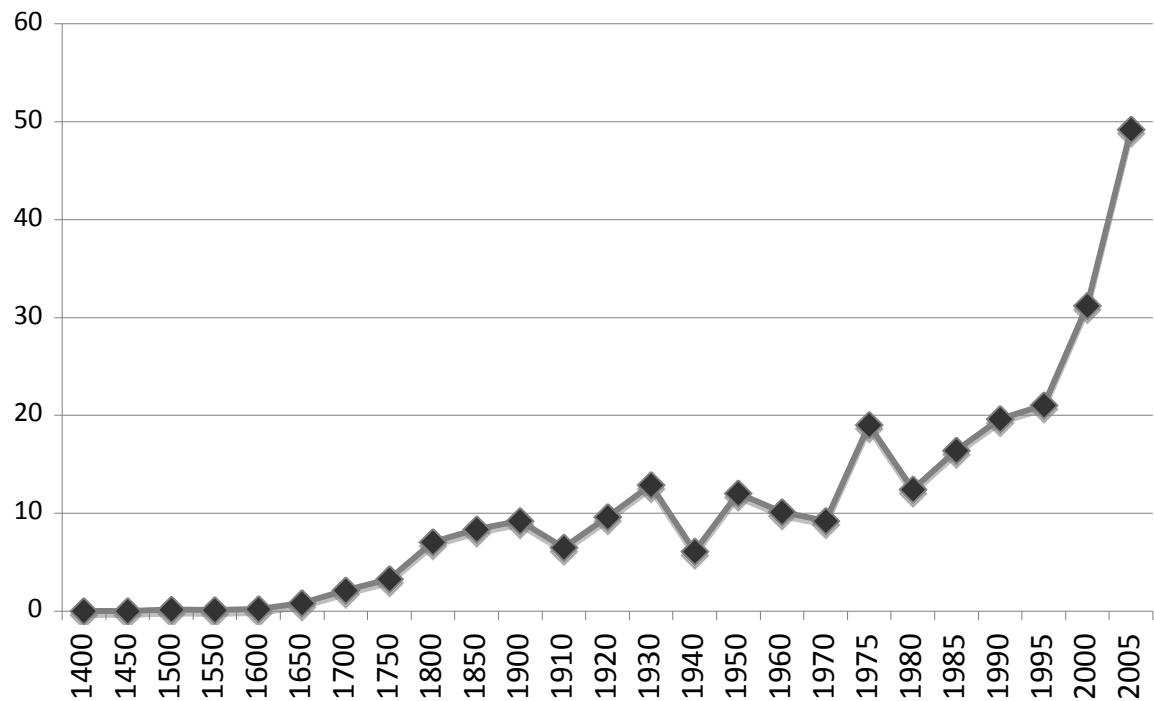


Fig. 1. Number of hoards of Roman coins discovered *per annum*, 1400–2010.

finds made up to about 1990; there are 739 later finds until the end of 2012 (of which 185 are addenda to existing hoards).¹⁴ The early medieval data is based on the Fitzwilliam Museum's online Checklist of Coin Hoards,¹⁵ and the medieval figure on Allen's recent list.¹⁶ The post-medieval figure is based on the hoard corpus published by Brown and Dolley in 1971, which goes up to 1967, with an estimate of the number of more recent finds, and for the Civil War period we have Edward Besly's updated summary in this volume.¹⁷ There is no doubt that the research currently being carried out by Stephen Briggs on references to hoards and other coin finds in online newspaper archives will greatly increase our corpus of hoards, especially of the post-medieval period.

TABLE 1. Approximate total number of coin hoards from Britain by period

<i>Period</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Iron Age (c.55 BC–AD 64)	340	
Roman (AD 43–410)	2,544	
Early medieval (410–1180)	415	
Medieval (1180–1544)	372	(excludes Scotland)
Post-medieval (1544–1967)	c.854	(estimate)
Total	4,525	

Fig. 2 summarizes the number of coin hoards from the Iron Age to 1937. It should be stressed that this chart only reflects the number of hoards that have been recovered from these periods and it in no way reflects their value. This can range enormously from a handful of

¹⁴ Robertson 2000.

¹⁵ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/>. See Blackburn 2003 and 2005 for analysis of early medieval hoards.

¹⁶ Allen 2012, 446–514.

¹⁷ Brown and Dolley 1971; Besly and Briggs 2013.

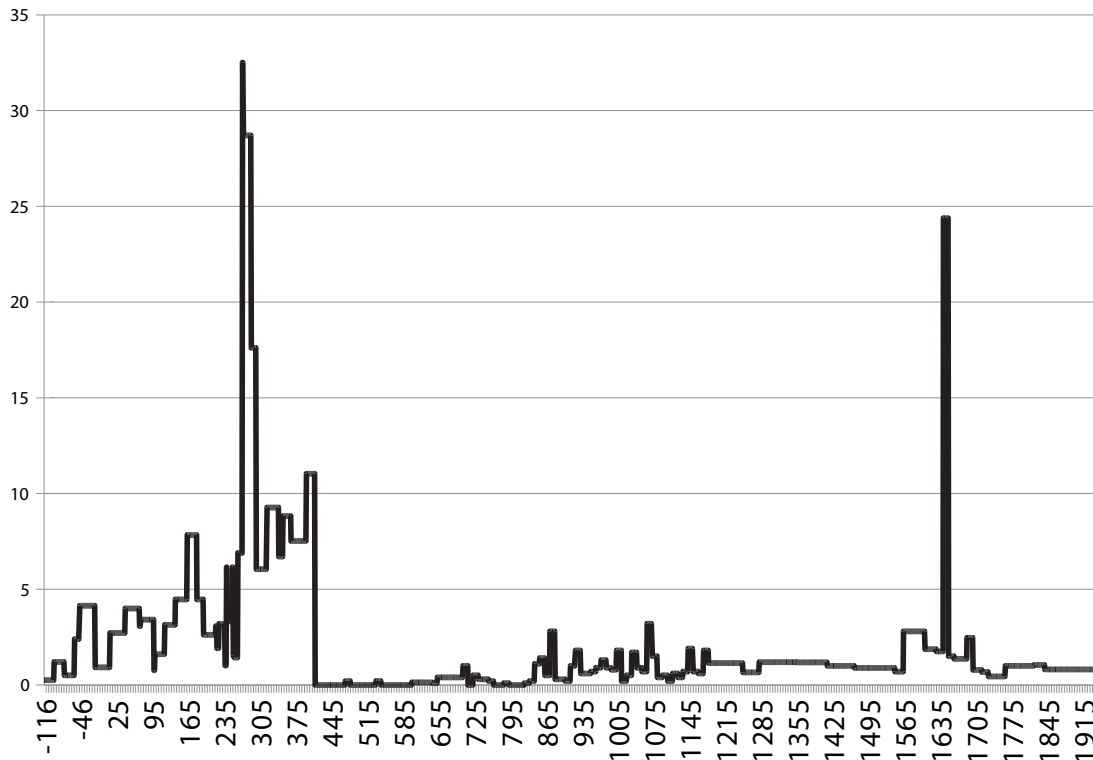


Fig. 2. Numbers of coin hoards deposited *per annum*, 120 BC–AD 1937.

base metal *nummi* of the fourth century to the 580 gold and 14,654 silver coins and some 200 items of gold and silver jewellery in the Hoxne hoard.

Fig. 3 provides a more detailed analysis of the Iron Age and Roman periods, from AD 69. There is a first peak in the 160s, when we have many hoards of silver *denarii*, and then a huge spike in the radiate period, between 268 and 296. In the fourth century the number of hoards is higher than in the early empire but it is much lower than at the end of the third century.

The early medieval pattern (Fig. 4) is interesting and has been commented on by Blackburn.¹⁸ Most of the hoards are quite closely dated and I have divided them into ten year periods and this clearly influences the pattern. During the fifth and sixth centuries there is very little coinage in Britain (although recent work shows that it was not entirely absent) and this is reflected in the very low number of hoards. These start to increase with the resumption of coinage in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms after 600 and there is an initial peak at the beginning of the eighth century. There is then a decline and hoards start to become more frequent in the mid ninth century – and in the period of Alfred the Great (871–99) in particular. This presumably reflects two things – the pattern of coin production and the incidence of Viking raids, so well attested in the historical sources. The dip in the early tenth century is interesting – could that reflect a respite from Viking attacks and the Anglo-Saxon offensive with its reconquest of much of the Danelaw – and then numbers rise again for the next 150 years, with a peak in the decade of 1060–70, i.e. the time of the Norman conquest. There is then a decline under William II and Henry I and another increase in the reign of Stephen – the anarchy.

In the next period, covering 750 years from Henry II's introduction of Short Cross coinage in 1180 to 1937 (Fig. 5), things seem to settle down. The main feature seems to be the great stability throughout this long period, with a modest increase under Elizabeth I and a dramatic spike at the time of the Civil War in the decade 1639–49. So once we move past the Roman

¹⁸ Blackburn 2003; Blackburn 2005.

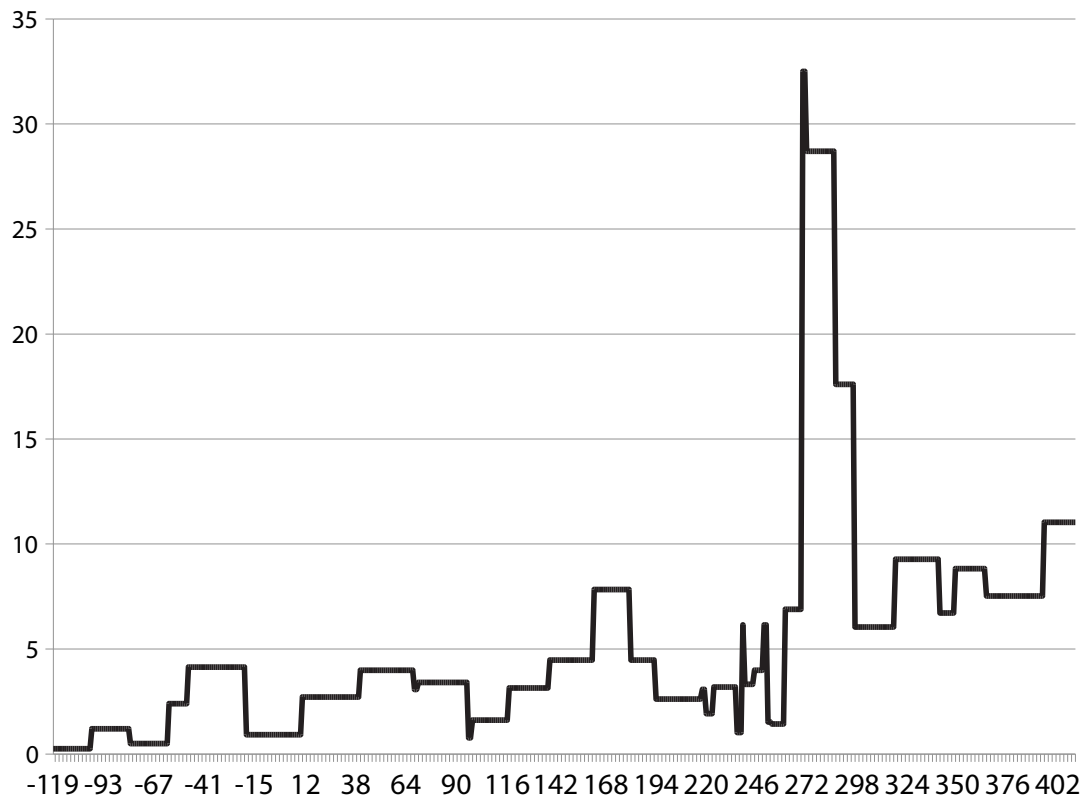


Fig. 3. Numbers of coin hoards deposited *per annum*, 120 BC–AD 410.

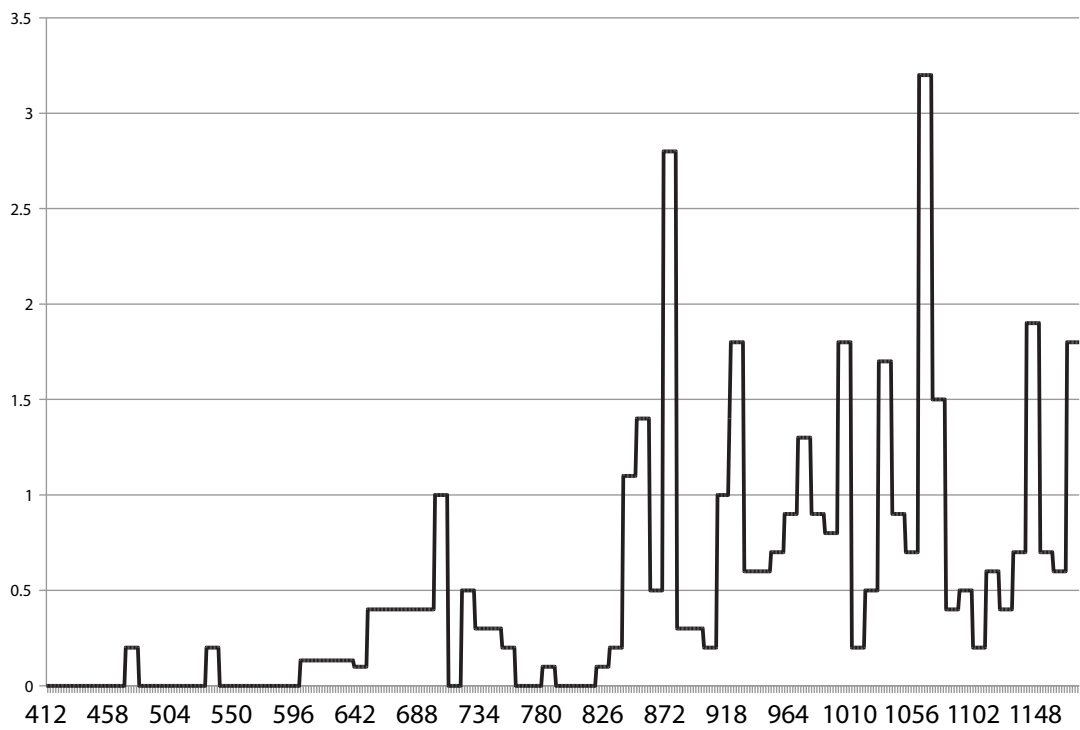


Fig. 4. Numbers of coin hoards deposited *per annum*, AD 410–1180.



Fig. 5. Numbers of hoards deposited *per annum*, AD 1180–1937.

period it is very difficult to divorce the incidence of hoarding – and it must always be remembered that we only study the unrecovered hoards; we have no means of knowing how many more hoards were buried by their owners and subsequently recovered – and times of unrest, whether it be the Viking attacks in the ninth to eleventh centuries, the Norman Conquest or the Civil War. But the threat of invasion at the time of the Napoleonic Wars is not reflected here.

Hoarding in the prehistoric period

No one would question the votive nature of deposits of Bronze Age metalwork. Yates and Bradley demonstrated a correlation between these deposits and river valleys, especially near the source of rivers.¹⁹ They also made the fascinating observation that ‘for some time it has been obvious that metal detectorists have been extraordinarily fortunate in locating previously unrecorded hoards. The same people have found them on a number of different occasions. Discussions with the finders have made it clear that this did not happen by chance. Long before prehistorians had realized that the siting of hoards might follow topographic ‘rules’, metal detectorists had reached the same conclusion.’²⁰

Similarly it is hardly controversial to suggest that Iron Age hoards such as the deposits of torcs (and coins) from Snettisham in Norfolk might have been buried for ritual reasons.²¹ The hoards of coins from Hallaton, Leicestershire, also seem to have been buried in the ground for ritual purposes rather than with the intention of recovery.²² After an amateur archaeologist, Ken Wallace, discovered a number of Iron Age coins in 2000 the University of Leicester Archaeological Services carried out an excavation on the site between 2001 and 2003. They

¹⁹ Yates and Bradley 2010, fig. 6.

²⁰ Yates and Bradley 2010, 28–9.

²¹ Stead 1991.

²² Leins 2007; Score 2011.

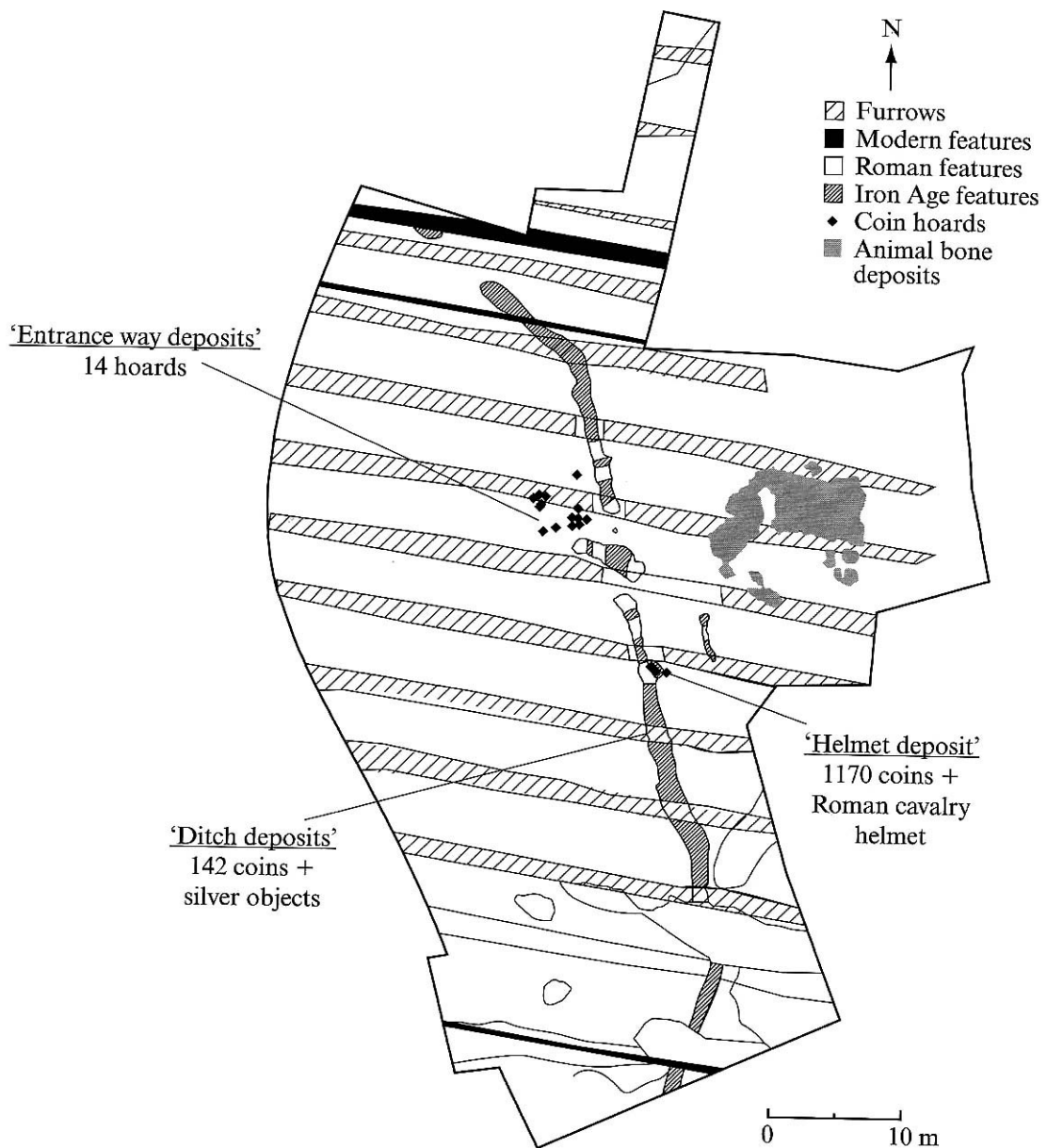


Fig. 6. Hallaton deposits (Leins 2007).

recovered a total of 5,292 coins in sixteen separate groups. The nature of the site remains difficult to interpret – it is on a hillside and there is an enclosure surrounded by a ditch – and it seems to have been a place where the local people gathered for ritual feasting as large numbers of animal bones were discovered. At one point, in an entrance way through the ditch, fourteen separate deposits of coins were found while further away the remains of Roman cavalry helmet contained 1,170 coins and a final deposit of 142 coins and silver objects a little further away still (Fig. 6). It is difficult to interpret these deposits as having been buried with the intention of recovery as they were so close to each other and all the signs are that they were buried for ritual purposes.²³ What is interesting is the association of 1,170 Iron Age coins with a Roman helmet – it is thought to be early first century AD – while radio-carbon dates of the pits

²³ However another suggestion is that the hoards could have been buried with the intention of recovery at the time of the Roman invasion.

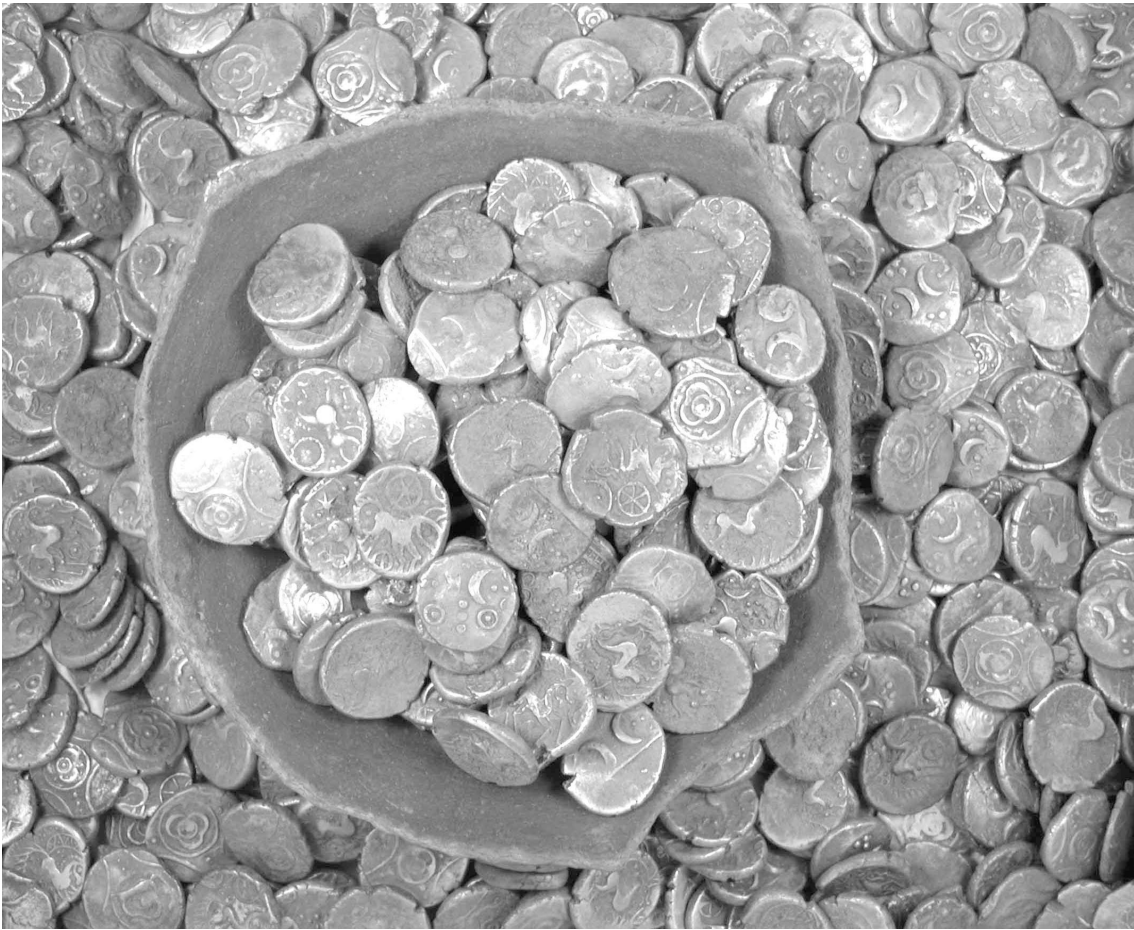


Fig. 7. The Dallinghoo hoard.

suggest the site was being used down to the 50s AD, so into the early years of the Roman occupation.

But why were 39 gold Iron Age staters dating to *c.* 50 BC found inside a cow bone placed in the ground? This hoard was found during the excavations at Sedgeford in Norfolk in 2003.²⁴ And yet presumably hoards were also buried with the intention of recovery in the Iron Age – for example, the hoard of 840 gold staters (deposited *c.* AD 15) found by two detector users at Dallinghoo in Suffolk in 2008: the largest hoard of Iron Age gold coins to have been recorded from Britain (Fig. 7).²⁵

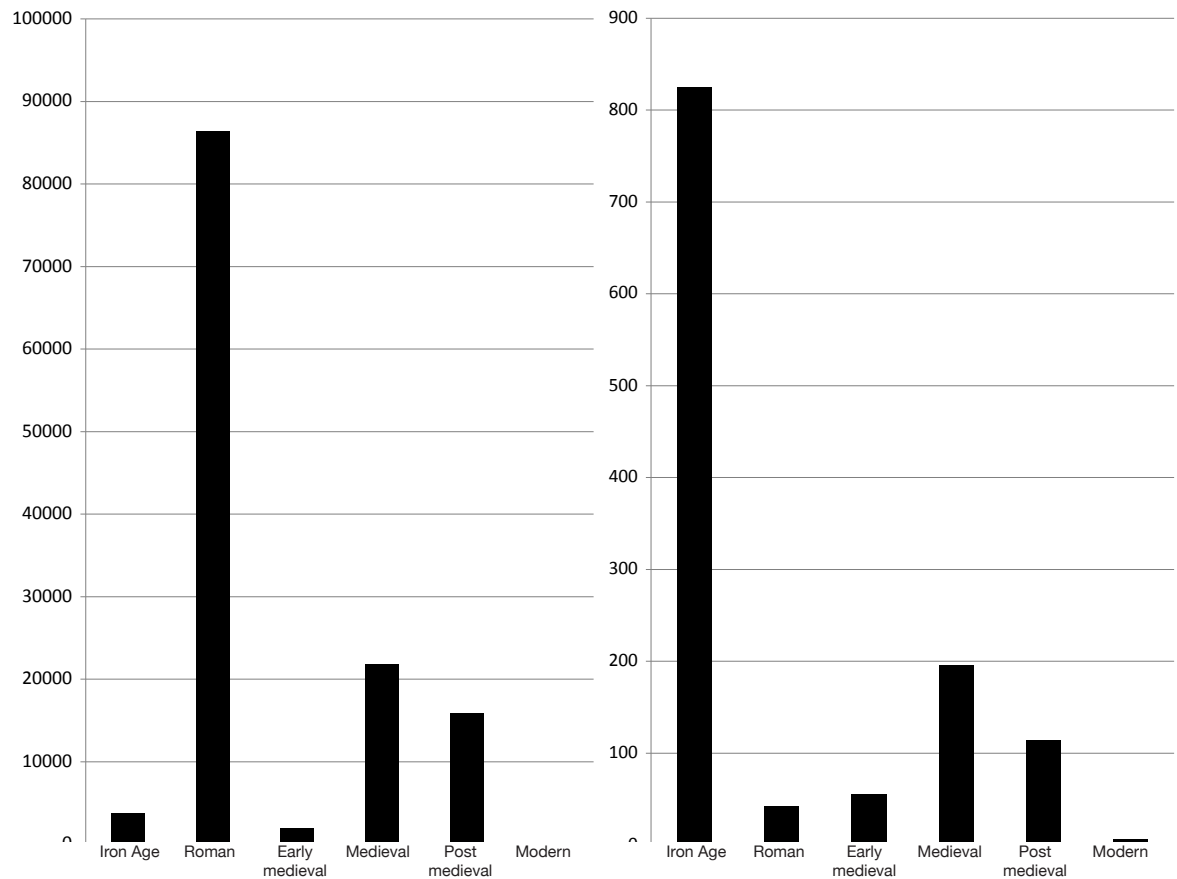
The coming of Rome: the disappearance of gold

There is undoubtedly a very marked difference between the Iron Age and Roman practices of the deposition of hoards and precious-metal objects in Britain. Votive practices do not stop in the Roman period but votive deposits do seem to be different in character – the large assemblage of coins from Bath, that span the whole Roman period, or the hoard of religious objects from Ashwell are quite different from most Roman coin hoards.²⁶ There is another change that takes place at this time. In the Iron Age gold – particularly gold coinage – was widespread, but this suddenly changed in the Roman period. This can be shown by Figs. 8a and 8b, which are

²⁴ Dennis and Faulkner 2005.

²⁵ British Museum 2010, cat. 471.

²⁶ Walker 1988; DCMS 2004, cat. 27.



Figs. 8a and 8b. (a) All coins recorded on PAS database; (b) gold coins on PAS database (Bland and Lorient 2010).

based on the coins recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Fig. 8a shows the total number of coins recorded on the database and that Roman coins far outnumber those of the Iron Age. However, Fig. 8b shows the number of gold coins recorded and it can be seen that these are much more common from the Iron Age than the Roman period, while Fig. 9 shows the proportion of gold coins recorded on the PAS database for each period. What causes the disappearance of gold from Britain with the coming of the Romans? We do not know, although this phenomenon has already been noted by Creighton, who demonstrated it when summarizing coin hoards of the Iron Age and the first two centuries AD.²⁷ He argued that in the Iron Age gold coins had been struck by the rulers to validate their kingship and that the coins had been used for transactions ‘involving horsemen and chariots’,²⁸ and that with the coming of Roman rule these functions were no longer needed. He noted that the main concentration of gold coins shifted from the south and east in the Iron Age to the west and north after the Roman conquest, reflecting the military zone of the new province.²⁹

²⁷ Creighton 2005. For the Iron Age-Roman monetary transition see Reece 1979 and Creighton 1994.

²⁸ Creighton 2005, 83.

²⁹ Sam Moorhead comments (*pers. comm.*): ‘I have no doubt that the Roman authorities zealously guarded the mining and use of gold (even coin) in the military provinces. This becomes much more noticeable in the later Empire. Put simply I do not think the average person really had access to gold and that its circulation was generally restricted.’ Against this I would note that the analysis of findspots of Roman gold coins in Britain contained in Bland and Lorient, 53–74, would seem to indicate that at most periods gold coins were broadly distributed across Britain, although there are distinct concentrations in military sites and towns.

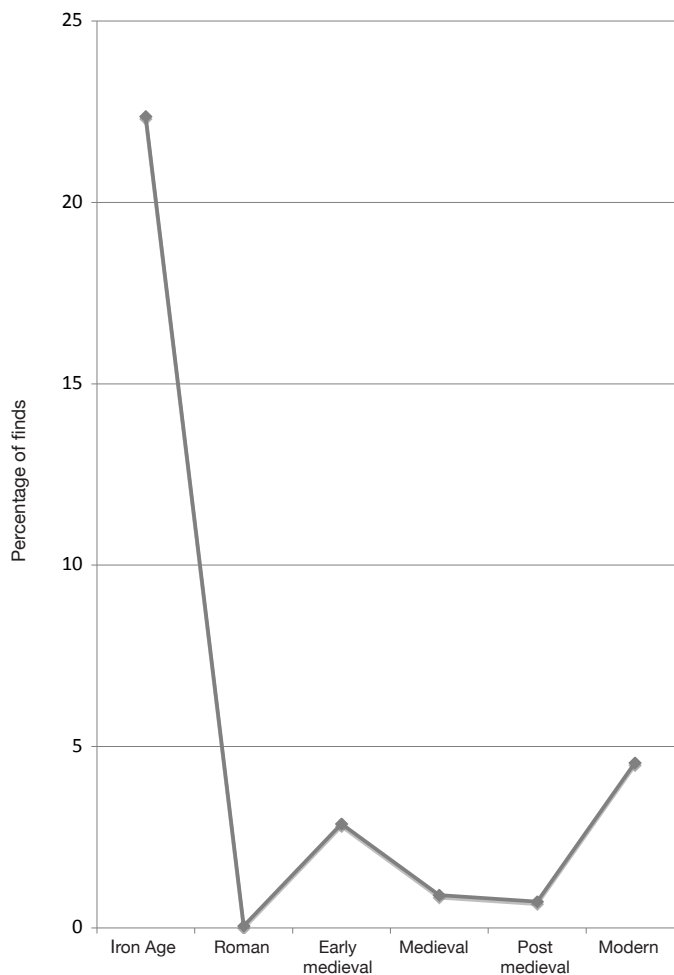


Fig. 9. Proportion of gold coins recorded on PAS database (Bland and Lorient 2010).

The third century AD

If we look more closely at the hoards of radiates which close with coins minted between 253 and 296, one distinguishing feature of them is that many very large and indeed the four largest hoards of Roman coins from Britain all date to this period:

Cunetio Hoard (1978):³⁰ 54,951 coins to AD 275

Frome Hoard (2010):³¹ 52,503 coins to c.AD 291

Normanby Hoard (1985):³² 47,912 coins to c.AD 290

Blackmoor hoard (1873):³³ 29,788 coins to c.AD 296.

The average size of 96 radiate hoards discovered since Robertson's *Inventory* is 1,124 coins, but of course that largely reflects their low intrinsic value. However, the fact that they are large might mean that it is more likely that they will be discovered – whether by metal detecting today, or by building or agricultural work in times past. So how do we interpret all these hoards? As I have said, the normal interpretation is that they were buried by their owners in response to an external threat of invasion or civil unrest, with the intention of returning later to recover them.

³⁰ Besly and Bland 1983.

³¹ Moorhead, Booth and Bland 2010.

³² Bland and Burnett 1988.

³³ Bland 1982.

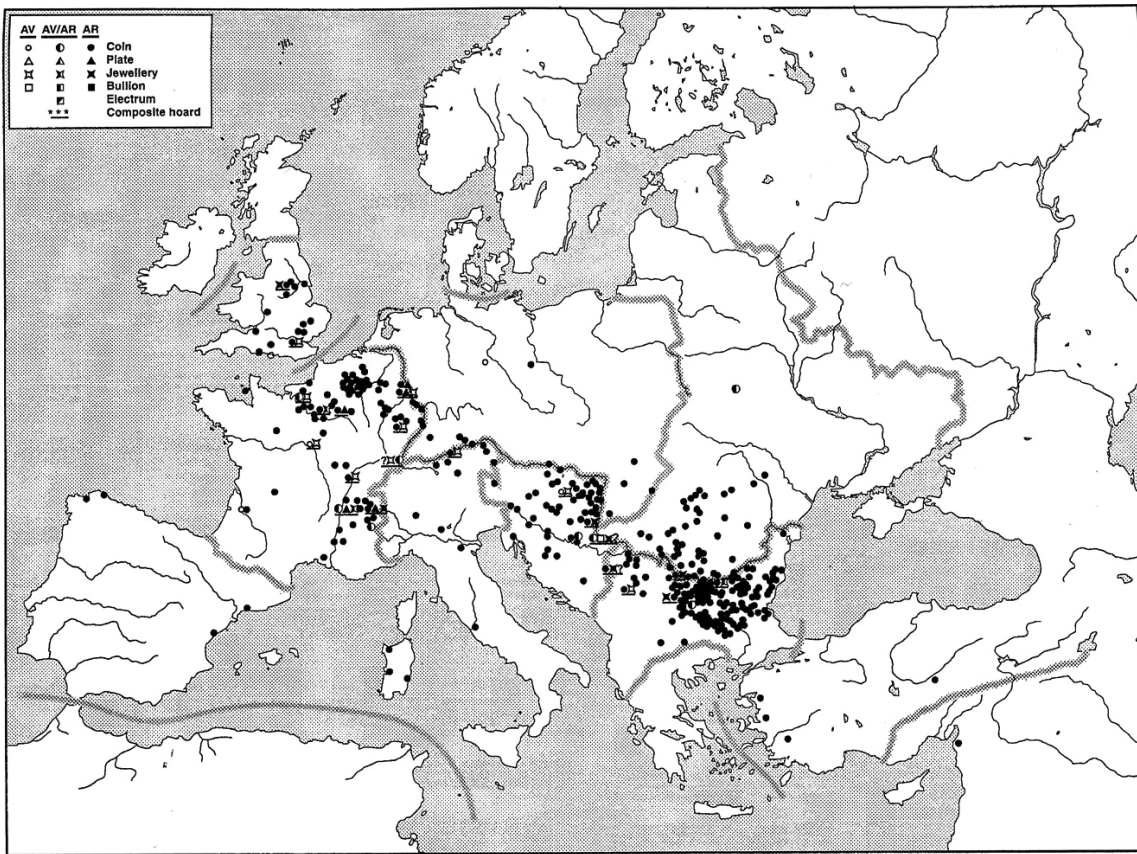


Fig. 11. Precious-metal deposits of 238–59 (Hobbs 2006).

So what of Britain? If Britain has a greater concentration of coin hoards of this period than Gaul does, can we assume that the barbarian raids caused even greater destruction on this side of the Channel than on the Continent? The interesting thing is that the archaeological evidence does not seem to support that. In 1981 Peter Salway wrote: ‘the evidence suggests that ... civil life ... continued in fair prosperity’ and ‘it seems to be established ... that Britain was relatively untouched by the convulsions elsewhere in the empire in the mid-third century.’³⁷ The final quarter of the century saw the establishment of many villas which reached their apogee in the first half of the fourth century, and by this period Britain appears to have been one of the wealthiest areas north of the Alps – along with Aquitania in south-west France and the area around the imperial capital of Trier.

It is interesting to compare the British pattern with hoards from the rest of the Roman world. Fig. 11 is a map of hoards closing between 238 and 260 from Hobbs.³⁸ This includes all hoards, including gold and silver objects. Note the great concentration in the Danube area, especially present-day Bulgaria, with relatively few from Britain and Gaul. It is difficult to separate this pattern from the historical evidence we have for continued fighting in the lower Danube including the defeat of Trajan Decius at the battle of Abritus in 251.

Fig. 12 is also from Hobbs’ book and shows hoards with a terminal date from 260 to 274. The focus now moves westwards to Gaul and Britain – again it seems reasonable to assume that this reflects the well-documented pressure on the German frontier at this period. To this are added the major barbarian raids on the Empire in the 260s – although of course there is a

³⁷ Salway 1981, 243.

³⁸ Hobbs 2006.

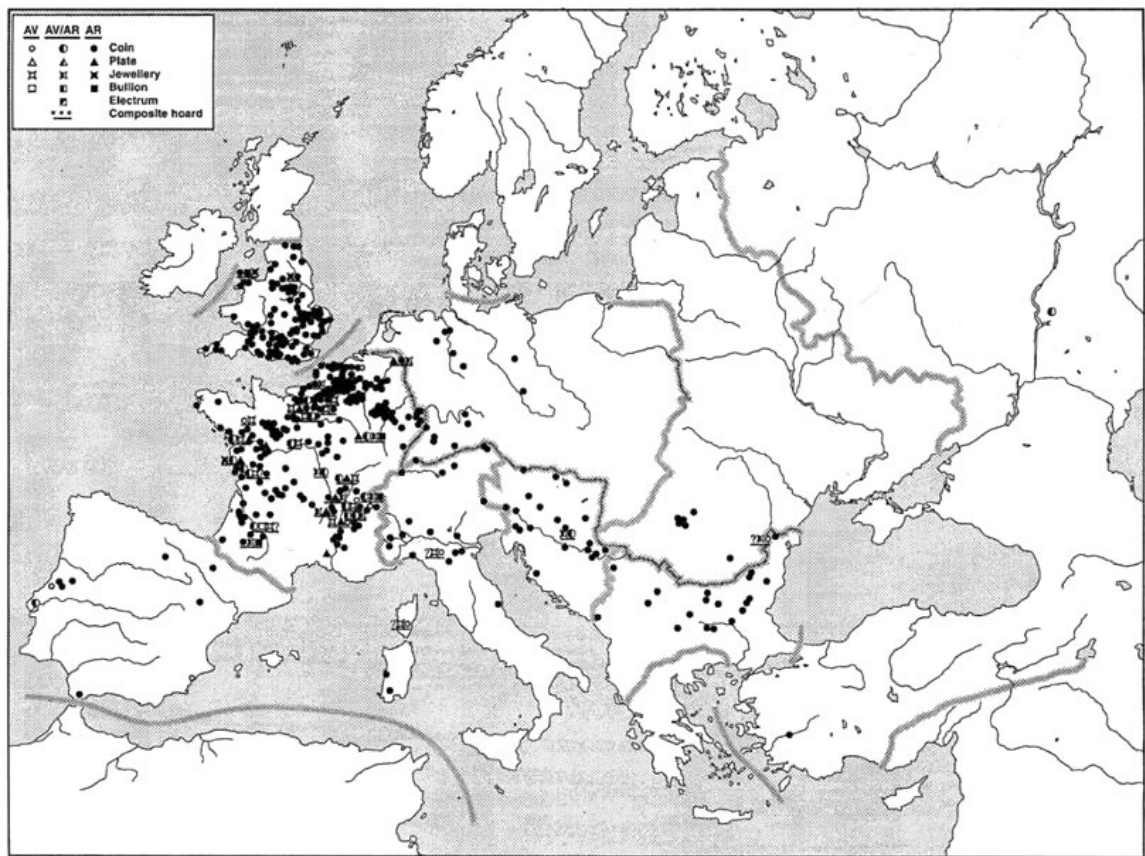


Fig. 12. Precious-metal deposits of 260–74 (Hobbs 2006) showing major barbarian invasions (after Jones and Mattingly 2002, map 5.6).

danger of a circular argument here, since the compilers of this map may well have used the pattern of coin hoards in drawing the main lines of attack. That proviso apart, there does seem to be a correlation (the lack of hoards from present-day Turkey could reflect a low recording rate). Fig. 13, also from Hobbs, shows hoards with a terminal date of 274–96. It is interesting that now there is a very strong concentration in Britain with much lower numbers elsewhere. Does this mean that Britain was facing unprecedented pressures at this time? We have just seen that the archaeological evidence does not seem to support that conclusion.³⁹

Contextual evidence for Roman hoards

So do any Roman hoards have contexts that might provide clues as to why they were buried? One of the most intriguing pieces of contextual information came from the discovery of the Frome hoard.⁴⁰ This was found by metal detector user Dave Crisp while detecting on farmland near Frome in Somerset in April 2010. The archaeological record contained no information about Roman activity on this field, although Mr Crisp had found a stray coin of Hadrian and some sherds of Roman pottery. His first discovery was a scattered group of 73 late fourth-century *siliquae* and subsequent research revealed that a hoard of 111 coins of the same type had been discovered on the same farm in 1867, so perhaps this was another portion of that hoard. He continued to search in the same field and received another response about 100 metres from the findspot of the *siliquae*. Digging down, he uncovered the top of a large pot

³⁹ Casey 1986, 65–6 had already observed this apparent anomaly.

⁴⁰ Moorhead, Booth and Bland 2010.

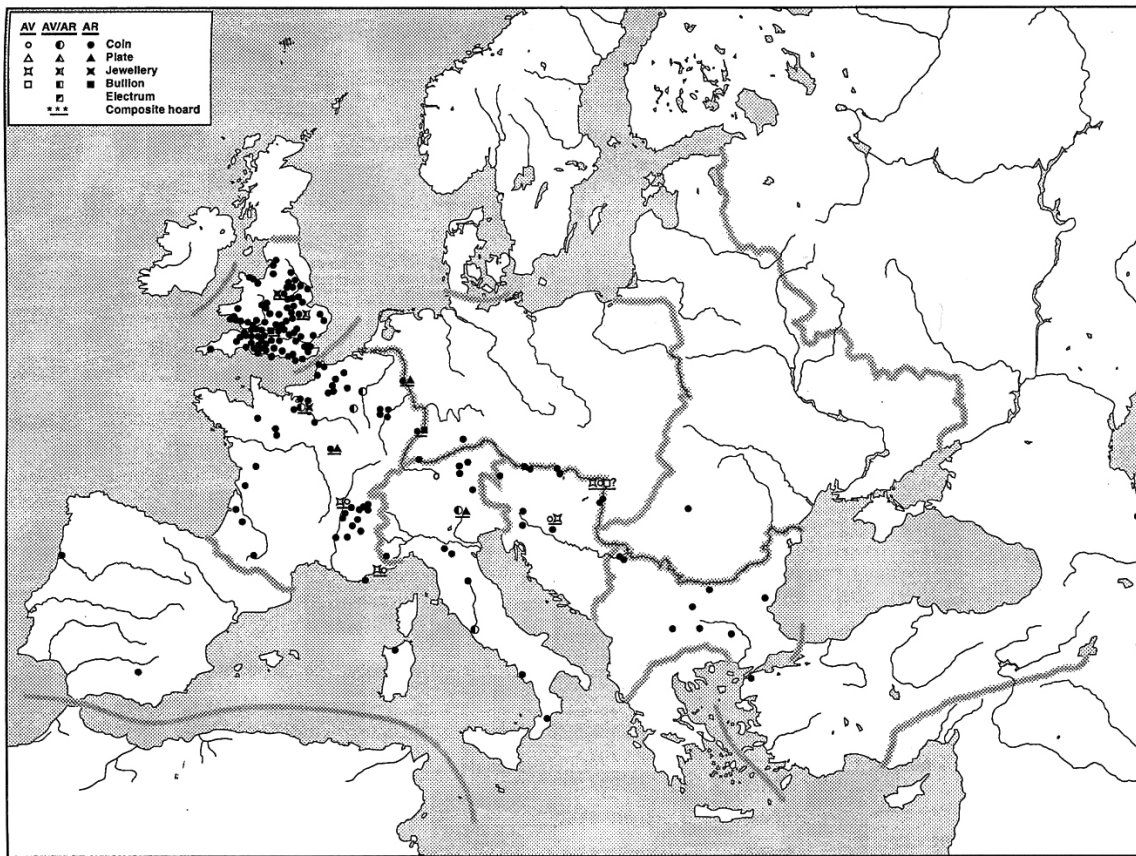


Fig. 13. Precious-metal deposits of 275–96 (Hobbs 2006).

that turned out to be full of coins. At that point he stopped and his local Finds Liaison Officers arranged for the hoard to be excavated by the archaeologist Alan Graham. Because of the size of the pot and the weight of the coins, it was dismantled in situ and the coins were removed carefully layer by layer in over 80 context bags. There were 52,503 coins, making it the second largest hoard ever to be discovered in Britain. Apart from five silver denarii of Carausius, the coins were all radiates of base silver, dating from 253 to *c.* 291 (the last two issues of Carausius were not represented). This is a summary of the hoard, based on a preliminary classification; it is a typical hoard of a well known class.

TABLE 2. Provisional summary of the Frome hoard

Central Empire (14,788)	<i>Date</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	Gallic Empire (28,377)	<i>Date</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Valerian and Gallienus	253–60	46	Postumus	260–69	257
Gallienus and Salonina	260–68	6,495	Laelian	269	4
Claudius II	268–70	5,421	Marius	269	35
Divus Claudius	270	1,227	Victorinus	269–71	7,504
Quintillus	270	333	Tetricus I	271–74	12,416
Aurelian and Severina	270–75	279	Tetricus II	272–74	5,203
Tacitus and Florian	275–76	262	Gallic uncertain	260–74	2,954
Probus	276–82	619	British Empire (766)		
Carus and family	282–85	46	Carausius	286–93	766
Diocletian and Maximian	284–96	60	Copies (314)		314
			Illegible (8,261)		8,261

The excavation has given us vital evidence about how the hoard was buried. The first point that became obvious is that the pot, which is quite thin, could never have borne the 160 kg of

coins – it would immediately have collapsed under the weight of them. So the pot must have been placed in the ground empty and then the coins added to it. Because the coins were carefully recovered in a series of ten layers or spits we know that most of the coins of Carausius (the latest coins in the hoard) were more than halfway down the pot, and Fig. 14b shows the numbers of his coins in each layer. In addition, the forty-three Carausian coins in the top two layers have a much earlier chronological spread than those found lower down the pot. So the coins must all have been placed in the pot on a single occasion. This calls into question the traditional interpretation of hoards of this period. If the original owners of this hoard had intended to come back and recover it later then surely they would have buried their coins in smaller containers which would have been easier to recover? The only way anyone could have recovered this hoard would have been by breaking the pot and scooping the coins out of it, which would have been awkward. In addition there is the fact that another hoard of silver *siliquae*, just 100 years later in date, was buried in the same field. Could this have been a sacred field?⁴¹ It is interesting to note that the hoard was buried on high ground, in land that would become waterlogged without drainage.

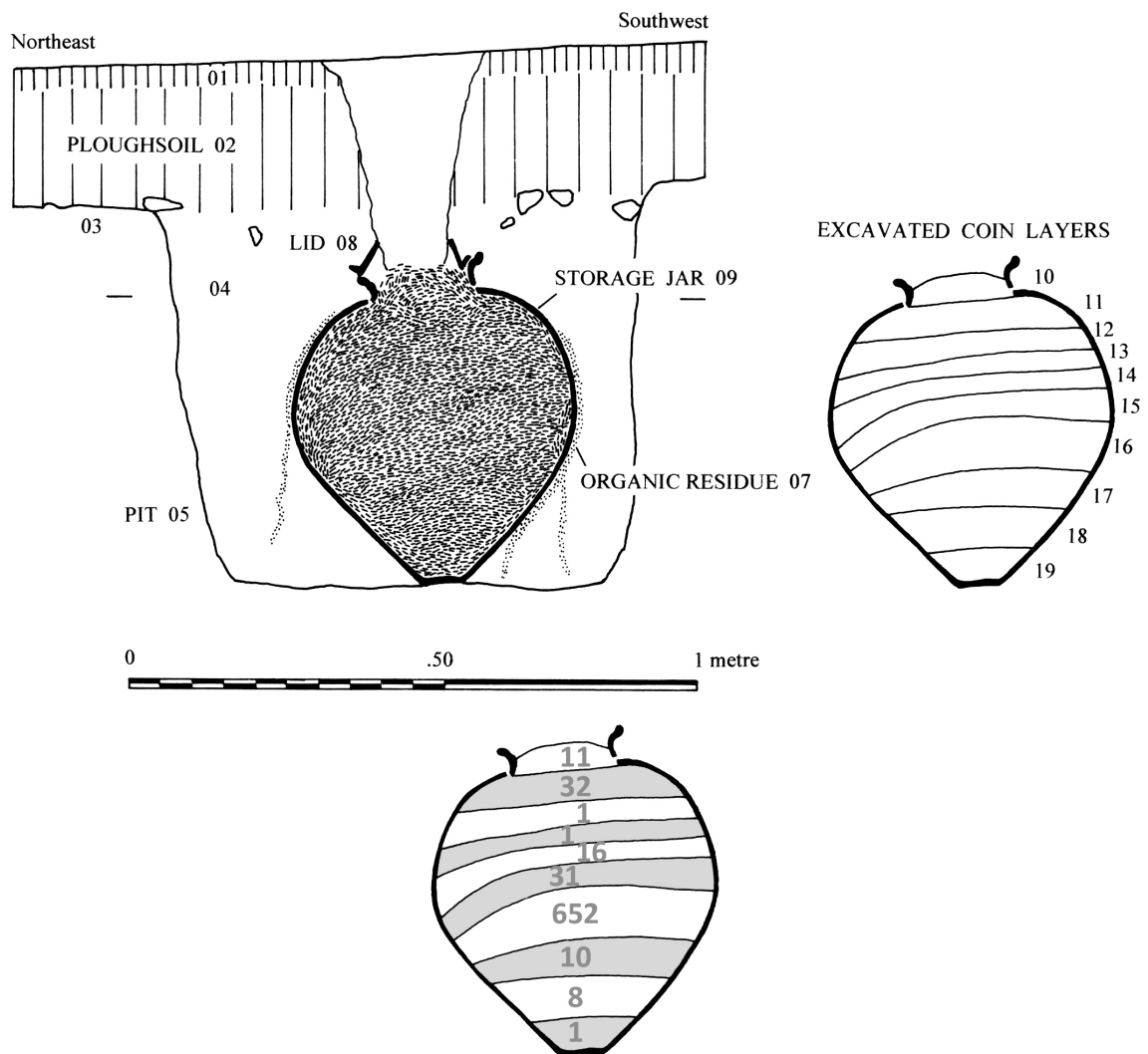


Fig. 14. Plan of the Frome hoard pot (Moorhead, Booth and Bland 2010, drawn by Alan Graham); on right, numbers of coins of Carausius in each layer (courtesy Mike Pitts).

⁴¹ This suggestion was first made by Richard Reece (*pers. comm.*).

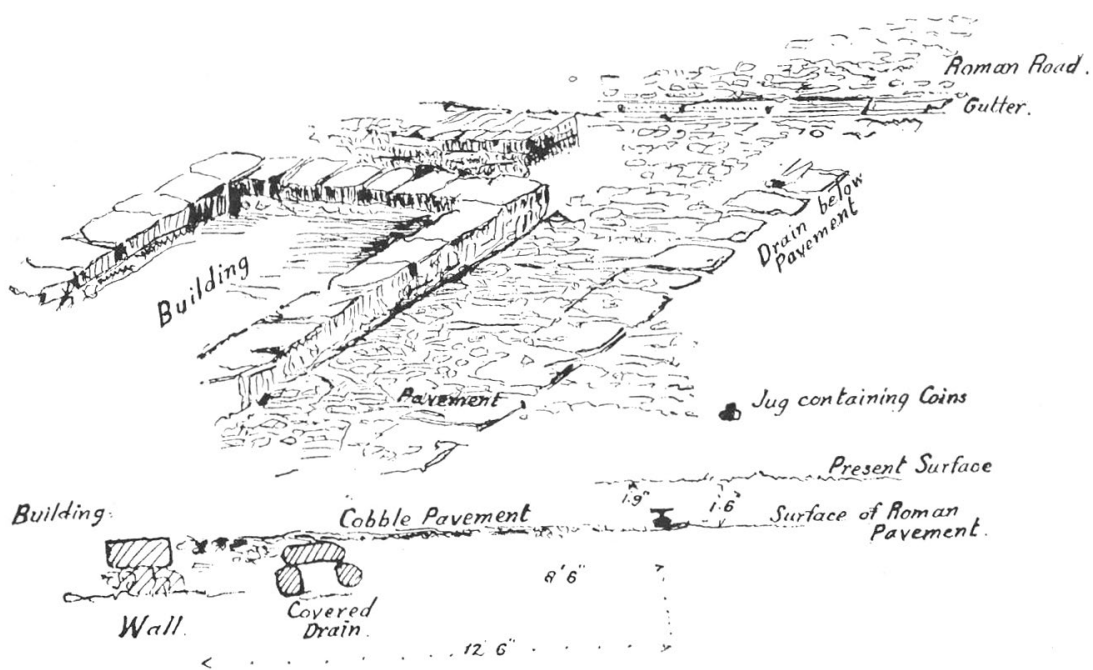


Fig. 15. Findspot of Corbridge hoard and jug containing the coins (from Macdonald 1912).

Some Roman coin hoards do have contextual information that suggests a different reason for burial. The Corbridge hoard of 162 gold aurei, closing in AD 160, was found during archaeological excavations in 1911.⁴² They were buried in a jug beneath the floor of a building in the Roman military supply base at Corbridge, just south of Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 15). We know that that period was a time of considerable difficulties in northern Britain and it is quite likely that these were buried by one of the garrison at Corbridge in response to a raid across the Wall.

⁴² Craster 1912; Macdonald 1912.



Fig. 16. The Cotswold hoard.

Hoards can also be associated with human burials, such as the hoard recently found in the Cotswolds north of Bath (Fig. 16). There are two pots: the smaller one has 1,435 Roman coins (radiates of the third century AD closing in AD 282), while the larger one has been x-rayed and contains a human cremation together with another nine coins.

Sometimes, it seems, hoards could be deliberately thrown away. A hoard of 622 small module radiate copies, the so-called 'barbarous radiates', dating to *c.*274, was excavated by archaeologists in the Roman fort at Cardiff Castle in 2006 (Fig. 17). It seems surprising that metal objects would be thrown away, but it does seem to have happened in this case.

Hoards can also be buried in several pots, such as the example (Fig. 18) from Chalfont St Peter, Buckinghamshire, which contained three pots of coins, all radiates of the third century AD, where the coins were carefully graded in each pot with the earlier, better quality, radiates in two pots and the later, more debased issues in a third container.⁴³

It is easy to assume that in a period when both hoards and the coins in them are very abundant, the deposition of the hoard is likely to take place quite soon after the date of the latest coin. This is certainly the case with the very numerous hoards of the second half of the third century AD. However, a hoard discovered at Bredon Hill, Worcestershire, in 2011 (Fig. 19) has challenged that assumption. This was buried in a pot and contained 3,847 third-century radiates closing with 36 specimens of Probus (276–82) and it is a typical example of a hoard of this period. However, the findspot was investigated by the local archaeological unit which concluded that the hoard was buried inside a building and that the pit cut for the vessel containing the coins disturbed the latest layer of that building which was dated to not before 350,

⁴³ Bland 1992; see also Callu 1979 on the subject of multiple hoards.



Fig. 17. Hoard of 'barbarous radiates' from Cardiff Castle (British Museum 2008, cat. 1248).



Fig. 18. Chalfont St Peter hoard (Bland 1992).

70 years later than the latest coins.⁴⁴ No other examples of the deposition of a radiate hoard so long after the date of the latest coin is known, although there is another possible example from a Romano-British site at Lilleshall, Shropshire. Here excavations in 1973 in advance of road building brought to light a hoard of 69 radiates, closing with coins of Tetricus (271–74), deposited in a ditch (Ditch VII) which also contained a coin of Honorius in its infill, therefore dating to after 395.⁴⁵ However, since the ditch surrounded an enclosure whose function is not certain, this is not as clear cut an example as the Bredon Hill hoard.⁴⁶

Of course hoards vary enormously in size, and clearly we should not assume the same motive behind the deposition of a very modest hoard such as ten fourth-century *nummi* found at Uckington in Gloucestershire (Treasure reference 2010 T244, PAS database record PAS-52F818) and a find like the Hoxne treasure of 580 gold and 14,654 silver coins and some 200

⁴⁴ *BNJ* 82 (2012), Coin Hoards from the British Isles 2012, no. 36.

⁴⁵ Browne and Boon 2004.

⁴⁶ Martin Allen (*pers. comm.*) has suggested that it may be possible to question the archaeological interpretation of the stratigraphy in both these cases: as he points out 'stratigraphy is not a precise science'.



Fig. 19. Bredon Hill hoard.

items of gold and silver jewellery, buried some time after AD 407.⁴⁷ That clearly belonged to a wealthy family. One is put in mind of the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under 418: 'In this year the Romans collected all the treasures which were in Britain and hid some in the earth so that no one afterwards could find them, and some they took with them into Gaul.'⁴⁸ Although this was written more than 450 years later than the year it refers to, it does seem to preserve the memory of an event that took place at the end of Roman rule in Britain.

Some Roman hoards clearly are votive in character. The Ashwell find of 27 gold and silver objects, including gold jewellery, a silver figurine and votive plaques of silver alloy and gold (Fig. 20) was originally made by a detector user in 2002 and the site was subsequently investigated by archaeologists.⁴⁹ The hoard dates to the later third or fourth century AD and it must have been connected to a temple or shrine of the hitherto unknown goddess Senuna, who is named on five of the gold plaques.

But what about the Water Newton hoard of Christian silver (Fig. 21)? As Painter has demonstrated, that is also clearly religious in character, but could it have been buried for votive reasons?⁵⁰ Since the hoard consists of items used for communion and therefore votive deposition would not be appropriate, this hoard is interpreted as having been buried for safe-keeping.

On the other hand it is reasonable to assume that the 12,595 Roman coins found in the excavations of the Sacred Spring of the Roman baths at Bath, which come from the whole

⁴⁷ Guest 2005; Johns 2010.

⁴⁸ Garmonsway 1972, 11.

⁴⁹ DCMS 2004, cat. 27; Jackson and Burleigh 2007.

⁵⁰ Painter 1977, 1999 and 2006.

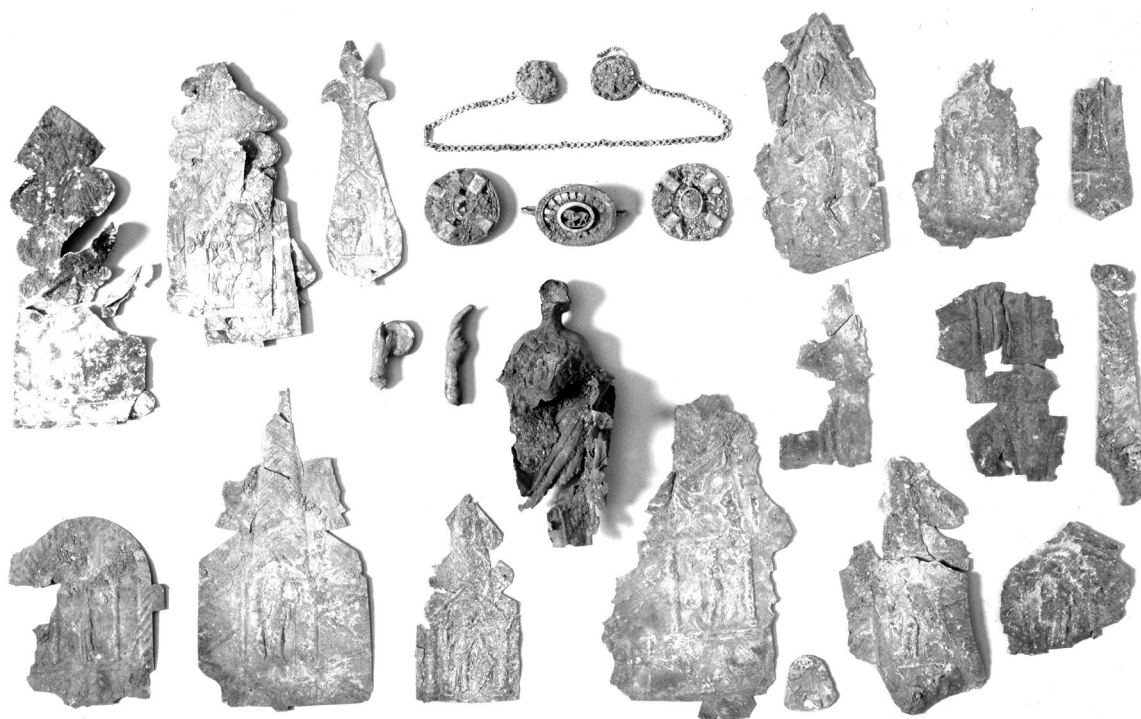


Fig. 20. Ashwell hoard (DCMS 2004).



Fig. 21. Water Newton hoard.

period of Roman occupation of Britain are not a hoard, but had been thrown into the sacred spring rather as we throw coins into fountains today.⁵¹ Other finds like this are known from Coventina's Well,⁵² the Thames at London Bridge and Piercebridge in County Durham.⁵³ Kenneth Painter provides a very thought-provoking account of the nature of Roman votive deposits.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Walker 1988.

⁵² Allason-Jones and McKay 1985.

⁵³ Walton 2008.

⁵⁴ Painter forthcoming.

Medieval hoards

Post-Roman hoards are generally assumed to have been buried with the intention of recovery. Hoards of silver of the Viking period are well-known from Britain and Ireland, the best known recent example being the Vale of York hoard, discovered by detector users in 2007 and the largest Viking Age hoard since Cuerdale was discovered in 1840. Gareth Williams and Barry Ager were able to connect its burial with the events surrounding Athelstan gaining control over the kingdom of Northumbria in 927.⁵⁵ Similarly the large hoard of 1,237 gold coins and jewellery of the fifteenth century found during building work at Fishpool in Nottinghamshire in 1966 can be associated with known events during the Wars of the Roses.⁵⁶ It was probably deposited some time between winter 1463 and summer 1464, during a Lancastrian rebellion against Edward IV.

Hoard of the English Civil War

In 1974 John Kent discussed coin hoards buried at the time of the English Civil War. He argued that there was no correlation between the storm centres of the war and the location of the hoards, apart from a cluster around Newark on Trent, besieged three times in 1644–46.⁵⁷ His distribution map is shown below (Fig. 22). However, this work has been revisited by Edward Besly, who has been able to add in many new hoards discovered since 1974 and, by analysing these much more closely according to the year of issue of the latest coin, he is able to show that there is a correlation between the hoards and the areas of fighting – which are very well documented.⁵⁸ We can, therefore, conclude that the general pattern of hoarding at this time does support the threat model – as does Pepys's slightly later account of how he buried a hoard of coins.

Two documented cases of hoarding

In his diary Pepys provides one of the few documented accounts that we have of the burial and recovery of a coin hoard.⁵⁹ In June 1667, deeply concerned by the raid of the Dutch up the Medway and Thames, Pepys took all the gold coins he could lay his hands on in London (£2,300 worth) and sent his wife and servant to bury them on the family estate in Brampton in Northamptonshire. In October, when the threat had passed, he went back to retrieve them but had great difficulty finding where his wife had hidden the coins and, even after a great deal of digging, ended up £20–£30 short of the amount that had been buried. This is a good example of deliberate burial of wealth under threat of invasion, with the intention of recovery.

Pepys's account is well-known. A more recent example is provided by the discovery in 2007 of a hoard US gold 'double eagles' (\$20 coins) in the garden of a house in Hackney.⁶⁰ While digging out a pond in the garden of the property, residents of the block of flats there came on a glass kilner jar containing 80 of these coins, which dated to between 1853 and 1913 (Fig. 23).⁶¹

This was an unprecedented discovery and a programme of research was started into the building where the find was made. The building that currently stands on the site was built in the early 1950s, replacing an earlier house destroyed in the Blitz in 1940. Extensive research was undertaken to see if it might be possible to trace past residents, to identify who might have buried the coins, but the flats had been used as nurses' accommodation and married quarters for the police and there were too many possibilities. So in October 2010 the coroner opened

⁵⁵ Williams and Ager 2010.

⁵⁶ Archibald and Cherry 1966.

⁵⁷ Kent 1974.

⁵⁸ Besly forthcoming; Besly and Briggs 2013.

⁵⁹ Painter and Künzl 1997.

⁶⁰ Richardson 2013.

⁶¹ A great deal of the research on the Hackney hoard (including finding Martin's Sulzbacher's son, Max) was done by my colleague, Ian Richardson, Treasure Registrar at the British Museum, to whom my thanks.

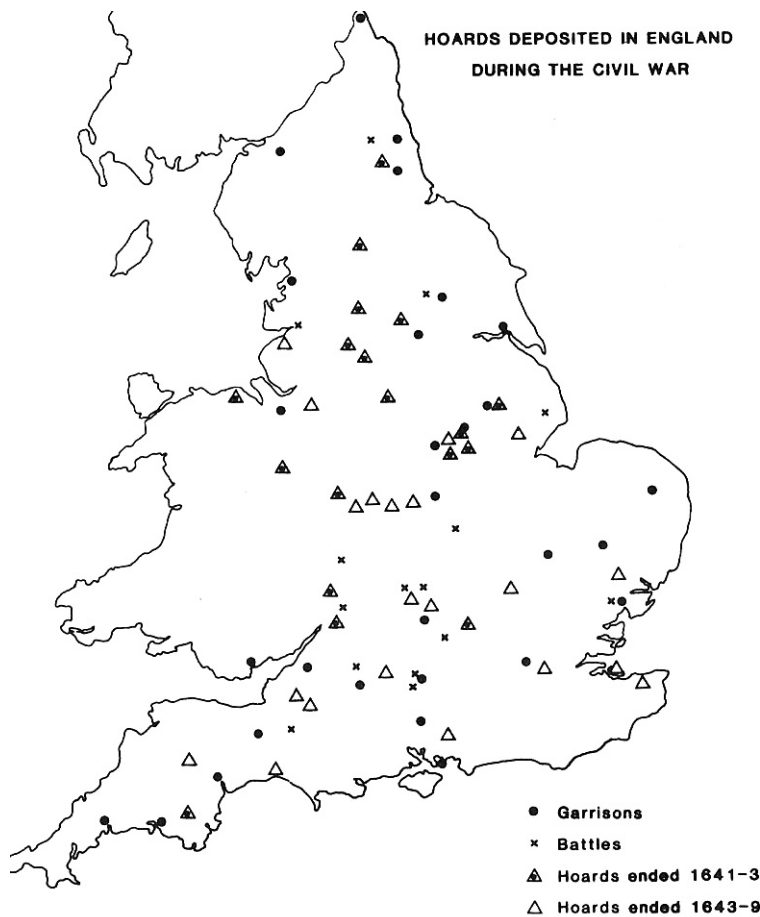


Fig. 22. Civil War hoards from England (Kent 1974).

his inquest on the hoard in order to publicize the discovery to see if any claimants might come forward. Although no claimants did reveal themselves, a local historian, Mr Alan Selby, contacted the British Museum with a vital piece of evidence. He discovered that the Hackney Gazette for 14 March 1952 had published an account of a coroner's inquest held on another hoard, also consisting of US gold coins, which had been found in the garden of the same house (Fig. 24). The news report said that the 1952 hoard had been claimed by its owner, Mr Martin Sulzbacher and we were then able to make contact with his son, Max Sulzbacher, now living in Jerusalem, and through him the whole extraordinary story came out.

The coins had been smuggled out of Germany by Martin Sulzbacher, a German Jewish banker, who came to England as a refugee in 1938 and was subsequently joined by his parents, brother and other members of his family. Martin Sulzbacher bought the house in Hackney and lived there with his family. He put his coins in a safe deposit box in a bank in the City. In 1940 he was interned as an enemy alien and was sent to Canada on the *Arandora Star* but the ship was torpedoed on the way. Rescued after many



Fig. 23. Hackney hoard.

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TWO NEW MONEYERS FROM ECGBERHT'S WEST SAXON MINT

RORY NAISMITH

A CATALOGUE published late in 2011 contained details of nine moneyers named on a total of thirty-two surviving coins issued under Ecgberht, king of the West Saxons (802–39), from a mint (or mints) in Wessex.¹ This rare West Saxon coinage first emerged under Beorhtric (786–802) and can be traced down to the reign of Æthelred I (865–71).² Following the lead of Michael Dolley, it has been customary to attribute these pennies to either Southampton or Winchester.³ However, no mint signature was ever used.

Since the 2011 catalogue was completed, two significant new specimens of the West Saxon coinage have come to the author's attention, both furnishing important new evidence for the complement of moneyers. One provides the name of a completely new moneyer; the other confirms and completes the reading of a fragment recorded in 1919 and never seen since.



Fig. 1. Ecgberht penny, West Saxon mint, moneyer Cuthbald (NUMIS, Geldmuseum, Utrecht).

Obv. **HECGBEORHT REX** (lozenge-shaped O) around a beaded inner circle containing a monogram for *Saxon*.

Rev. **HEVTHBÆLD** around a beaded inner circle containing a cross pattée with wedges in angles.

Found at Bloemendaal, Noord-Holland, Netherlands, 1994 (NUMIS (Geldmuseum, Utrecht) 1004875). 1.36 g, 180°.

The first coin (Fig. 1) was found in 1994 by a metal-detectorist in the Netherlands. Its moneyer, Cuthbald, is otherwise unknown. It also differs from all other extant specimens of Ecgberht's West Saxon coinage in its placement of wedges in the angles of the reverse cross. This feature is found on West Saxon pennies of Æthelwulf (839–58), perhaps indicating a relatively late date for Cuthbald's penny.⁴ The epigraphy and form of the monogram are paralleled among other pennies of this issue for Ecgberht.⁵ A curious feature is the spelling of the moneyer's name, as the phoneme /θ/ was normally represented with the runic letter þ or ð. The spelling *th* was, however, used occasionally in early West Saxon Old English sources, including early manuscripts of 'Alfredian' translations.⁶

It is virtually certain that the second coin (Fig. 2) is by the same moneyer as that named on a fragment recorded in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* in 1919.⁷ There, the reading of the name was given as **HEVHTVV...Ð MOE**, from an evidently badly damaged coin. This new, whole

¹ Naismith 2011, W4–12.

² Blackburn 2003, 208–12; and Naismith 2011, I, 43–6.

³ Dolley 1970.

⁴ Naismith 2011, W13–14.

⁵ Naismith 2011, W4h (a coin of the moneyer Beornheard) is closest: it has the same twelve o'clock alignment of the outer legend relative to the monogram, and also a lozenge-shaped O in the king's name.

⁶ *Pers. comm.* Dr Philip Shaw.

⁷ Naismith 2011, W12a; *NCirc* 27 (1919), col. 361, no. 74703.



Fig. 2. Ecgberht penny, West Saxon mint, moneyer Withnoth (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

Obv. **HEGEBEORHT REX** (lozenge-shaped **O**) around a beaded inner circle containing a monogram for *Saxon*.

Rev. **WVIHTNOÐ MOE** (square **O**) around a beaded inner circle containing a cross pattée.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Found near Warminster, Dorset, 2012 (EMC 2012.0169). 1.02 g (chipped), 30°.

coin shows that what was read in 1919 as a second **VV** was an **N**, forming part of the orthodox, if rare, Old English name Wihthnoth. It is worth noting that a second West Saxon moneyer active under Beorhtric and Ecgberht had the same first name-element (Wihthun),⁸ raising the possibility that the two may have been somehow connected.⁹

The emergence of these two coins brings the total of securely known moneyers from Wessex under Ecgberht to ten. For a mint known from so few surviving coins, this is a surprisingly large number of moneyers; sufficiently so to raise questions concerning the nature of the West Saxon mint. Finds are too scarce to provide any secure evidence for origin within Wessex, and stylistic considerations are ambiguous: there are variations within the coinage, but these tend to span several moneyers and are not mutually exclusive. None, in other words, obviously reflects the work of a separate mint-place, although this possibility cannot be ruled out. However, it now seems probable that the West Saxon coinage was produced throughout Ecgberht's long reign,¹⁰ and even a relatively small on-off operation based in one place could quite feasibly have cycled through ten moneyers and several die-cutters over this near forty-year period. These two finds therefore add to the impression of the West Saxon coinage as a small but intriguing group, from a mint or mints which operated in a looser fashion than those of the southeast.

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⁸ Naismith 2011, W2 and W11.

⁹ Naismith 2012, 146.

¹⁰ Naismith 2008; Naismith 2011, I, 43–5.

THE LATER POSTHUMOUS COINAGE OF WILLIAM THE LION

IAN JONES AND KEITH SUGDEN

Introduction

ON 4 December 1214, at the age of seventy, William the Lion died at Stirling Castle, having been ill for some months. His son Alexander, a boy of sixteen, was inaugurated as King Alexander II of Scotland at Scone the following day, and only after a delay of a further four days was the old king buried at Arbroath. The haste to establish Alexander as king hints at the uncertainty in the succession: the principle of male primogeniture was still recent in Scotland, and William's younger brother David, as well as the McWilliam family in the North, were potential rivals for the throne. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that coins in William's name appear to have been issued for some twenty years after his death (though of course this parallels the situation in England, where neither Richard nor John felt the need to remove their father's name from their coins).

The Short Cross coinage issued by William the Lion commenced in 1195, and has been divided by Ian Stewart (Lord Stewartby) into five phases.¹ In Stewart phase (a), coins identifying both moneyer and the mint of issue were struck by Hue at Edinburgh, by Walter at Perth and by Raul at Roxburgh. Phase (b) is a large series in the names of Hue, Walter, and Henri le Rus, but without mint names; at the end of phase (b) Hue is replaced by Adam. In phase (c), all struck at Roxburgh, Adam continued, but Walter is replaced by Peris, Aimer, and then Adam, the latter being joined in phases (d) and (e) (coins in the name of King Alexander II) by other moneyers. The series of Short Cross coins is thought to have ended in 1250, when, as in England a few years previously, it was replaced by the Long Cross coinage.²

The precise order of moneyer activity in phase (c) was thought by Stewart to be Adam, followed by Aimer and Adam, and finally Peris and Adam, with both Adam and Peris (the latter now signing as Pieres) continuing into phase (d).³ However, the assumption that Peris and Pieres are the same man is unproven, although at Durham, for example, Allen notes a moneyer Pieres who signs as Pires in English Short Cross class 4b, Peres in 5a2, and Pieres from 5b onwards.⁴

Which coins were being issued at the time of William's death is somewhat uncertain, but it is likely to have been the end of the long series in the names of the moneyers Hue, Walter, and Henri le Rus, with no mint signature (Stewart phase (b), Burns⁵ group VI), since the coins of Stewart phase (c) from the mint of Roxburgh are accepted as being entirely posthumous issues. Stewart has suggested that, since coins in the name of Alexander were not found in the Eccles hoard of 1864, which can be dated by its English component to 1230, but were present in the Colchester hoard of 1902, dated to 1237, phase (c) coins in the name of William were probably minted until the mid 1230s.⁶ This brief study examines the dies used for the final part of the phase (b) coinage, and the coinage of phase (c), since they all appear to constitute the latter part of the posthumous coinage of William the Lion.

Acknowledgements. The authors wish to thank the National Museums of Scotland and the University of Aberdeen Museums for permission to illustrate coins in their collections. Coins from the British Museum are reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

¹ Stewart 1971, 203–4.

² Stewart 1967, 16.

³ Stewart 1955–57, 278.

⁴ Allen 2003, 168–70.

⁵ Burns 1887, 1, 85–6.

⁶ Stewart 1980, 197.

Results

Eighty coins (listed in the Appendix) were examined, by photograph or by actual coins, from the following sources:

The British Museum
 The National Museums of Scotland
 University of Aberdeen Museums
 SCBI 35 (Ashmolean Museum and Hunterian Museum)⁷
 Coin auction catalogues and major articles in the numismatic literature
 The collection of one of the authors.

Twelve obverse dies and twenty-four reverse dies were identified; they are listed in Tables 1 and 2, and illustrated on **Pl. 5**. One reverse die in Table 2 (C) was described by Burns, but no coin matching the description could be found.⁸

TABLE 1. Obverse dies

<i>Die</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Inscription</i>
1	Left	+LEREIWILA°.
2	Left	LEREIWI[]
3	Left	.WILLELMVSRE+
4	Left	.WILLELMV[]JR
5	Left	WILELMVSRE+
6	Left	:WILLELMVSREX:C+: (<i>retrograde</i>)
7	Right	+WILLELMVS.REX:
8	Right	+.:WILLELMVSREX:
9	Right	+WILLELMVSREC.X
10	Left	+LEREIWILAM
11	Right	+WILELMVSRECX::
12	Right	WILLELMVS.REX

TABLE 2. Reverse dies

<i>Die</i>	<i>Inscription</i>
A	*WAV:[]
B	*WAV:TER.EhV
(C)	(*WAVTER.:EhV) (not illustrated on Pl. 5)
D	+WAVTER.E.Hv
E	[]:TER.Eh
F	+VVAV.TEREh
G	+WAVTERE.h.V
H	[]E.REh.
I	+WAVTEREh
J	+.V.V.AV.TERE
K	+WALTER:ADAm
L	+WA.LTER:ADAM:
M	+PE[]DAM:DE:ROC:
N	+PERIS.ADAMDEROCI:
O	+PERISADAMONROE
P	+PERIS.ADAM.ONR.
Q	+PERISADAMONRO
R	+PERIS.ADAMON[]JOC
S	+PERISADEONROREE
T	+PERISADAM:ONROC
U	+AIMER.ADAMONROh.
V	+AIMER:ADAMOHRO:
W	+ADAM:OD.ROCE
X	+ADAM:ONRORE:

⁷ Bateson and Mayhew 1987.

⁸ Burns 1887, I, 86.

Extensive die linkages were established (see Fig. 1), enabling a suggested order of die usage to be constructed. The series starts with an obverse die (1) which was clearly reused from an earlier coinage, since it resembles closely the dies of Burns group III in the Hue Walter series, and additionally appears 'hubbed', suggesting reuse, perhaps after storage. Unexpectedly, the style and title of the king does not seem to have chronological meaning: most of the early Hue Walter coins style William as LE REI WILAM, and the later coins and phase (c) style him WILLELMVS REX or a variant, but die 10 (if our order of dies is correct) is anomalous in reading LE REI WILAM. It is also unusual in having a left facing bust, where later busts tend to be right facing.

The reverse dies appear to indicate two periods of coining: an initial period including the late phase (b) coins of Walter Ehu (Hue), Walter Adam and the early Peris Adam coins of phase (c); and a later period, commencing with obverse die 7 (head right) and finishing at the end of phase (c). There does not appear to be any die linking between the two groups, contrasting with the extensive linkages within groups. Stewart thought that the order of moneyer activity in phase (c) was Adam, then Aimer and Adam, and finally Peris and Adam, with both Adam and Peris (now signing as Pieres) continuing into phase (d). However, the pattern of die linkages that has emerged makes this unlikely, and the order appears to be Walter Adam (from phase (b)), Peris Adam, Aimer Adam and finally Adam alone, as he continues to coin for Alexander in the king's own name.

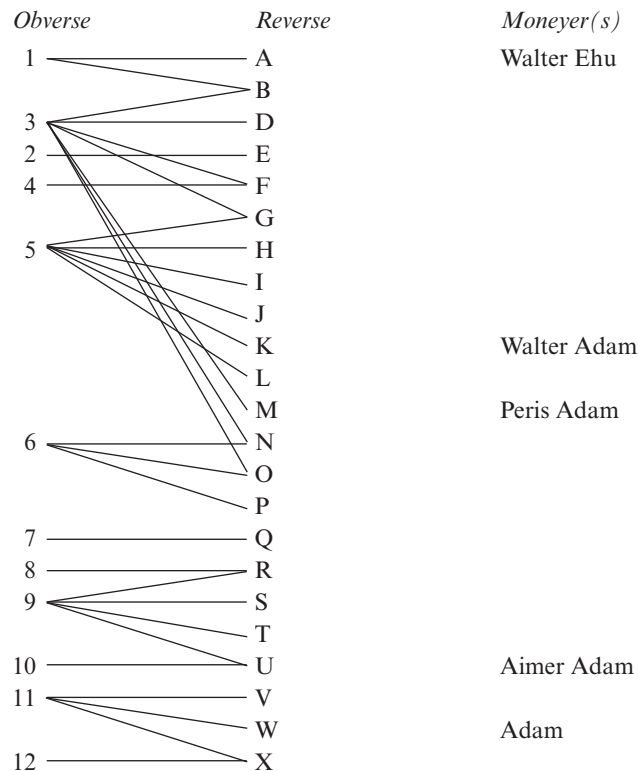


Fig. 1. Die linkages.

The pattern of die linking in Fig. 1 is worthy of note. In the English Short Cross coinage, Allen has investigated the die linkages for class 5, and has found that the smaller, one-moneyer mints tend to show one obverse die linked with two reverse dies (Durham), or three or four dies (Bury and Carlisle).⁹ In the posthumous coinage of William, and later at Roxburgh, two

⁹ Allen 1989, 69–70.

obverse dies link with no fewer than six reverse dies each, in one case covering three pairs of moneyers, while others link to one to four dies, suggesting that mint procedures were less rigorously controlled at this mint (though the period of William's posthumous coinage probably covers some twenty years, far longer than the duration of English Short Cross class 5 minting, which may account for the repeated use of some Scottish obverse dies).

At the end of the Hue Walter series there are a few enigmatic coins, badly engraved and struck, seeming to indicate the moneyers Walter and Eh(u) (Burns group VI). Burns felt that 'the letters EHV are evidently a transposition of the name of Hue' and noted that Lindsay and Wingate had thought one piece '[was] represented as reading on the reverse WALTER ED, and [was to be] attributed to Edinburgh'.¹⁰ During this study it has become apparent that there are no less than nine reverse dies reading Walter and E, Eh or Ehv, which seems to make a mistake in the die cutting improbable. Furthermore, Ehv always follows Walter, whereas Hue invariably precedes Walter in the earlier coins of phase (b). It is certainly difficult to read Ehv as an abbreviation of a name, whether personal or that of Edinburgh (which is variously given at its longest as EDENBVR or EDNEBVR in coins of phase (a)), but the dies are so crudely cut that either is possible. By contrast, the dies of Walter and Adam, which appear on the basis of die linkages to follow those of Walter Ehu, are better cut and usually quite legible.

Conclusions

The pattern of die linkages in the posthumous coinage of William the Lion suggests two phases of coining, with a revised order of moneyers. A sharp division between Stewart phase (b) – coins with no mint named – and phase (c) – coins of Roxburgh – is not tenable, since two reverse dies are used with an obverse die that was used initially in phase (b).

APPENDIX Die Combinations

Abbreviations

BM:	British Museum
Dundee:	Bowers & Ruddy Galleries with Spink sale, 19 February 1976
INJ:	collection of Ian Jones
LaRiviere:	Lucien LaRiviere sale, Spink, 29 March 2006
Lockett V:	R.C. Lockett sale, Glendining, 18 June 1957
Lockett XI:	R.C. Lockett sale, Glendining, 26 October 1960
Murray:	J.K.R Murray sale, Spink, 29 April 1987
NMS:	National Museums of Scotland

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Coins</i>
1	A	INJ (cut)
1	B	INJ
1	C	Burns 1887, I, 86 (not identified)
2	E	INJ
3	B	Dundee lot 10
3	D	Burns 64
3	F	Aberdeen University collection
3	G	INJ
3	L	BM; INJ
3	M	NMS
3	N	NMS
4	F	NMS; INJ
5	G	INJ (3, including 2 × cut ½d.)
5	H	INJ (cut ½d.)
5	I	NMS
5	J	BM; INJ (cut ½d.)
5	K	BM; SCBI 35, 84/A; Lockett XI lot 700, Dix Noonan Webb, 8 October 2002, lot 623; INJ (cut ½d.)

¹⁰ Burns 1887, I, 86.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Coins</i>
5	L	BM; NMS; Murray lot 60; INJ
6	N	NMS; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 82/A; INJ
6	O	BM; Lockett V lot 32a; INJ
6	P	NMS (× 2); INJ
7	Q	BM (× 6); NMS; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 58/H; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 80/A; Lockett V lot 32, LaRiviere lot 6; INJ
8	R	<i>SCBI</i> 35, 81/A; Christies sale, 4 December 1984, lot 5
9	R	BM
9	S	BM; NMS; Dix Noonan Webb sale, 21 June 2012, lot 931
9	T	NMS
9	U	NMS
10	U	BM
11	V	BM (× 4); NMS; Murray lot 63
11	W	BM; NMS (× 2); <i>SCBI</i> 35, 59/H; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 79/A; Murray lot 64; INJ
11	X	NMS
12	X	BM (× 2); NMS

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ANOTHER DUBLIN PENNY OF RICHARD OLOF

D.W. DYKES

IN 1964 the present writer contributed a paper to the *Journal* setting out the case for the striking in Dublin during the years 1276–79 of a coinage for Edward I in the name of his father Henry III.¹ We know from the surviving record, limited though it is, that in March 1275 Stephen of Fulbourn, recently appointed bishop of Waterford and treasurer of Ireland, brought with him to the lordship 'two dies ... to make therewith the King's money there'. By the following year and until 1279 the Dublin mint was operative under the charge of Richard Olof, a goldsmith presumably of Ostman extraction. While the resulting coinage had no connection with the major Edwardian recoinage embarked upon in 1280 – from a mint that was now under new management – its *raison d'être* was of a piece and lay in the obligation on Fulbourn to maximize the lordship's exchequer receipts and increase the level of its financial contributions to the English treasury for Edward I's military activities. It is not without relevance that 1276 was the year in which the king embarked on his conquest of Wales.²

The 1964 paper identified five 'Henry III' pennies that, although of the type that had been struck during the Irish recoinage of 1251–54 by Ricard Bonaventure, could be distinguished stylistically from the earlier coins; the more realistic rendering of the king's hair and beard

Acknowledgements. My thanks are due to David Guest and Philip Skingley for their help over the provision of illustrations.

¹ Dykes 1964, 73–9. See also Dolley and Seaby 1968, xliii–xliv and Plate X, nos. 464 and 465.

² It is impossible to compute the Irish contributions to the English treasury because of the imperfect nature of the evidence but they must have represented a considerable element of the monies received by the Dublin exchequer. Richardson and Sayles 1962, 93, admitting the defective character of their sources, suggested that between 1278 and 1299, although fluctuating from year to year, the annual average of the transfers amounted to £6,300 but it is likely that they were substantially more than this. Cf. Lydon 1964, 43 and 56.

and, on three of the coins, the presence of a Lombardic 'U' in place of a 'V'³ linking them to Lawrence class VII (c.1275–78), the last of the English Long Cross coinage.⁴ While no accounts have survived for the three years of Olof's stewardship of the mint the fact that all five of the recorded coins were from different obverse and reverse dies suggests that their present limited number does not reflect the extent of the original issue.⁵ This belief had been strengthened by the year 2000 by the appearance of two⁶ more pennies that are both struck from unrecorded dies:

(a) Offered for sale in *NCirc*, September 1992, no. 4935; Whyte's *Millenial Collection* sale, April 2000, lot 62:



No provenance recorded.

Obverse: HENRI/CVSR/EX III; Roman 'V' in 'HENRICVS'.

Reverse: RIC/ARD/OND/IUE; Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

Weight: 1.26 g.

Image reproduced by courtesy of Spink and Son Ltd.

(b) Offered for sale in *NCirc*, February 1998, no. 51:



No provenance recorded.

Obverse: HENRI/CUSR/[EX III]; Lombardic 'U' in 'HENRICVS'.

Reverse: RIC/ARD/OND/IUE; Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

Weight: not recorded.

Image reproduced by courtesy of Spink and Son Ltd.

Last summer David Guest of the Classical Numismatic Group kindly drew my attention to a third penny (c):



Provenance: From an Irish collection.

Obverse: HENRI/CVSR/EX III; Roman 'V' in 'HENRICVS'.

Reverse: RIC/ARD/OND/IUE; Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

Weight: 1.36 g.

Image reproduced by courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group Inc.

³ (i) Obverse only: Lombardic 'U' in 'HENRICVS'; (iv) both obverse and reverse: Lombardic 'U's in 'HENRICVS' and 'DIUE'; (v) reverse only: Lombardic 'U' in 'DIUE'.

⁴ Lawrence 1912, 153; Fox and Fox 1910, 93–5. It is also not without significance that, as Dolley noted, no 'Richard Olof' pennies were found in the Irish portion of the Brussels Hoard (deposited c.1265) when it was sent to the Ulster Museum for examination in 1966: Dolley and Seaby 1968, xlv and lv.

⁵ The rarity of the issue doubtless results from the complete demonetization of the Long Cross series in August 1280 and the short period that those coins that had escaped the clutches of the Irish Treasury for onward transmission to England had to find their way into hoards; most still in circulation in 1280 would, of course, have been melted down.

⁶ There may possibly be three but only the two described here are positively known to the writer.

The new coin is badly double struck but is clearly a die duplicate of (v) in the 1964 paper, an Ulster Museum penny acquired in 1962 with the purchase of Raymond Carlyon-Britton's Irish cabinet (*ex* Duke of Argyll collection).⁷ It weighs 1.36 g, comparable to the weight of (v) and accords with both the median and the average weight (1.37 g) of the pence of the 'Olof' series.⁸ When I wrote my original paper I suspected that because of its inferior style (v) might be a contemporary forgery but on seeing the actual coin shortly after publication – I had originally relied only on a photograph – I came to the conclusion that it was probably genuine and it was recorded as such in the Ulster Museum *Sylloge* volume.⁹ The adequate weight of the coin, now borne out by the CNG piece, leads me to confirm this latter view and I believe that both (v) and its newly-found die duplicate are genuine if rather barbarous and careless productions of Richard Olof's mint.

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THE DATE OF ALEXANDER III'S SECOND RECOINAGE

LORD STEWARTBY

IN the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Scottish coinage was struck to the same weight and standard as the English, giving the two currencies interchangeability in each other's jurisdiction. A consequence of this was that when the English king reformed the design of his coinage the Scottish king found it necessary after an interval to follow suit. As the economic ties between the two realms became closer, so did such intervals become shorter. In England the first coinage of Henry II (1154–89) was replaced in 1180 but an equivalent change to a Short Cross type in Scotland was not implemented until 1195. After the Short Cross coinage in England came to an end in 1247 and was then replaced by the Long Cross type, an equivalent change was made in Scotland under Alexander III in 1250. Finally, the long voided cross was displaced by a new type with a single cross in Edward I's great monetary reform of 1279. The English recoinage is thoroughly documented but none of the written records related to the Scottish recoinage have survived. There is, however, a means of determining an approximate date for the Scottish recoinage that inevitably followed.

The clue lies in the contents of an early Edwardian hoard found at Northampton in 1873.¹ This hoard was stated to have consisted of 199 coins, two of them being of Alexander III and all the rest of Edward I. The hoard was principally of interest to English numismatists with regard to the debate under way in the nineteenth century about how to separate the respective

⁷ Carlyon-Britton had himself tentatively classified (v) and (i) of my 1964 paper with the early issues of Edward I. The two coins are also illustrated in Dolley and Seaby 1968, Plate X, as nos. 465 and 464 respectively. These images are better than those in Dykes 1964, 75 and 74, a paper appearing at a time of financial stringency when the publication standards of the *Journal* left much to be desired.

⁸ The 'Richard Olof' coins range from 1.26 g to 1.45 g, the notional weight of the series being of the English standard of c.1.45 g (Allen 2012, 145–7).

⁹ Dolley and Seaby 1968, Plate X, no. 465

¹ Neck 1882.

issues of the three Edwards. To the extent that the two Scottish sterlings from Northampton were seen as relevant to this debate it was because Alexander III was a contemporary of Edward I and died many years before him. The English coins in the find, all of which have the king's name shortened to *Edw*, could therefore safely be regarded as attributable to Edward I. Burns, in *The Coinage of Scotland*, has some useful observations on the mints represented in the Northampton hoard and their possible implications for the dating of the hoard.²

Northampton is undoubtedly the earliest English find of the Edwardian era, although quite how near the start of the new coinage the treasure was deposited has not always been appreciated. This may, at least in part, be due to the rather wide bracket of dating that has often been proposed: for example, Thompson's *Inventory* gives 'c.1280–90',³ Dolley says 'before 1285',⁴ and Allen suggests '1280s'.⁵ Fortunately, in recording the English coins in the find Neck included details of individual varieties and the numbers of coins of each mint. From this information we can deduce that the coins belonged to classes I (1279), II (1279–80) and III (1280–c.1282) according to the Fox classification.⁶ The totals recorded for each mint were as follows:

London	107
Canterbury	59
Lincoln	9
Bristol	8
York royal	8
Durham	5
Bury St Edmunds	1

The single coin with the name of Robert of Hadleigh is important in providing a *terminus post quem* for the burial date of the hoard since the monastic records at Bury St Edmunds record that the new coins (IIIc) were first minted there in June 1280. At Lincoln, the other new mint of IIIc, a keeper of dies was appointed between May and October 1280.

Three mints of class III do not feature in the Northampton list: Newcastle and the bishop's mint at York, both commencing with IIIe; and Chester in IIIg only. Cash was sent to Newcastle in August 1280 to float the exchange there, and in the same month two dies were authorized for Archbishop William Wickwane at York. Cash was not sent to float the exchange at Chester until December 1280.⁷

Although the numbers of coins in the Northampton hoard from each of the recoinage mints are not very large, the fact that none of the last three mints of class III to open is represented in the hoard, whereas products of all the other mints of the group are included, renders it likely that the hoard was assembled in the summer of 1280, or thereabouts (say, the third quarter of the year), and that the contents roughly reflect the general composition of the currency at that point. The range of mints suggests that specimens of the new coinage quite quickly became mixed in circulation.

That such circulation embraced in quite a small hoard two examples of Alexander III's Scottish type, which itself must therefore have been available in the summer of 1280, means that the recoinage in Scotland looks to have been in operation probably by mid-year, or perhaps even earlier, barely a year after the launch of the English recoinage in 1279. It should also be noted that the two Alexander coins in the hoard do not belong to the earliest class in the Scottish series, because they have the letter *e* open, and the spelling *Alexander* (without an *s*), neither of which are characteristic of the rare class A. Presumably therefore they would have been attributable to class B or to early class M in the modern classification.⁸

² Burns 1887, I, 188–90, 192–3.

³ Thompson 1956, no. 290.

⁴ Dolley 1968, 249.

⁵ Allen 2012, 479, no. 262.

⁶ Stewartby 2009, 120.

⁷ See Stewartby 2009, 120 on the inception of class III, and 109–12 on the recoinage in general.

⁸ Stewart and North 1990.

The speed with which Alexander III mounted his own recoinage in 1280 is testimony to the competence of the Scottish administration, and perhaps also to the closeness of cooperation with the English at policy and operational levels. Both countries will have had to recruit continental professionals experienced in the organization and production of recoinages, and the detailed English records give an impression of the complexity of the task that must have faced the Scots in following the English model within so short a span as a single year.

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A LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD FROM CAITHNESS

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

A HOARD of forty-six silver pennies was discovered in January 2012 by Mr Mikie Aitken with the aid of a metal-detector. The find-spot was close to the west end of the Loch of Wester, some six miles NNW of Wick. Although small by the standards of Edwardian period hoards, this one is of interest on account of its location, its date and its internal profile.

Very few hoards have been reported from as far north within the British Isles as Caithness, the only two from that county previously recorded being that from Duncansby Head (1969) and another from Braemore (believed to be from the place of that name in Caithness). Both of these were discussed by Stewart in 1973.¹ The eighty-two coins from Duncansby Head included two of Robert Bruce, and Stewart estimated the date of deposit at about 1320. Only six coins from what must have been a larger hoard from Braemore were examined by Stewart, and these gave a *terminus post quem* of 1301.

The Loch of Wester hoard appears to be earlier than either of these. The latest English coin is of class 4e, now dated to c.1287–89, and all the Scottish coins are of Alexander III's second coinage, believed to have been struck between 1280 and about 1286 or slightly later. The *tpq*, however, is provided by the single continental sterling in the hoard, which is an issue of Jean d'Avesnes of Hainaut from the mint at Mons, dated by Mayhew to 1291–c.1296.² The date of deposit must therefore be no earlier than 1291, and the absence of any English pennies of the very common class 9b of 1300 indicates a date of burial prior to this year. The intervening English issues are sufficiently small for their absence from a hoard of this size not to be significant. The absence of any coins of John Baliol, usually dated to the period 1292–96, from a hoard containing twenty coins of Alexander III may carry more weight, however, and a date of deposit in the very early 1290s seems probable on that basis.

It is this high proportion of Scottish issues (43.5 per cent) which distinguishes Loch of Wester from virtually every other Edwardian period hoard from Scotland. The normal proportion of Scottish issues varies from about five to ten per cent. The reason for this abnormality may lie in the remote location of Loch of Wester, the early date of deposit or a combination

¹ Stewart 1973, 134–7 (Duncansby head), 138–9 (Braemore).

² Mayhew 1983, 38, 42.

of the two. The large number of Edwardian hoards of the early decades of the fourteenth century found in the south of Scotland are normally considered to result from the military activity and general instability in that region during the Anglo-Scottish wars, but both date and location suggest that the concealment of this hoard in Caithness may have been occasioned by other factors now impossible to determine.

Within both the English and Scottish elements of the hoard are small groupings which might appear statistically improbable. The twenty-five English pennies include five from the royal mint at York, three of them being of the relatively uncommon class 3b. There are, however, no issues at all from the other northern mints of Durham and Newcastle, both of which produced relatively prolific issues within class 3, so there is no suggestion of a predominantly northern source for the English coins in general. Of the twenty coins of Alexander III, seven are of type E2/D with 26-point reverses. Both of these groupings may suggest that the owner of the hoard had acquired batches of newly-minted coins from time to time, and that some of these had found their way into a savings hoard rather than having entered circulation.

LIST OF COINS

England (Edward I pennies; North 1989 classification)

	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>
1	2b	1.44
2	3b–3g1; obv. double-struck, bust area flat, corroded	1.40
3	3g2; S3, stops 1	1.36
	<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>	
4	3g2; S2/h1, stops 3	1.36
	<i>Canterbury</i>	
5	3g2 or 3g3; S3?, stops 4?; corroded	1.41
6	Another similar; S3, stops uncertain	1.36
7	4a2	1.31
8	4b	1.37
9	Another similar; broken hair	1.36
	<i>London</i>	
10	1c; <i>W/N; DMS'hYB</i> ; crown 1, no sinister ornament	1.39
11	1d; <i>N/IN</i> ; face 1	1.37
12	2b	1.31
13	3g1; S2, stops 1	1.41
14	Another similar; S2, stops 2?	1.35
15	Another similar; S2?, stops 2	1.38
16	Another similar; S2/S?, stops 2	1.38
17	3g3?; S3, stops 1; obv. slightly double-struck	1.42
18	4a3	1.36
19	4d	1.39
20	4e	1.33
	<i>York (Royal)</i>	
21	2b	1.33
22–23	3b; crescent and comma marks; rev. of 2b	1.45, 1.16
24	3b; crescent and comma marks; no dexter pellet in crown	1.36
25	3e	1.39

Scotland (Alexander III second coinage pennies; Stewart and North 1990 classification)

26	B2; hair punch b	1.43
27	Ma/A2	1.43
28	Mb3; 24 points	1.34
29	Mb3/E; 25 points	1.32
30	Mc2?/E; 24 points; chipped, corroded	1.36
31	E1; 20 points; plain rev.	1.29
32	E1 or E2; 20 points; extra points in <i>SCO</i> and <i>VM+</i> quarters; bust rubbed flat	1.36
33	E(2?)/M; 26 points	1.42
34	E2; 20 points; plain rev.; <i>ALEXANDER</i>	1.36

35	E2; 20 points; plain rev.	1.35
36–37	E2; 26 points	1.40, 1.37
38–44	E2/D; 26 points; 42 and 44 slightly chipped	1.42, 1.41, 1.38, 1.37, 1.35, 1.34, 1.31
45	D1; no. of points on rev. unclear; corroded	1.40
Continental		
46	Hainaut: Jean d'Avesnes, Mons mint (Mayhew 1983, type 34)	1.28

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AN UPDATED LISTING OF THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY
HOARD FROM LLANDDONA, ANGLESEY

EDWARD BESLY

IN the *British Numismatic Journal*, volume 72 for 2002, I published a list of 311 silver coins found in 1999–2000 on the beach near Llanddona in Red Wharf Bay, Isle of Anglesey. These had been found with the use of metal detectors and were declared treasure in 2000.¹ In 2005–06, the original finder, Graham Williams, revisited the site on several occasions in the company of Chris Andrews; thanks to shifting of the sands since the original discovery, the two were able to recover a further 659 silver coins, thereby more than tripling the size of the find to 970 coins, or just over six marks (£4) in value.² The new finds were declared treasure on 3 May 2007 but acquisition by a museum proved impracticable and by arrangement with the Crown Estate, owner of the foreshore, the coins were returned to the finders.

This note provides a revised listing of the Llanddona find to August 2006, *including* those coins listed previously, thereby superseding that in the note in *BNJ* 72. It is of course possible that future searching following movement of the beach may produce more coins. The composition of the hoard remains broadly as previously published, though the new finds have increased the proportions of London and Canterbury relative to Durham.³ The Chester mint is added, and amongst the Continental issues is a sterling '*au chatel brabançon*' of John III of Brabant introduced in 1318.⁴ The latest coins remain London, Bury and Durham issues of class 15c (c.1321–27/8). As previously, the condition of the coins is uniformly poor, a result of their burial environment.

¹ Besly 2002.

² *TAR* 2005/6, 230, no. 1255.

³ Besly 2002, 170, notes the high percentage of Durham coins (16.7 per cent) and the relatively weak representation of London and Canterbury coins in the finds of 1999–2000.

⁴ Mayhew 1983, 48–9.

Llanddona, Anglesey: cumulative catalogue of finds to 2006**ENGLAND
Edward I–II***London (412: 42.5% of the hoard)*

1c (4); 1c/d; 1d (2); 1d or 2a (2); 2a (5); 2b (8); 3c (3); 3c–d; 3d (4); 3d? (2); 3f (3); 3g (4: one with reversed, pellet-barred Ns on obv.); 3d–g (2); 3g? (4); 3 (4); 3 or 4 (2); 4a1 (2); 4a2 (2); 4a2?; 4a3 (3); 4a4; 4a (8); 4b (7); 4b?; 4c; 4d (7); 4e (4); 4 (5); 5a; 7a, double-barred Ns throughout, composite S; 8a; 8b, double-barred N in **DON**; 8c; 9a1 (7); 9a2 (8); 9a; 9b1 (19); 9b2 (13); 9b (5); 10ab1 (2); 10ab2 (5); 10ab3 (2); 10ab5 (14); 10ab (2); 10ab with crown cf1; 10cf1 (39); 10cf2 (30); 10cf3a (23); 10cf3b (42); 10cf3b? (2); 10cf3? (2); 10cf4; 10cf5 (22: one irregular?); 10cf3–5 (3); 10cf (3); 11a1(5); 11a2 (5: one **hYB**: same obv. die as *SCBI* 39, 783); 11b1 (9); 11b2 (7); 11b3 (10); 11; 12; 13 (5); 14 (11); 15a (4); 15b (4); 15b? (3); 15c (3)

Canterbury (242: 24.9%)

2b; 3b; 3c; 3c?; 3d (2); 3g (3); 3g?; 3 (2); 4a2; 4a4 (2); 4a (3); 4a?; 4a–c (2); 4b; 4c; 4c?; 4d (6); 4e (2); 4 (6); 9a1; 9a2 (3); 9b1 (5: one reads **CAS-TOR**); 9b2 (5); 9b (3); 10ab2 (2); 10ab3 (3); 10ab5 (6); 10ab5?; 10ab (5); 10cf1 (17); 10cf1 or 2; 10cf2 (21); 10cf3a (10); 10cf3a?; 10cf3b (11); 10cf3b?; 10cf3 (4); 10cf4?; 10cf5 (6); 10cf3–5 (4); 10cf (4); 11a2 (7: one with rev. corrected from **GLVI-TAN-TO** to **GLVI-TAS-CA**); 11b1; 11b2 (5); 11b3 (17); 11b3? (2); 11b (3); 11c; 11d; 13 (10); 13 or 14; 14 (17); 15a (8); 15b (12); 15 (2); uncertain (2)

Durham (138: 14.2%)

Plain cross: 3e; 3g (2); 9b2; 9b; 9b–c; 9c, double-barred N, rev.; 10ab2; 10ab3, **EDWARD REX** variety; 10cf2 (2); 10cf Bek (cross Moline): 4b; 4; 9b1; 9b (2); 10ab5 (3); 10ab?; 10cf1 (2); 10cf2 (2); 10cf3b (7); 10cf3 (4); 10cf3?; 10cf3b–5 (2); 10cf5 (2); 11a2 (2)
Kellawe (crozier head, rev.): 11a; 11b1 (3); 11b2 (2); 11b3 (3); 11b; 11b?; 11c; 11
Beaumont (lion and lys): 13 (2); 14 (4); 14? (2); 15a? (2); 15b (2); 15b?; 15c (15); 15c? (2); 15 (6); 15?; 13–15 (5)
Uncertain mark: 9b2; 9b?; 9 (2); 10ab (2); 10cf3a (2); 10cf3; 10cf3–5; 10cf5; 10cf (7); 10?; 11a; 11 or later (3); 11b3?; 11–15; 13?; 14?; 14–15; 15c (4); 15c?; 15 (3); 15?; uncertain (3)

Bristol (17: 1.8%)

2b (2); 2b or 3; 3b–c; 3c (2); 3c?; 3d? (2); 3f?; 3g1 (2); 3g2 (2); 3g (2); 9b1

Bury (54: 5.6%)

3, Robert de Hadeleie, irreg. dies: same obv. die as *SCBI* 39, 199; 4a, Robert de Hadeleie; 9a2 (2); 9b; 10ab3; 10cf1; 10cf2; 10cf3a (2); 10cf3a? (2); 10cf3b (3); 10cf3? (2); 10cf5 (2); 10cf 5?; 11a1 (3); 11a2 (4); 11a3; 11a; 11b1; 11b3; 11b; 11c; 11 or later; 13 (3); 14 (5); 14?; 15a (2); 15b (3); 15c/b; 15c (4); uncertain

Chester (2: 0.2%)

3g; 9b1, same dies as *SCBI* 39, 391

Exeter (2: 0.2%)

9b2 (pothook/Roman N); 9b2?

Kingston upon Hull (3: 0.3%)

9b1; 9b (2)

Lincoln (4: 0.4%)

3c; 3d; 3g1?; 3g?

Newcastle (9: 0.9%)

3e; 9b1 (4); 9b2; 10x or 10ab1; 10ab2 (2)

York (23: 2.4%)

2a?; 2b; 2b? (2); 3b; 3e (3); 3 (4); 9b1 (9); 9b1 archiepiscopal; 9b2

Berwick (15: 1.5%)

1, **hYD**; 3a; 3; 4a (4); 4b (4); 4c (2); 4; 5

Uncertain (9: 0.9%)

10cf3 (Durham?); 10cf?; 11 or later (Durham?) (3); uncertain (4)

Irregular (5: 0.5%)

‘London’, unattributed: (i) **EDWRÆ** series with ‘ugly’ portrait, as *SCBI* 39, 1185–9; (ii) **EDWRÆ**...; (iii) **EDWRAN-GLDNSHYB**, trifoliate crown/**DIVITAS LONDON**, all Ns and S reversed; (iv) uncertain
‘Canterbury’, unattributed: ‘10ab’, as Mayhew 377

IRELAND (11: 1.1%)

Edward I

Dublin: A1a?; A1b?; A1 (2); B2?; C3; G2/2; uncertain

Waterford: A2?; B2; D?

SCOTLAND (17: 1.8%)

Alexander III

sterlings: group B2, 24 points; group E, 28 pts, stars; 26 pts, 2 stars (3); 24 pts; 20 pts with added pellets in **SCO** (1) and **VM+** (2) quarters; group M, 24 pts, 1 star; group M?, 24 pts; M/D, 24 pts; E/D, 25 pts, stars; B/M, 24 pts?; uncertain, 23 pts, one star

John Baliol

sterlings: first coinage S.5065, 4x6 pts; second coinage S.5701, 4x6 pts (2); S.5071?, 4x5 pts

CONTINENTAL (7: 0.7%)

John of Louvain (1285–1309), crockards, Herstal, Mayhew 82, Mayhew 84

Valéran (I) of Ligny (1304–53), sterling, Serain, as Mayhew 220

Gaucher de Châtillon (c.1313–22), sterlings, Yves, Mayhew 239, Mayhew 245 (2)

Brabant, John III (1312–55), sterling ‘*au chatel brabançon*’, Brussels; Chautard, pl. IX, 9; Mayhew, 48–9 (fn); after 1318.

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COUNTERFEIT CHARLES I COINS IN RURAL COUNTY DURHAM

FRANCES MCINTOSH AND EMMA MORRIS

Introduction

IN 2011, whilst still the Finds Liaison Officer for the North East, Frances McIntosh recorded a genuine shilling of Charles I, a counterfeit shilling and half crown (both having copper alloy cores with silver plating), and a counterfeit blank for a half crown. The coins were all found by one metal detectorist (Peter Heads) in close proximity to each other, in an area now covered in concrete. They are recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database (www.finds.org.uk/database) database as DUR-CF3B20, DUR-471E06, DUR-CF0ED6 and DUR-CE8740, and they are listed in the Appendix.

What can be said for certain is that the discovery is exceptional in terms of its composition and could represent part of a forger's stock that was lost. This discovery therefore provides a basis for a short discussion of counterfeit coins of the reign of Charles I recorded on the PAS database. This note aims to discuss how common counterfeit coins were in the post-medieval period, particularly in Charles I's reign, as well as highlighting the discovery of this important group of coins.

The PAS data primarily represents the material from rural areas in England and Wales, as these are the areas where metal detecting usually takes place. There is a fairly even distribution across the country, with some notable gaps. Most of these gaps can be explained as due to the presence of:

Acknowledgements. Huge thanks are due to Edward Besly for his comments on early drafts of this work, and the provision of hoard data and advice. Thanks also to the following for responding to our queries: Bowes Museum, Craven District Council, Durham University Museums, East Riding of Yorkshire, Harrogate Museum, Scarborough District and York Museums Trust.

1. National Parks: Exmoor and Dartmoor in the South West; the Lake District and North Yorkshire Moors in the North.
2. Land not suitable for detecting: the Pennines in the North, and parts of Wales.
3. Practices of recording and detecting in the area.

As of 19 February 2012 there were 19,099¹ post-medieval coins recorded on the PAS database (from Henry VIII to William III): 8,043 of these coins span the period from 1489 to 1660,² and of this 2,150 were from the reign of Charles I (1625–49). This note will focus mainly on the coins of Charles I, and the counterfeits of coins from his reign.

Counterfeit coins in hoards and the PAS database

In order to draw conclusions the PAS data can be compared with hoard evidence that has been published, as well as a contemporary account of the circulation of counterfeit coins. To examine the local context museums in County Durham and North and East Yorkshire were contacted to ask about counterfeit coins in their collections. A search was also carried out of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* and the Yorkshire HER (Historic Environment Record), with no new coins being noted.

Edward Besly, in his 1987 British Museum Occasional Paper on hoards of 1625–60, states that counterfeit coins are not common in such hoards.³ Some examples from the *British Numismatic Journal* illustrate this point clearly. The 1987 Ryhall treasure, for example, dates from 1643 and contains 3,220 silver coins from the reigns of Edward VI to Charles I, of which only one coin was a counterfeit, imitating a shilling of Charles I.⁴ The 1991 Kelso hoard, which was made up of a total of 1,375 coins, including ten gold coins, contained only two certain forgeries of silver coins, both imitating coins of Charles I.⁵ Finally, the Middleham hoard, found in three pots, of which the first two had a *terminus post quem* of 1645–46 and the third dates from after 1646, contained only thirty-nine counterfeits in a total of 5,099 coins. Twenty-two of these forgeries were counterfeits of coins of Charles I,⁶ which is still a comparatively low number when considering the total number of coins in the hoard.

The group of coins under discussion contrasts significantly in comparison with the above examples. It is perhaps to be expected that people would only want to save or hoard official coins which have an intrinsic metal value as well as their recognized monetary value. Some copies might have seemed genuine and would therefore have slipped through the net. Blatant copies, however, would not have been seen as worth hoarding.

The hoard data can be compared with the results of a search of the PAS database. Out of the c. 20,000 post-medieval coins on the database, only 134 counterfeit coins have been recorded (see Figure 1).⁷ Thirty-five of these counterfeits were of Charles I (including the three found by Peter Heads). Although this is a small proportion of all Charles I coins on the PAS (less than two per cent) they account for almost a quarter of the counterfeits from the post-medieval period. So finds of counterfeits of Charles I coins appear to be more common than counterfeits of the preceding and following periods, which is consistent with the evidence from the Ryhall, Kelso and Middleham hoards.

The PAS data seems to indicate that counterfeit coinage was more common as an occurrence during the reign of Charles I than in the preceding and following periods. A contemporary account supports the idea of a widespread problem and gives further weight to the suggestion. A diary kept by Adam Eyre, a Yorkshireman, between 1647 and 1648 gives an account of his

¹ The advanced search function was used, with 'Coin' as the object type, and 'Post Medieval' as the period.

² The numismatic search function was used, and the group 'Early Modern' was chosen.

³ Besly 1987, 66.

⁴ Clough and Cook 1988, 97.

⁵ Bateson 1991, 82.

⁶ Barclay 1994, 84, 87, 91, 94–5, 97.

⁷ The advanced search function was used with 'Coin' as the object type, and either 'Counterfeit' or 'Copy' as the object description. 'Post Medieval' was selected as the period.

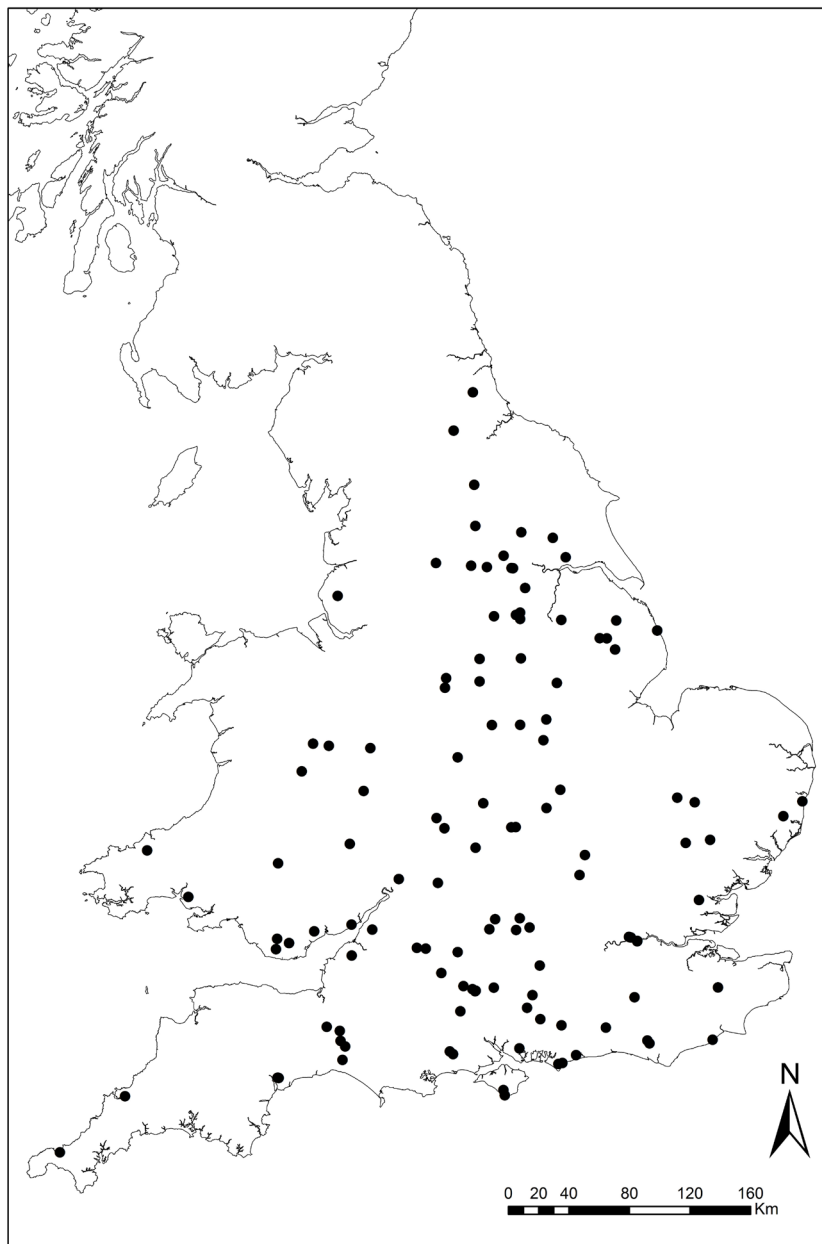


Fig. 1. The distribution of post-medieval counterfeit coins recorded on the PAS database.

daily activities, including his expenditure. He makes a note of any counterfeit coins he comes across. Eyre refers to these coins as ‘ill money’, ‘light money’ or ‘bad money’ at various points throughout the diary, also mentioning a ‘brass shilling’.⁸ The diary spans around twelve months, and there are eight instances in which counterfeit coinage is mentioned. In some cases, such as when he receives a loan from one Francis Haighe, he returns the counterfeit coinage and receives legal currency to replace the forgeries.⁹ This example from the contemporary literature demonstrates that counterfeit coinage was present in everyday life, and that people were able to recognize at least some of it.

⁸ Jackson and Morehouse 1877, 61

⁹ Jackson and Morehouse 1877, 40–1.

The PAS database provides evidence of another possible forger's hoard, from Stocksbridge in South Yorkshire (Treasure Case 2006 T298, recorded on the PAS database as SWYOR-AEF0A6). This find comprises silver clippings (probably of Charles II hammered coins of 1660–62), pieces of plate silver and two counterfeit coins, which the report identifies as probably Charles I shillings. The hoard most likely dates to 1660–62, perhaps indicating that the forgery of Charles I coins continued until that period.

It is difficult to know whether counterfeits of the coins of Charles I are contemporary with the issues they copy. Many issues continued to circulate for long periods, up until the recoinage of 1696, and could have been counterfeited until then. Nevertheless, analysing the counterfeit Charles I coins in the PAS database according to when the prototypes were made might possibly give us an idea as to how much of an effect the Civil War (and the upheaval in the official minting system this led to) had on counterfeiting. Unfortunately, many of the coins on the database could not be narrowed down to a date specific enough, due to a lack of detail on the coins. It is at least worth noting, however, that although the Civil Wars only occupied the last seven years of Charles's twenty-four year reign there are nine coins identified from that period, as opposed to seven from the previous seventeen. Perhaps the increased output of coinage at the start of the 1640s impacted on the amount of counterfeiting.¹⁰

TABLE 1. Charles I counterfeits recorded on the PAS by period of prototype

<i>Period</i>	<i>Coins</i>
Pre-Civil War (1625–42)	7
Civil War (1642–49)	9
Undetermined period	19
Total	35

Figure 2 shows the thirty-five counterfeit coins of Charles I recorded on the PAS database. It is difficult to show patterns of distribution with only thirty-five coins but some general comments can be made. The coins are not evenly distributed across the map. They fill in some of the gaps in the hoard distribution and push the distribution further into the North East. The east of England, which is thickly populated with dots on the map of all finds of Charles I coins, is extremely sparse.

Conclusion

The presence of counterfeit coins in hoards is usually relatively low and in the PAS database counterfeit coins also constitute only a very small percentage of the coins from the post-medieval period. Counterfeiting of the coins of Charles I was, however, probably more endemic than the norm. There is a higher percentage of counterfeits of coins of Charles I recorded on the PAS database than in hoards, although they still account for less than two per cent overall. The small hoard found in County Durham by Peter Heads, perhaps best described as a purse drop, is extremely rare in terms of its composition. It offers an insight into counterfeiting in this period, possibly showing the forger's work in progress.

COIN LIST

1. Fragment of a shilling of Charles I (1625–49), North 1991 no. 2231, Group F, initial mark Triangle-in-Circle (1641–43)
Silver
Obv: crowned bust facing left with XII behind the head; CAROLVS D G MAG [---] REX
Rev: shield; CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO
Weight: 2.7 g.
(PAS DUR-CF3B20)

¹⁰ Besly 1987, 57, discusses the output of the Tower mint between 1638 and 1649.

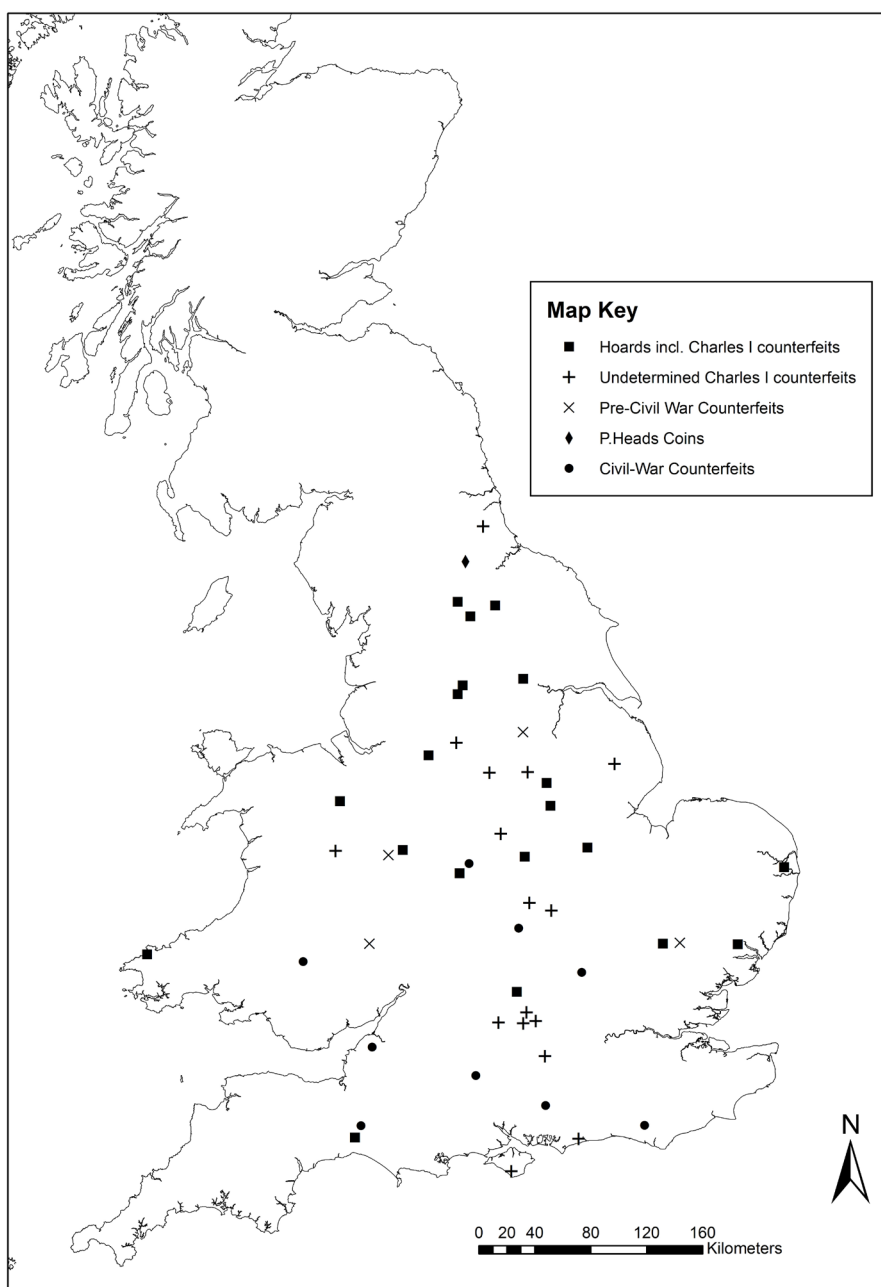


Fig. 2. Distribution of counterfeits of Charles I coins recorded on the PAS database compared with the hoard data provided by Besly.¹¹

2. Half crown (counterfeit) of Charles I (1625–49), initial mark (R), 1644–45 or later
 Silver plated with copper alloy core
Obv: king on horseback right; CAROLVS:D:G: [MAG'] BRI' [FRA'ET.HIB:] REX
Rev: round garnished shield; CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO
 Weight: 11.4 g.
 (PAS DUR-471E06)

¹¹ To obtain the PAS data the numismatic search function was used, choosing Early Modern, then Charles I, with either counterfeit or copy in the object description. The hoard data are from Besly 1987.

3. Shilling (counterfeit) of Charles I (1625–49), as North 1991 no. 2231, Group F, initial mark Triangle-in-Circle, 1641–43 or later.

Silver plated with copper alloy core

Obv: crowned bust facing left with XII behind the head; CAROLVS D G MAG [---] REX

Rev: shield; CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO

Weight: 5.8 g.

(PAS DUR-CF0ED6)

4. Half crown counterfeit blank, probably of Charles I (1625–49)

Silver plated with copper alloy core

Weight: 11.4 g.

(PAS DUR-CE8740)

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A NOTE ON VIOLET'S ANSWER

MARVIN LESSEN

IN 1653 Thomas Violet was asked by the Corporation (or Company) of Moneyers at the Tower of London to gather together for publication a document-based narrative explaining from the Corporation's point of view the circumstances surrounding the 'tryall' (competition) ordered by the Commonwealth Committee for the Mint in the summer of 1651, and its aftermath.¹ This competition took place at the Tower and Drury House in 1651. All of the action was initiated by Blondeau's petitions to provide new and superior coinage after he was invited to England by the Council of State in 1649.

Machine coinage was once again under consideration to replace the hammer methods; hence the trial of the established moneyers, represented by David Ramage, a moneyer himself, who claimed to be able to produce machine products better than Simon; versus the die making process by Thomas Simon, with his use of a machine process and Peter Blondeau's edge marking methods.² The 1651 pattern coins of the Commonwealth are the result; halfcrowns, shillings and sixpences. No matter, an insolvent government was not going to undertake new coinage methods, not for quite a few years.

How these coins were made is not always clear.³ Ramage, who was a worker at the Tower, would have had access to machinery there, such as some types of mechanical press (screw or rocker/*Taschenwerk*, but not roller press, for his coins do not have roller characteristics), using manual or horse or maybe water power, or perhaps even a hammer to a loose upper die, most likely the equipment Briot used for his Charles I machine (mill) coins, and his many medals – after all he had worked with or for Briot. This does not include Tower equipment supposed to have been shipped to Briot at York but intercepted at Scarborough around 1642. Ramage's

¹ See e.g. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series (1653–53)*, vol. 35, 280 (15 April 1653 Council of State, Day's Proceedings) and Henfrey 1877, 79 (Interregnum State Papers, Council Draft Order Book, No. 69. Friday, 15 April 1653) for the order 'That S^r James Harington bee desired humbly to present to y^e Parl^t y^e Propositions made by Peter Blondeau on y^e one part, and y^e Moneyers of y^e Mint on y^e other part, Concerning y^e Coyning of money in a way differing from w^t hath beene hitherto practised and used in this Com⁻onwealth and w^{ch} is propounded to bee for y^e securing of Coyne from being Counterfeited or Clipped.'

² Pagan 1988 is important on the Simon brothers, but does not address this trial subject; see Gaspar 1976 on edge-marking.

³ For discussions on dies and machinery from Mestrelle onwards, see Hocking 1909.

coins, a dozen or so in total, may have been struck within a steel band constrained in a single collar (evident from the resultant square letter bases of the coin legends and the single vertical line seen on the edge of a sixpence), bands that had their edge markings incuse, resulting in relief edge lettering, stars or graining.

What Simon used is not certain either, but we know that the work was done at Drury house in Wych Street off the Strand (his own house?) using some mechanical (screw) press, or *balancier*, again using manual or horse or water power. His experience we know was mainly medalllic, and the equipment must have been what he used for that purpose; he too worked for or with Briot in the late 1630s. His 300 or so Commonwealth patterns were struck unrestrained by a collar (evident from the bifurcated letter bases), instead being first edge-marked using Blondeau's secret parallel bar edge marking equipment and techniques,⁴ later in the century to be known as Castaing's machinery, and likely at the same location and with the same machinery used for the Cromwell coins several years later. That of course is how the Charles II coinage was eventually done by Blondeau, with Roettiers dies. In all respects, everything derived from the French.

Violet's publication, *The Answer of The Corporation of Moniers in the Mint...* (Fig. 1), was initially issued solely as a forty-one page pamphlet, printed for the Corporation of Moneyers, and dated 1653. Blondeau wrote memoranda promoting his product (Henry Slingsby is a reasonable candidate as Blondeau's sponsor, translator, writer or helper in the written pamphlets and petitions), and Violet answered them negatively, sometimes in communications to the government, and sometimes in his commercial pamphlets and books, but this paper only addresses this particular publication. H.W. Henfrey thoroughly mined the records, and transcribes and discusses the many petitions by Blondeau on the subject at this time; as does George Vertue.⁵ Much of the data may be found abbreviated or referenced in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*.⁶ However, amid the mass of contemporary material, it is not yet possible to find the actual request to Violet to write his *Answer*, an order that would have come from Sir James Harrington, Council of State, Chairman for the Committee of the Mint.

The structure of the *Answer* is in discrete sections. Pages 1–3 are a letter from Violet to the clerk of the moneyers, John Benfield, and his reply, which asked Violet to respond to Blondeau, dated 25 and 27 January 1652. Pages 4–10 are a reprint of the *Humble Representation of Peter Blondeau...*, which can probably be dated to around February 1651/2, but I have not uncovered any original pamphlet, which would be paginated 1–7. Pages 11–20 are a reprint of *A Most Humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau*, after the competition, undated but c. February 1652/3.⁷ The remainder, pages 20–41, contain: the 14 June 1651 warrant to Ramage from Harrington and Chaloner to make patterns; Violet's discussion calling Blondeau a traitor; the humble proposition of the provost and moneyers of the mint to Harrington of 28 February 1650/1; the 8 May 1651 order to Blondeau and Ramage to make their trials; the provost and moneyer's answers to the objections of Blondeau of 18 November 1651; the discussions and the accounting by the moneyers for the Ramage trials; and ending with a list of the fifty moneyers, Symon Corbet Provost being number 1, and Ramage being 44, plus fifty-one labourers, dated 27 January 1652. These were 1651 and 1652 materials, and he must have presented these before 15 February 1652/3 (see below).

This note is to put on record a preliminary or proofing version of page 39 having an interesting parenthetical clause of Violet's, inked out, cancelled, and thus not included in the final distributed printing, for obvious reasons. It reads '(through the ignorance of our head officers)' (Fig. 2).⁸ The final and corrected published version is shown as Fig. 3. Violet was a part of the establishment, the Corporation, and this is the first evidence of tensions between the moneyers and their officers.

⁴ See Gaspar 1976.

⁵ See Henfrey 1877, 62–80, and Vertue 1780.

⁶ See esp. vols. 4 (1651–52) and 5 (1652–53) (1877–78).

⁷ This is the British Library Thomason 1139.C.16 pamphlet, transcribed by Hamilton 1839.

⁸ Collection (USA), from Peter Murry Hill, cat. 128 (303), December 1974.

THE ANSWER

OF

The Corporation of Moniers in the Mint,
at the Tower of *London*, to two false
and scandalous Libells printed
at *London*, and lately come
forth without date.

THE FIRST INTITULED,

*The humble Representation of Peter Blondeau, as a
warning touching severall disorders hapning by Money
ill-favouredly coyned, and the only means to prevent them.*

THE SECOND INTITULED,

A most humble Memorandum from Peter Blondeau.

Which not only intends maliciously to sandall Us
the Corporation of Moniers, of the Common-
Wealth of *England* : But also most falsly to
imprint in the hearts and mindes of all People
in Christendome, and more especially the
good People under the obedience of the
Parliament of *England*; That (by Us the Cor-
poration of Moniers) the Moneys of this
Common-Wealth, both for Gold and Silver,
are not justly made, according to Our Indenture.
Set forth to undeceive all the good People
that have seen or read the said *Peter Blondeau's*
false and scandalous Libells.

PRINTED for the Corporation of Moniers. 1653.

Fig. 1. Title page of T. Violet's *Answer of the Corporation of Moniers in the Mint*, 1653 (text area 12 × 21 cm, page area 26.4 × 17 cm).

(39)

we with all humility humbly leave it to the right honorable Sir *JAMES Harrington* the Chair-man of the Committee, to examine whether he had not all these Papers now printed, delivered unto him according to the severall dates put down by us the Corporation of Moniers in the States Mint, about two years since.

Ninthly, Whereas *Peter Blondeau* saith, That our Corporation is now but of thirty Fellowes or Masters, who are all rich and have lands or houses and other waies of maintenance without the work of the Mint; and when the State hath much monie to coyn they were wont to hire some journey-men at 18.d. 15.d. and 12.d. for half a dayes work. To answer to this great untruth, We can speak it with a great deal of grief, that almost twenty of our Fellowes are fallen to so great decay (~~that they are almost~~ ~~fallen to so great decay~~) that both themselves and families are brought to great distresse and poverty for want of imployment in the Mint, they all of them having been bound Apprentices for the least seven years to this Trade, and having no other calling or way to get their living but only upon the mystery and way of making of monies: many of them that are fellow Moniers having no other subsistence then what we of the Corporation amongst our selves collect for them, to keep them from starving: And that this is true, we can produce hundreds of witnesses; and many of us finde it to our insupportable charge, we thinking our selves bound in conscience not to see any of our fellow Moniers perish for want of food and clothes.

Here follows the true list of Fellows and Workmen and Laborers imployed in the Mint 27. Jan. 1652. and sometimes we imploy four times as many Laborers, viz.

L

The

Fig. 2. Preliminary or proofing version of Violet's Answer, p. 39 (text area 11 × 22 cm).

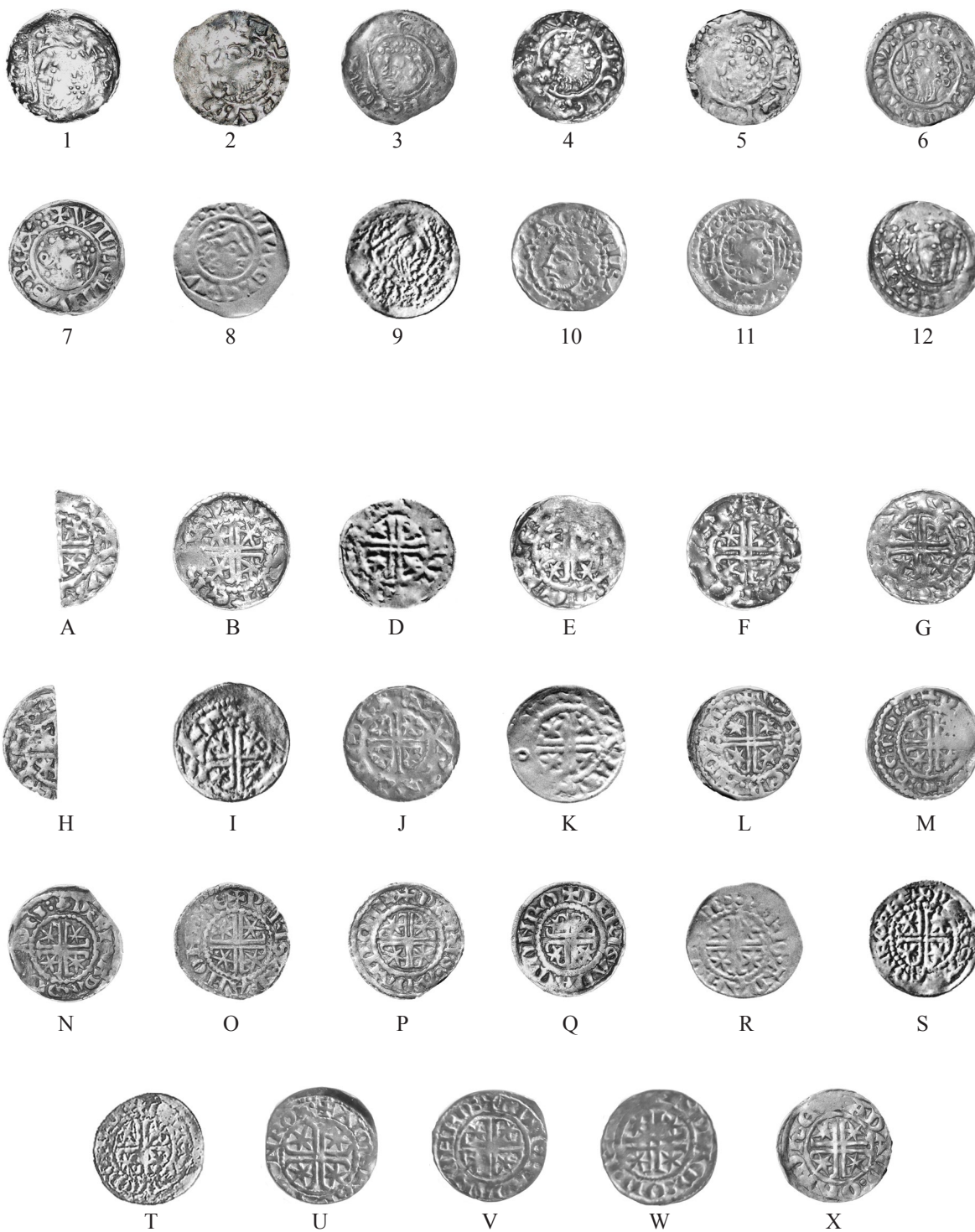
Sometime later in 1653 the publication was re-issued, probably from existing stock pages, in a larger and more commercially viable venue, and probably not for the original purpose, having various miscellaneous new Violet tracts, of his usual complaints and subjects, appended after the original forty-one pages. Neither version of *The Answer* seems to be entered in the Stationers Company Register. The whole new issue was continually paginated to 110, but none of the additional material was related to this coinage subject. Page 110, the FINIS page signed Tho. Violet is dated 15. Feb. 1652 (thus 15 February 1652/3). Yet, interestingly enough, its title page of 1653 ends 'Also the true causes and grounds how the Mint in the Tower of London comes to be obstructed through the ignorance of some of their Officers', so he had his say nevertheless.

Ninthly, Whereas *Peter Blondeau* saith, That our Corporation is now but of thirty Fellowes or Masters, who are all rich and have lands or houses and other waies of maintenance without the work of the Mint; and when the State hath much monie to coyn they were wont to hire some journey-men at 18.d. 15.d. and 12.d. for half a dayes work. To answer to this great untruth, Wee can speak it with a great deal of grief, that almost twenty of our Fellows are fallen to so great decay; that both themselves and families are brought to great distres and poverty for want of imployment in the Mint, they all of them having been bound Apprentices for the least seven years to this Trade, and having no other calling or way to get their living but only upon the miffery and way of making of monies : many of them that are fellow Moniers having no other subsistence then what we of the Corporation amongst our selves collect for them, to keep them from starving : And that this is true, we can produce hundreds of witnesses ; and many of us finde it to our insupportable charge, we thinking our selves bound in conscience not to see any of our fellow Moniers perish for want of food and clothes.

Fig. 3. Extract from the final, published version of p. 39 of Violet's Answer (text area 11 × 22 cm)

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COIN HOARDS FROM THE BRITISH ISLES 2013

EDITED BY MARTIN ALLEN, ELEANOR GHEY AND JOHN NAYLOR

BETWEEN 1975 and 1985 the Royal Numismatic Society published summaries of coin hoards from the British Isles and elsewhere in its serial publication *Coin Hoards*, and in 1994 this was revived as a separate section in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In recent years the listing of finds from England, Wales and Northern Ireland in *Coin Hoards* has been principally derived from reports originally prepared for publication in the *Treasure Annual Report*, but the last hoards published in this form were those reported under the 1996 Treasure Act in 2008. In 2012 it was decided to publish summaries of hoards from England, Wales, Scotland, the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and the Channel Islands in the *British Numismatic Journal* on an annual basis.

The hoards are listed in two sections, with the first section consisting of summaries of Iron Age and Roman hoards, and the second section providing more concise summaries of medieval and post-medieval hoards. In both sections the summaries include the place of finding, the date(s) of discovery, the suggested date(s) of deposition, and (for English and Welsh hoards) the number allocated to the hoard when it was reported under the terms of the Treasure Act. For reasons of space names of finders are omitted from the summary of medieval and post-medieval hoards. Reports on most of the English and Welsh hoards listed are available online from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) website: select the 'Search our database' bar under *finds.org.uk/database*, and type in the treasure case number without spaces (e.g. 2012T241).

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Abbreviations

<i>ABC</i>	E. Cottam, P. de Jersey, C. Rudd and J. Sills, <i>Ancient British Coins</i> (Aylsham, 2010).
<i>BMC</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols (London, 1923–62).
<i>BMCI</i>	R. Hobbs, <i>British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum</i> (London, 1996).
Brown and Dolley	I.D. Brown and M. Dolley, <i>Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967</i> (London, 1971).
<i>CHRB</i>	Coin Hoards from Roman Britain (series)
<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Deposited</i>
DT	L.-P. Delestrée and M. Tache, <i>Nouvel atlas des monnaies Gauloises</i> , 4 vols (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1992–2008).
<i>RIC</i>	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , 10 vols (London, 1923–2007).
<i>RRC</i>	M.H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> (Cambridge, 1974).
<i>t.p.q.</i>	<i>terminus post quem</i>
VA	R. Van Arsdel, <i>Celtic Coinage of Britain</i> (London, 1989).

Iron Age and Roman hoards**1. Stansted area, Essex, 6 Aug. 2011 (2012 T913 and 2011 T635, addenda to 2011 T119)**

Dep.: Mid to late second century BC.

Contents: 1 'Gallo-Belgic' Aa class 4 AV stater, 6.99 g (2011 T635) and 1 'Gallo-Belgic' Aa class 4 AV quarter stater, 1.82 g (2012 T913).

Note: Coins of this type were struck in the Somme valley area of NW France in the mid-second century BC. They are traditionally attributed to the Ambiani but are more commonly found in Essex and Kent; it has been suggested that this particular type was made for export to Britain.

Finder: Richard Gibson, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Saffron Walden Museum has expressed interest.

I.L./E.G.

2. Northwood, Isle of Wight, 22 Mar. 2012 (2012 T232)

Dep.: After 114–13 BC.

Contents: 2 Roman Republican AR denarii: C. Servilius (*RRC* 239/1, 136 BC, 3.75 g) and Mn. Aemilius Lepidus (*RRC* 291/1, 114–13 BC, 3.86 g).

Note: Both coins show signs of heating. They may have been deposited up to the first century AD.

Finder: J. Culling, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

I.L.

3. Tarrant Valley I, Dorset, May 2012 (2012 T354, addenda to 2008 T199 and 2001, 2002 finds)

Dep.: 80–60 BC or later.

Contents: Uninscribed South Western British Iron Age 'British B' or 'Chute' type AV stater (*ABC* 746, 6.10 g).

Note: This brings the total number of staters recovered from the hoard to date to 19.

Finder: David Eagles, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

C.H.T./I.L.

4. Chartham (area), Kent, 22 Aug. 2012 (2012 T663, addenda to 2008 T610 and earlier find)

Dep.: c.60–50 BC or later.

Contents: Uninscribed continental gold stater of Gallo-Belgic E type (Scheers class III, VA 54; 5.1 g).

Note: This find brings the total number of coins discovered at the site so far to 19.

Finder: David Villanueva, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

E.G.

5. Upper Thames, Greater London, 20 Aug. 2011 (2011 T502, addenda to 2008 T412)

Dep.: Mid-first century BC.

Contents: 1 Flat Linear I potin (half only, *ABC* 171, VA 129 var. (bull right), 0.95 g).

Finder: Jason Davey, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Gunnersbury Park Museum hopes to acquire.

E.G.

6. Putney, Greater London, Oct. 2010 to Dec. 2011 (2012 T55)

Dep.: First century BC.

Contents: 12 Iron Age Flat Linear I potin (*ABC* 165, 1; *ABC* 171, 11).

Note: It is likely that these finds are related to an earlier hoard found in the area of Putney Bridge, the main discovery of which took place in 1976, although this cannot be easily substantiated due to the absence of a detailed find-spot for the earlier finds. An iron ring and small composite mount found at the same time could not be dated.

Finder: Bob Wells, whilst searching the Thames foreshore with a metal detector.

Disposition: The Museum of Richmond has expressed interest.

I.L.

7. Lyminge, Kent, 1 Sept. 2011 (2011 T585)

Dep.: First century BC.

Contents: 27 Kentish primary potin and 1 Roman Republican denarius of C. Vibius Pansa (*RRC* 342).

Finder: Raymond Piper, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

E.G.

8. Donhead St Andrew I, Wilts., 13–25 May 2012 (2012 T378)

Dep.: Mid to late first century BC.

Contents: 1 Uninscribed South Western British B 'Chute' type AV stater (struck c.80–60 BC) (*ABC* 746, VA 1205, *BMCI* 42) and 2 Uninscribed South Western 'Cranborne Chase' type AV staters (*ABC* 2157/2169, VA 1235–1).

Note: A cast copper-alloy figurine of a hare was found in the same area as this group of coins. Photographs of the object were examined by J. Farley, B. Crerar and R. Jackson at the British Museum, who were all of the opinion that it was more likely to be Roman than Iron Age and of first century AD date.

While the findspots of this hoard and the hoard below (2012 T240) suggest that there were two separate and discrete hoards or deposits, they are close enough together to suggest that the reasons for their deposition are likely to have been related. Taken together, the two hoards and the figurine are consistent with continued votive deposition within a religious landscape of significance in both the late Iron Age and early Roman periods.

Finder: Paul Swannack, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum has expressed interest.

L.B./I.L.

9. Donhead St Andrew II, Wilts., 13–25 May 2012 (2012 T240)

Dep.: Mid to late first century BC.

Contents: 23 Uninscribed South Western AR staters: 'Badbury rings' type (*ABC* 2163, VA 1246), 13; 'Spread Tail' types (*ABC* 2160, VA 1238), 4; 'Cranborne Chase' types (*ABC* 2157 and 2169, VA 1235–1), 6.

Note: See note for Donhead St Andrew 2012 T378 above.

Finder: Paul Swannack, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum has expressed interest.

L.B./I.L.

10. Southease, E. Sussex, 9 Oct. 2011 (2011 T672, addenda to 2006 T493)

Dep.: Mid to late first century BC.

Contents: Gallo-Belgic C AV stater (class III), 6.4 g, *ABC* 13, VA 44.1.

Note: A Gallo-Belgic E AV stater (class III, 6.17 g) was found at this location in 2004 (PAS: SUSS-A40B13). The two further coins discovered in 2006 were a Gallo-Belgic C stater (class III, 6.47 g) and a Gallo-Belgic E stater (class III, 6.15 g).

Finder: Terry Cranmer, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
I.L.

11. Little Malvern, Worcs, 22 Feb. 2011 (2011 T862)

Dep.: Mid to late first century BC.

Contents: 2 AV Iron Age: 1 Western uninscribed 'British RA' stater (*ABC* 2003) and 1 Western uninscribed 'British RB' quarter-stater (*ABC* 2009). Both struck c.50–20 BC.

Note: The finds come from the slopes on the edge of an Iron Age hill-fort but there is no previous evidence of coin-use at the site, or indeed in the surrounding area.

Finder: Roger and Jo Pullin, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Declared not to be Treasure and returned to finders.
I.L.

12. Northchurch, Herts, 19 June 2012 (2012 T528)

Dep.: After 32–31 BC.

Contents: 2 AR Roman Republican denarii of Mark Antony (*RRC* 544/30 and 544 uncertain sub-type).

Finder: Mark Becher, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Dacorum Museum has expressed interest.
J.W.

13. Upham, Hants, Dec. 2011 to Jan. 2012 (2012 T82)

Dep.: 60–20 BC or later.

Contents: 5 AV uninscribed 'Chute/Cheriton Transition' type staters (*ABC* 752, struck c.80–60 BC) and 1 AR uninscribed 'Cranborne Chase' type stater (*ABC* 2157, struck c.60–20 BC).

Finders: Jeff Cocker, Keith and Richard Guy-Gibbens, Lee Shawn Greagsbey, Graham Webster and Jackie Wilding, with the use of metal-detectors.

Disposition: Winchester Museums Service has expressed interest.
R.W./I.L.

14. Tisbury, Wilts., Jan. 2011 to May 2012 (2012 T505, addenda to 2010 T646 and 2011 T105)

Dep.: 60–20 BC or later.

Contents: 1 AV uninscribed British B 'Chute' stater (*ABC* 746; 6.11 g; struck about 80–60 BC) and 8 AR uninscribed staters (3 of type *ABC* 2157; 5.69 g, 3.93 g, 5.49 g and 5 of type *ABC* 2163; 1.16 g, 2.54 g (both incomplete), 4.62 g, 5.44 g and 5.59 g).

Note: This now brings the total number of coins from the hoard to 227.

Finder: Alan White, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
D.A./E.G.

15. Wambrook, Somerset, 24 Mar. 2012 (2012 T243)

Dep.: Uncertain (after 40–20 BC).

Contents: 1 Uninscribed gold 'British Qb' stater set within an iron mount.

Note: The coin was adapted, apparently for use as jewellery. Although this practice was relatively common in the Roman and medieval periods, there is as yet little evidence for the adaption of coins in the Iron Age. The

surviving portion of the iron claw mount suggests that it was intended to be displayed with the blank, convex obverse side showing, rather than the reverse which usually carried a design. In this case, the reverse die was worn and damaged and it is unlikely that the coin was chosen for its design. The date of its adaption is unknown.

Finder: David Gorman, with a metal detector, during a rally.

Disposition: Somerset Museum has expressed interest.
I.L./J.S.

16. Dymock, Glos, Dec. 2011 (2012 T276)

Dep.: 30–10 BC or later.

Contents: 2 Uninscribed Western Iron Age AR units: type B (*ABC* 2015, 0.46 g, incomplete) and type D (*ABC* 2021, 0.78 g).

Finder: David Hutton, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
K.A./I.L.

17. Ash-cum-Ridley, Kent, 25 Sept. 2011 (2011 T778)

Dep.: AD 4 or later.

Contents: 6 AR denarii to 6 BC. Roman Republic, 4: A. Postumius Albinus (81 BC), 1; L. Proculus (80 BC), 1; Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 2. Augustus (27 BC–AD 14), 2.

Note: The coins were found with an unusual gilded silver brooch with features of early first century AD date (PAS ref: LON-98EFE2). One 'Kentish primary' potin was found with the coins (LON-98D852). It is considered to be a stray find, although it may suggest an earlier phase of activity at the site.

Finders: William Bruschi, Peter Brown, Gavin Clark, David Flint, Joe Harris and Andrew Taylor.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.
E.G.

18. Salisbury area, Wilts., 27 Dec. 2011 (2012 T143)

Dep.: Late first century BC to mid first century AD.

Contents: Two South Western Iron Age debased AR staters (*ABC* 2169, VA 1235). One or both coins plated.

Finder: Nick Booth, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Not Treasure; returned to finder.
D.A./K.H./I.L.

19. South Norfolk area, Sept. to Oct. 2012 (2012 T810)

Dep.: After AD 14–37.

Contents: 59 AR denarii: Republic, 36; Mark Antony, 2; Augustus, 5; Tiberius, 16.

Note: The latest coins, of Tiberius, still show some wear and had plainly circulated for a number of years.

Finder: John P. Kineavy, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.
A.M.

20. Chichester (near), W. Sussex, 15 Sept. 2010 (2011 T137)

Dep.: AD 10–40 or later.

Contents: 2 Iron Age silver units: one of Tincomarus c.20 BC–AD 10 (*ABC* 1220, 1.16 g) and one of Verica (AD 10–40) (*ABC* 1127, 0.97 g).

Finder: Name withheld, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Chichester District Museum has expressed interest.
E.G.

21. Thornbury, Glos, Sept. to Oct. 2011 (2012 T278)

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 1 Uninscribed Western Iron Age AR unit, type B (*ABC* 2015, 0.46 g) and 1 Western AR unit of EISV (*ABC* 2081, 0.78 g).

Finder: Peter Twinn, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

K.A./I.L.

22. Orford (near), Suffolk, 17 Feb. 2012 (2012 T224, addenda to 2005T367 and 2006 T112).

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 1 East Anglian Iron Age AR unit inscribed ANTED (*ABC* 1642/1645).

Note: Found within the area of a previously known coin hoard of four Iron Age silver units. A gold *aureus* of Nero (*RIC* 63, struck c. AD 66–67) (PAS SF-64AA54) found at the same time is probably related to a separate episode of deposition or loss.

Finder: Alan Calver, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The finder and landowner have generously donated the find to Orford Museum.

A.B./I.L.

23. Tacolneston, Norfolk, Mar. 2012 (2012 T345)

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 2 Iron Age East Anglian silver units of pattern-horse types; 1 inscribed ANTED (*ABC* 1645, 0.80 g), the other too worn to be fully identified (0.83 g).

Note: The coins were found accreted together.

Finder: Mike Martin, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.

A.M./E.G.

24. Bury St Edmunds (near), Suffolk, 1 Feb. 2012 (2012 T350, addenda to 2011 T658)

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 3 Iron Age East Anglian AR units: 1 uninscribed 'Face/Horse regular' type (*ABC* 1564, 1.11 g), 1 Pattern/Horse type inscribed ECEN (*ABC* 1657, 1.13 g) and 1 Pattern/Horse type of ANTED (*ABC* 1645, 0.99 g).

Finder: Sam Smith, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

J.B./I.L.

25. Swaffham (near), Norfolk, Nov. 2012 (2012 T377)

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 4 Iron Age East Anglian AR units: 3 Pattern/Horse types of ANTED (cf. *ABC* 1645, 0.86 g, 0.76 g and 0.81 g), 1 plated uninscribed unit of regular Face/Horse type (cf. *ABC* 1567, 1.19 g).

Finder: James Todd, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.

A.M./E.G.

26. Mattishall (near), Norfolk, late 2011 to early 2012 (2012 T488, addenda to 2009 T318)

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 1 Iron Age AR unit (East Anglian Pattern/Horse type inscribed ECEN (0.74 g)) and 3 Roman Republican denarii (C. Vibius Pansa, 48 BC, *RRC* 449/1b; Mark Antony, 32–31 BC *RRC* 544 and 31 BC, *RRC* 546/2).

Note: The original group of 15 Iron Age and 23 Roman coins was certainly from either one scattered hoard of coins or, less likely, from two such scattered hoards. The present group of coins comes from the same deposit(s).

Finder: Ray Jenkins, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.

A.M./I.L.

27. Weston by Welland, Northants, 18 Apr. 2012 (2012 T326)

Dep.: AD 20/30–50 or later.

Contents: 6 North Eastern Iron Age AR half units inscribed VOLISIOS DVMNOVE[LLAVNOS] (*ABC* 1998).

Note: All of the coins appear to have been struck with the same obverse and reverse dies. This suggests that the coins probably remained together, as part of the same group, from the time of their production until they were lost or deliberately buried.

Finder: During controlled archaeological excavation by University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS).

Disposition: To be determined.

I.L.

28. South-west Norfolk, 15 Nov. 2011 (2012 T71)

Dep.: AD 20 or later and mid-first century AD.

Contents: 41 Iron Age coins: 5 AV East Anglian uninscribed 'Freckenham' BHB staters (*ABC* 1447), 1 base uninscribed East Anglian British JB or 'Norfolk Wolf' type stater (as *ABC* 1399, 4.27 g), 32 East Anglian AR units (Boar/horse type *ABC* 1579, 3 (1 plated), *ABC* 1582, 1; Face/horse, late type *ABC* 1567, 2; Pattern/horse type *ABC* 1588, 1, *ABC* 1645, 6, *ABC* 1657, 8, *ABC* 1660, 1, *ABC* 1663, 3, *ABC* 1669, 3 and *ABC* 1672, 4), 1 East Anglian AR half-unit (Boar/horse type *ABC* 1621), 1 East Anglian AR minim (or quarter unit) of unpublished type and 1 Continental *Æ* unit of Belgic Gaul (DT 467, 2.39 g).

Note: Information provided by the finder suggests that the assemblage comprised two discrete hoards: the first consisting of the 6 staters and perhaps the bronze unit, which was found at the centre of this scatter (deposited after AD 20), and the second comprising the remaining (silver) coins (deposited in the mid first century AD).

Finder: Stephen Brown, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.

A.M./I.L.

29. Chawton area, Hants, 22 Oct. 2011 to Jan. 2012 (2012 T43)

Dep.: AD 30–45 or later.

Contents: 105 Iron Age AV: 98 staters of Verica (c.AD 10–40) (*ABC* 1190, 43; *ABC* 1193, 55), 1 stater of Cunobelin (*ABC* 2786) and 6 staters of Epaticcus (*ABC* 1343).

Note: The vast majority are coins struck for Verica, a local king with a powerbase in central-southern England (Hampshire and surrounding counties). One coin was struck by Verica's contemporary, Cunobelin, who ruled a territory covering much of eastern England and Kent. The remaining six coins were struck in the name of Epaticcus, who is usually identified as a brother of Cunobelin. He issued coins in the Berkshire-

Hampshire-Wiltshire area, in about AD 30–45. A plated Roman silver denarius of Vitellius (AD 69) and a late Bronze Age to early Iron Age arrowhead found with the coins were not considered to be associated with the hoard.

Finder: Neil Angel, Edward Neish and John Rhodes, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders. I.L.

30. Bedworth, Warks, 19 Nov. 2012 (2012 T857, addenda to 2011 T189 and earlier find)

Dep.: AD 20–50 or later.

Contents: 2 Uninscribed North Eastern Iron Age gold staters (1 'Kite' stater (three pellets in diamond-shaped lozenge), *ABC* 1761, *BMCI*A 3181 var., 5.30 g and 1 'Domino' stater, *ABC* 1758, *BMCI*A 3185 (blank reverse), 5.14g) and 1 North Eastern stater inscribed 'VEP' *ABC* 1851, 5.29g.

Note: Addenda to the two earlier (1994 and 2011) finds of Iron Age coins from Bedworth, bringing the total number of individual coins found from this hoard to 16.

Finder: Paul Wilson, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Warwickshire Museum Service has expressed interest. E.G.

31. Stafford area, Staffs, 8 and 9 Oct. 2011 (2011 T654 and 2012 T666)

Dep.: AD 50–54 or later.

Contents: 88 AR denarii and 7 fragments: Roman Republic (to 31 BC), 57; Augustus (32 BC–AD 14), 7; Tiberius (AD 14–37), 20; Claudius (AD 41–54), 3; Unidentified, 1 and 7 fragments.

Note: The earliest coin that could be dated with confidence was dated to 140 BC.

Finder: Philip Edwards, Chris Edwards and Gary Austin, with metal detectors.

Disposition: Potteries Museum and Art Gallery has expressed interest. E.G.

32. Leintwardine, Heref., 2012 (2012 T436)

Dep.: AD 58–59 or later.

Contents: 18 AR denarii: Roman Republic: Q. Curtius and M. Silanus (116–15 BC, *RRC* 285/2) 1; L. Flaminius Chilo (109–08 BC, *RRC* 302/1) 1; L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (90 BC, *RRC* 340/1) 2; Q. Antonius Balbus (83–82 BC *RRC* 364/1a) 1; C. Marius Capito (81 BC, *RRC* 378/1c) 1; M. Plaetorius Cestianus (69 BC, *RRC* 405/5) 1; P. Clodius (42 BC, *RRC* 494/23) 2; L. Livineius Regulus (42 BC, 494/27) 1; C. Cassius Longinus and Cornelius Lentulus Spinther (43–42 BC, *RRC* 500/3) 1; Augustus (27 BC–AD 14), 1; Tiberius (AD 14–37), 5; Nero (AD 54–68), 1.

Finder: Kim Claxton, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Herefordshire Museums Service has expressed interest. S.D./P.R.

33. South Warwickshire, Aug. and Sept. 2012 (2012 T661 addenda to 2008 T410)

Dep.: c. AD 63–64.

Contents: 5 AR denarii: 4 Roman Republican (*RRC* 261/1, 452/2, 494/21 and 494/39a) and one Roman Imperial *denarius* of Claudius I struck AD 50–51.

Finders: Christopher Crocker, Alec Newman and Peter Spackman, during excavation of the findspot of the 2008 hoard.

Disposition: Warwickshire Museum Service has expressed interest. E.G.

34. Great Chart, Kent, 2011 (2011 T784)

Dep.: AD 69–79 or later.

Contents: 1 AV Iron Age and 8 AR Iron Age and Roman coins: 1 AV quarter stater of Cunobelin (*ABC* 2813, struck c. AD 10–40) and 2 fragments of silver units of Amminius (*ABC* 2522, struck c. AD 30–40); 3 Roman Republican denarii (2 unidentified (1 probably *RRC* 256 or 257), and 1 *denarius serratus* of C. Sulpicius *RRC* 312/1), 2 denarii of Vespasian (AD 69–79) and one unidentified Roman *denarius* fragment.

Note: It is likely that the find represents two small hoards, one Iron Age, the other Roman. The coins may represent a number of separate episodes of deposition at the same site, perhaps with a religious or ritual purpose.

Finder: Joe Rainsbury, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. E.G.

35. Plumbley area, S. Yorks., 28 May to 3 June 2012 (2012 T481)

Dep.: AD 74 or later.

Contents: 5 AR denarii; Roman Republic: 1 unidentified c. mid-second century BC Roma/biga type; Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Mucius Scaevola (70 BC), 1; Mark Antony and M. Barbatius Pollio (41 BC), 1; Augustus (Rome, struck 19–4 BC), 1 and Vespasian (Rome, struck AD 74).

Finder: Edward Bailey, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Sheffield Museum has expressed interest. A.D.

36. Brearton, N. Yorks., 27 May 2012 (2012 T496)

Dep.: AD 80 or later.

Contents: 2 AR denarii: Vespasian (struck AD 75, Rome) and Titus (struck AD 80, Rome).

Finder: Jeff Warden, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. A.D.

37. Llanvetherine, Monmouthshire, 14 Mar. 2012 (2012 W8)

Dep.: First century AD.

Contents: 3 worn AR Roman Republican *denarii*.

E.B.

38. Shilton, Warks, 30 Sept. 2012 (2012 T738)

Dep.: AD 117–38 or later.

Contents: 6 AR denarii fused together (including one of Trajan and two of Hadrian).

Finder: Brian Clark, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. W.S.

39. Havenstreet and Ashey, Isle of Wight, 17 Aug. 2012 (2012 T839)

Dep.: AD 138 or later.

Contents: 2 AR denarii of Hadrian.

Finder: Gary Cole, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. R.A.

40. Bittesby, Lincs, Jan. 2012 (2012 T30)

Dep.: c. AD 141–61 or later.

Contents: 5 AR denarii: Roman Republic (P. Plautius Hypsaesus, 70 BC), 1; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Uncertain Flavian (AD 69–96), 1; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 1; Diva Faustina I, 1.

Finder: A. Jones and T. Rainer, with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.
W.S.

41. Charlwood, Surrey, 2012 (2012 T847 addenda to 2011 T297)

Dep.: c. AD 141–61 or later.

Contents: 1 AR quinarius (Roman Republic, uncertain issue) and 5 AR denarii: Nero (AD 54–68), 1; Nerva (AD 96–98), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 1; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), Diva Faustina I, 1.

Finder: Andy Coombes, Fred George, Martin Hay, Trevor Leek, Derek Smalley and David K. Williams, with metal detectors.

Disposition: To be determined.

E.G.

42. Maryport area, Cumbria, 7 July 2012 and Mar. 2013 (2012 T529)

Dep.: c. AD 161–76.

Contents: 118 AR denarii and 1 sestertius: *Denarii*: Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 3; Nero (AD 54–68), 2; Galba (AD 69), 2; *Vespasian* (AD 69–79): Vespasian, 34; Titus Caesar, 3; Domitian Caesar, 2; Titus (AD 79–81), 1; Domitian (AD 81–96), 4; Nerva (AD 96–98), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 19; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 20; Sabina, 1; *Antoninus Pius* (AD 138–61): Antoninus Pius, 13; Diva Faustina I, 4; Marcus Aurelius Caesar, 5; Faustina II, 1; *Marcus Aurelius* (AD 161–80): Divus Antoninus, 1, Faustina II, 2.

Note: A very corroded, worn and damaged *sestertius* (10.9 g) was found in the same area. Its identification is uncertain, but it is possibly an issue of Hadrian.

Finder: George Brown, with a metal detector.

Disposition: To be determined.

D.S./E.G.

43. Stoke on Trent area, Staffs, 19 Feb. 2012 (2012 T131)

Dep.: c. AD 160–61 or later.

Contents: 13 AR denarii: Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 1; Hadrian (AD 117–38): Hadrian, 5, Sabina, 1; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 3, Faustina II (under Pius), 2.

Note: Latest closely dated coin is of Antoninus Pius TR P XXIII (AD 159–60) but also included are two coins minted for Faustina II which could have been in production at the very end of the reign.

Finder: Craig Ball, Andrew Bellerby, John Chalinor, Peter Hosey, Wayne Mexom and John Williams, with metal detectors.

Disposition: The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery has expressed interest.

R.A.

44. Doncaster, S. Yorks., 12 Mar. 2012 (2012 T191, addenda to 2005 T418)

Dep.: AD 175 or later.

Contents: 86 AR denarii and pot fragments: Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 2; Galba (AD 69), 1; *Vespasian* (AD

69–79): Vespasian, 6; Titus Caesar, 1; Domitian (AD 81–96), 5; Nerva (AD 96–98), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 19; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 20; Sabina, 1; *Antoninus Pius* (AD 138–61): Antoninus Pius, 8; Diva Faustina I, 4; Marcus Caesar, 4; Faustina II, 4; *Marcus Aurelius* (AD 161–80): Marcus Aurelius, 5, Lucius Verus, 1; Lucilla, 2, Divus Antoninus, 2.

Note: The hoard total now stands at 396 denarii and a closer *t.p.q.* is supplied by a late coin of Marcus Aurelius, TR P XXIX. Improved conservation resources and techniques have allowed these coins to be more fully identified than the 2005 find.

Finder: Karl Notley, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The finder and landowner have generously donated the find to Doncaster Museum to join the original find.

R.A.

45. Stoke on Trent area, Staffs, Feb. and Aug. 2012 (2012 T132 and 2012 T575)

Dep.: c. AD 161–76.

Contents: About 261 AR denarii and fragments: Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 1; Nero (AD 54–68), 2; Galba (AD 69), 1; Vitellius (AD 69), 3; *Vespasian* (AD 69–79): Vespasian, 19; Titus Caesar, 5 Domitian Caesar, 3; *Titus* (AD 79–81): Titus, 2; Domitian Caesar, 3; Divus Vespasian, 1; Domitian (AD 81–96), 14; Uncertain Flavian, 4; Nerva (AD 96–98), 4; Trajan (AD 98–117), 67; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 56; Sabina, 3; *Antoninus Pius* (AD 138–61): Antoninus Pius, 30; Faustina I, 11; Faustina II, 4; Marcus Aurelius Caesar, 4; *Marcus Aurelius* (AD 161–80): Marcus Aurelius, 1, Lucius Verus, 2, Faustina II, 1, Lucilla, 1, Divus Antoninus, 3; Uncertain emperor, 16.

Note: Possible structural remains in the area were subsequently investigated by T. Brindle and S. Dean. These are thought to consist of part of a collapsed boundary wall. It was difficult to estimate precisely the total number of coins in the hoard due to the degree of fragmentation.

Finder: Scott Heeley, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery have expressed interest.

E.G.

46. Woodbridge (near), Suffolk, 2012 (2012 T399 and T955 addenda to 2009 T622)

Dep.: AD 172–76 or later.

Contents: 8 AR denarii: Nero (AD 54–68), 1; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Domitian (AD 81–96), 1; Nerva (AD 96–98), 1; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 2; Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), 1.

Note: The original 2009 find contains the latest coin but the denarius of Nero is now the earliest in the hoard.

Finder: Robert Atfield, Alan Smith, Roy Damant and Terry Marsh with a metal detector.

Disposition: Colchester and Ipswich Museums Service has expressed interest.

J. P./F.M.

47. Stiffkey, Norfolk, July 2011 (2011 T487)

Dep.: AD 180–83 or later.

Contents: 5 AR denarii: Vespasian (AD 69–79), 3; Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), 1; *Commodus* (AD 180–92): Crispina, 1.

Finder: Clive and Sue Hudson, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.

A.M.

48. Knutsford area, Cheshire, May to June 2012 (2012 T406)

Dep.: AD 190–91 or later.

Contents: 56 AR denarii and 2 sestertii, 2 finger rings, 2 brooches and ceramic vessel sherds. *Denarii*: Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 1; Galba (AD 69), 1; Vitellius (AD 69), 2; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 3; Domitian (AD 81–96), 3; Nerva (AD 96–98), 1, Trajan (AD 98–117), 8; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 9 + 1 sestertius; *Antoninus Pius* (AD 138–61): Antoninus Pius, 9 + 1 sestertius; Diva Faustina I, 2; Marcus Aurelius Caesar, 2, Faustina II, 1; *Marcus Aurelius* (AD 161–80): Marcus Aurelius, 4, Lucius Verus, 1, Faustina II, 2, Diva Faustina II, 1, Commodus Caesar, 1, Commodus, 1; Commodus (AD 180–92), 4

Note: The artefacts were studied by Rob Philpott (National Museums Liverpool) and Belinda Crerar. They consisted of two late second-century silver gilt trumpet brooches (one large brooch with a close parallel from the Church Minshull, Cheshire, hoard (manufactured by the same workshop or craftsman; possibly even the same mould) and one smaller brooch) and two silver finger rings set with a red semi-precious stone (possibly carnelian), one engraved with a winged figure.

Finder: Alan Bates, with a metal detector. Subsequent survey and excavation of the findspot was carried out by the finder and a team of archaeologists from the National Museums Liverpool and Cheshire Archaeological Advisory Service, together with the Finds Liaison Officer

Disposition: National Museums Liverpool has expressed interest.

R.P./E.G.

49. Ugthorpe, N. Yorks., Sept. 2012 (2012 T902 addendum to 2007 T416 and 1998 find)

Dep.: AD 192 or later (hoard).

Contents: 1 AR denarius of Faustina II under Antoninus Pius.

Note: The find to date consists of 72 denarii from Nero to Commodus.

Finder: Tyndall Jones, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Whitby Museum has expressed interest.

R.A.

50. Deopham, Norfolk, June 2012 (2012 T553)

Dep.: AD 197–98 or later.

Contents: 2 AR denarii of Caracalla as Caesar under Septimius Severus.

Finders: Damian Alger and Mark Dover, with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.

A.M.

51. Sprotbrough, S. Yorks., Sept. 2012 (2012 T893)

Dep.: AD 196–211 or later.

Contents: 2 AR denarii of Julia Domna (under Septimius Severus and Caracalla).

Finder: Andrew Marriott, with a metal detector.

Disposition: To be determined.

A.D.

52. Bawdeswell area, Norfolk, Aug. 2010 (2010 T763)

Dep.: AD 222 or later.

Contents: 8 AR denarii: *Severus and Caracalla* (AD 196–211): Julia Domna, 1; *Elagabalus* (AD 218–22): Elagabalus, 1; Julia Maesa, 1; Julia Soaemias, 1; Julia Paula, 2; *Severus Alexander* (AD 222–35): Severus Alexander, 1; Irregular, 1.

Finder: James Blackburn, Bradley Jordan, James Normandi, Marko Slusarczuk and Terence Starhurski, with metal detectors.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.

A.M.

53. Scottow, Norfolk, 2012 (2012 T217)

Dep.: After AD 238–44 (possibly late third century).

Contents: 32 AE: Trajan (AD 98–117): 1 sestertius, 3 dupondii, 1 *as*; Hadrian (AD 117–38): 1 *as*; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61): 4 sestertii; Faustina I: 1 sestertius, 1 dupondius/*as*; Lucius Verus: 1 dupondius; Faustina II: 1 sestertius, Faustina II or Lucilla, 1; Marcus Aurelius: 1 sestertius; Crispina: 1 sestertius cast copy; Commodus: 2 sestertii; Uncertain Antonine emperor: 1; Didius Julianus: 1 sestertius; Septimius Severus: 2 sestertii (1 cast copy); *Gordian III*: 1 sestertius; Illegible: 2 sestertii, 6 dupondius/*as*.

Note: The latest coin in the group that can be accurately dated belongs to the years 238–44. This is very corroded and so its condition when deposited cannot be ascertained. The hoard is certainly very late in date for an *aes* hoard and could well be connected to the recycling of *sestertii* and sub-denominations in a later period. Whether it was a currency hoard or a scrap hoard this group of coins was most likely lost or deposited at some time within the third quarter of the third century.

Finder: Mervyn Bone and John Ogden, with metal detectors.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest.

A.M.

54. Timsbury, Bath and North East Somerset, 1 Mar. to 11 July 2011 (2012 T340)

Dep.: AD 247–49 or later.

Contents: 16 AR denarii and 4 silver radiates: *Antoninus Pius* (AD 138–61): Diva Faustina I, 1; *Wars of the Succession* (AD 193–97): Clodius Albinus, 1; Septimius Severus, 1; *Joint reign of Severus and Caracalla* (AD 198–209): Septimius Severus, 1; Julia Domna, 4; Septimius Severus (Joint or sole reign), 1; Elagabalus (AD 218–22), 3; Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), 4; Gordian III (AD 238–44), 2 radiates; Philip I (AD 244–49), 2 radiates.

Finder: Mr Evry, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Bath Museum has expressed interest.

E.W./E.G.

55. Howden area, E. Yorks., 3 May 2012 (2012 T456)

Dep.: AD 249 or later.

Contents: 1 base AR denarius of Severus Alexander (AD 222–35) and 1 base AR radiate of Philip I (AD 244–49).

Note: The two coins are fused together, reverse to reverse, making closer identification impossible.

Finder: Simon Haley, with a metal detector.

Disposition: East Riding Museum Service has expressed acquisition interest.

R.A.

56. Barlby, N. Yorks., 13 Oct. 2012 (2012 T888)

Dep.: AD 260–69 or later.

Contents: 4 AR denarii and 5 base AR/base metal radiates: *Denarii*: Elagabalus (AD 218–22), 1; Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), 2; Maximinus (AD 235–38), 1.

Radiates: Gordian III (AD 238–44), 1; Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251–53), 1; Joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (AD 253–60): Valerian, 1, Gallienus, 1; Postumus (AD 260–69), 1.

Finder: Alistair Wilks, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
R.G.

57. Fangfoss, E. Yorks., 2 Aug. 2012 (2012 T559)

Dep.: AD 268–70 or later.

Contents: 5 base AR/base-metal radiates: Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251–53), 1; *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Valerian, 1, Salonina, 1; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 2.

Finder: Glenn Hood, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
R.A.

58. Beau Street, Bath, Bath and North East Somerset, 16 Nov. 2007 (2007 T677)

Dep.: AD 250s to 270s (early).

Contents: Bag 1: 3,803 AR radiates, latest coin AD 270s; Bag 2: 3,033 debased radiates, latest coin AD 270s; Bag 3: 2,773 AR radiates, latest coin AD 270s; Bag 4: 2,302 AR radiates, latest coin AD 260s; Bag 5: 775 AR radiates, latest coin AD 260s; Bag 6: 1,795 AR denarii, latest coin AD 250s; Bag 7: 406 debased radiates, latest coin AD 270s; Bag 8: 253 debased radiates, latest coin AD 270s; Loose coins: 2,437.

Note: The hoard consists of eight archaeologically discrete bags of coins (roughly sorted by denomination) excavated from one single block and summarized separately above (detailed cataloguing is on-going). In addition to these eight groups there were some coins that could not be assigned to a bag that were removed during the excavation of the soil block in the laboratory.

Finder: During excavations by Cotswold Archaeology on the Gainsborough Building site in Beau Street/Lower Borough Walls, Bath.

Disposition: The Roman Baths Museum hopes to acquire.
R.A./E.G.

59. St Blazey, Cornwall, 24 Feb. to 9 Mar. 2012 (2012 T172)

Dep.: AD 271 or later.

Contents: 45 base-metal radiates: *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Valerian, 2; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 4, Salonina, 1; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 6; Quintillus (AD 270), 1; *Gallic Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 20; Laelian (AD 269), 1; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 10.

Note: The hoard closes with a final issue of Victorinus (AD 269–71) and contains a large proportion of the pre-debasement issues of Postumus (over 46 per cent). Radiate hoards closing with Victorinus form a comparatively unusual category noted for their diverse compositions. For discussion of such hoards see E. Besly on the Bassaleg hoard from Gwent, *CHRB* IX, pp. 87–100.

Finder: Aaron and Paul Walkey, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The Royal Cornwall Museum has expressed interest.
R.A.

60. South Oxfordshire, 1 June to 3 July 2012 (2012 T510)

Dep.: AD 271 or later.

Contents: 5 base AR denarii and 11 radiates. *Denarii:* Elagabalus (AD 218–22), 1; Julia Maesa, 1; Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), 2; Maximinus I (AD 235–38), 1.

Radiates: Gordian III (AD 238–44), 1; Philip I (AD 244–49), 1, Otacilia Severa, 1; *Joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus* (AD 253–60): Valerian, 2; Salonina, 2; Valerian II, 1; *Gallic Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 2; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 1.

Finder: Name withheld, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Oxfordshire Museums Service have expressed interest.

A.By.

61. Brighstone, Isle of Wight, 8 Feb. 2011 (2011 T74)

Dep.: AD 274 or later.

Contents: 696 base metal radiates in a New Forest Ware flagon: *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Gallienus, 2; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 68, Salonina, 2; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 73; Divus Claudius, 2; Quintillus (AD 270), 3; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 4; *Gallic Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 28; Laelian (AD 269), 2; Marius (AD 269), 2; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 213; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 165; Tetricus II, 41; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 46; Uncertain emperor, 40; Irregular, 5.

Finder: Mick Green, as a chance find.

Disposition: Isle of Wight Heritage Service has expressed interest in acquisition.

R.A.

62. Drax, N. Yorks., 2005 (2012 T37, addenda to 2009 T12)

Dep.: AD 274 or later.

Contents: 39 base metal radiates: Volusian (AD 251–53), 1; *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Saloninus, 1; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 1; *Joint or Sole reign of Gallienus*: Gallienus, 1, Salonina, 1; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 1; Quintillus (AD 270), 1; *Gallic Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 2; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 7; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 6; Tetricus II, 2; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 2; Uncertain emperor, 9; Irregular, 4.

Note: Addenda to a hoard of 88 radiates found in 2008.

Finder: Simon Haley, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
E.G.

63. Huntingdon district, Cambs, Oct. 2010 to Aug. 2012 (2012 T601)

Dep.: AD 274 or later.

Contents: 139 base metal radiates: *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Valerian, 1, Gallienus, 1; Salonina, 3, Valerian II (Divus), 1; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 25; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 4; Divus Claudius, 1; Quintillus (AD 270), 1; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 1; *Gallic Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 48; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 27; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 16; Tetricus II, 6; Uncertain emperor, 3; Irregular, 1.

Note: The single coin of Aurelian is dated c. AD 271–72.

Finder: Bill Johnstone and Fred Brumby, with metal detectors.

Disposition: To be determined.

R.A.

64. Woolavington, Somerset, 28 Oct. 2012 (2012 T760)

Dep.: AD 274 or later.

Contents: 44 base metal radiates: Gallienus (sole reign) (AD 260–68), 8; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 3; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 2; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 6; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 11; Tetricus II, 11; Contemporary copy, 1; Illegible, 2.

Note: The coins rested on a black organic patch interpreted as possible decayed leather.

Finder: Nicolas Bates, with a metal detector. Subsequently excavated by Laura Burnett, Alice Forward and Dr Richard Brunning of the Somerset Historic Environment Service.

Disposition: To be determined.

L.B./A.F

65. Pamphill I, Dorset, 14 Oct. 2011 (2011 T687)

Dep.: AD 276–77 or later.

Contents: 2,010 base metal radiates (and 10 fragments) and vessel: *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Valerian I, 3, Gallienus, 1; Salonina, 2, Valerian II (Divus), 1, Diva Mariniana, 1 *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 241, Salonina, 20; *Joint or sole reign of Gallienus*: Salonina, 2; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 180; Divus Claudius, 36; Quintillus (AD 270), 13; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 3; Tactius (AD 275–76), 3; Probus (AD 276–82), 3; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 21; Laelian (AD 269), 1; Marius (AD 269), 2; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 384; Divus Victorinus, 1; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 670; Tetricus II, 298; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 47; Uncertain emperor, 30; Irregular, 47.

Note: Two separate pottery vessels containing coins were found together (Hoard I PAS ref: DOR-148AF3 and Hoard II PAS ref: DOR-148E55). The vessels were broken, with only the bases intact. An excavation of the area of the find was subsequently carried out by Terrain Archaeology. Additional material from this excavation consisted of 8 coins (7 radiates and a stray nummus) from the surface and 6 coins found after the removal of the pots; these could not be related to a particular pot. The coins were extracted from the bases of the vessels and cleaned in the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research at the British Museum. The two vessels could have therefore been deposited together in AD 282 or later, or Vessel I could have been deposited a few years earlier than Vessel II. In any case, the dates are close enough to suggest that the two deposits were related to each other, if not simultaneous.

Finder: Name withheld, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Dorset County Museum hopes to acquire. E.G.

66. Pamphill II, Dorset, 14 Oct. 2011 (2011 T687)

Dep.: AD 282 or later.

Contents: 3,426 base metal radiates (and 7 fragments) and vessel: *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Valerian I, 8, Gallienus, 2; Salonina, 7; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 397, Salonina, 33; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 295; Divus Claudius, 10; Quintillus (AD 270), 29; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 13; Tactius (AD 275–76), 8; Probus (AD 276–82), 27; Carus (AD 282–83), 1; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 32; Marius (AD 269), 3; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 622; Divus Victorinus, 1; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 962;

Tetricus II, 520; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 133; Uncertain emperor, 141 and 7 fragments; Irregular, 182.

Note: See note for Pamphill I, above.

Finder: Name withheld, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Dorset County Museum hopes to acquire. E.G.

67. Lenham area, Kent, Oct. 2011 and Apr. 2012 (2012 T140)

Dep.: AD 283 or later.

Contents: 1,062 base metal radiates (and 19 fragments): *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Salonina, 1; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 119, Salonina, 5; *Joint or sole reign of Gallienus*: Salonina, 2; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 96; Divus Claudius, 10; Quintillus (AD 270), 5; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 14; Tactius (AD 275–76), 16; Probus (AD 276–82), 28; Carus (AD 282–83), 1; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 24; Laelian (AD 269), 3; Marius (AD 269), 4; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 209; Divus Victorinus, 1; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 276; Tetricus II, 135; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 40; Uncertain emperor, 55 and 19 fragments; Irregular, 18.

Note: Sherds of Iron Age or Roman pottery, copper alloy vessel fragments and slag were also found.

Finder: Guy Ledger-Muennich, initially as a chance find. Controlled metal-detector survey and excavation of the findspot were carried out by the Finds Liaison Officer for Kent (Jennifer Jackson) in April 2012.

Disposition: To be determined.

E.G.

68. Backwell, Somerset, 21 Feb. to 25 July 2012 (2012 T572)

Dep.: AD 340 or later.

Contents: 2 radiates (of Gallienus (sole reign) and Carausius) and 23 nummi: AD 330–35: uncertain mint, 7; AD 335–40: Trier, 1; uncertain mint, 6; Uncertain reverse type, 9.

Finder: David Lee, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

R.A.

69. Wheaton Aston, Staffs, 13 Nov. 2011 (2012 T6, addenda to 1989 find)

Dep.: AD 354 or later.

Contents: 11 base-metal Magnentian nummi, AD 348–50: Trier, 3; Lyon, 2; Uncertain mint, 5; Imitation, 1

Note: Addenda to the 1989 Wheaton Aston find (see R. Bland, *Wheaton Aston, Staffs.*, 484 *nummi* to AD 354, in *CHRB X*, pp. 392–7).

Finder: Peter Lyons, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery has expressed acquisition interest.

R.A.

70. Chichester (near) Hoard B, W. Sussex, Dec. 2011 (2012 T425)

Dep.: AD 364–78 or later.

Contents: 2 AR siliquae: Uncertain emperor, *Urbs Roma* type, uncertain mint (AD 364–78), 1 and Valens, Trier (AD 367–75), 1.

Note: The same finder found another two coins over 500 m away (not in the same field) and these have been designated Near Chichester A (see below, no. 78). Although these coins are earlier types than those in

hoard A, they exhibit a similarly high degree of clipping, suggesting a similar (late) deposition date.

Finder: Edward Mustard, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Chichester District Museum has expressed interest.

E.G.

71. Tisbury, Wilts., 24 Feb. 2012 (2012 T506, addenda to 2011 T6)

Dep.: AD 378 or later.

Contents: 2 AR light miliarenses (fragmentary): Constans, Trier, AD 342–43, 347; and Valentinian II, probably Trier, c.AD 375–78.

Finder: Alan White, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

K.H.

72. Horncastle area, Lincs, Mar. 2011 (2012 T580 addenda to 2010 T95)

Dep.: AD 388–92 or later (hoard).

Contents: 5 base metal nummi: Constantius II and Constans (AD 341–50), Trier, 1; Magnentian (AD 350–53), imitation, 1; Post Magnentian (AD 351–55), imitations, 3. *Finder:* Adam Staples, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The Collection, Lincoln, has expressed interest.

R.A.

73. Chichester (near), W. Sussex, 3 Aug. 2011 (2012 T210, addenda to 2009 T407)

Dep.: AD 388–95 or later.

Contents: Minor fragments (<0.35 g) of a silver miliarensis (VIRTUS EXERCITVS type, AD 367–95).

Note: Part of the same hoard as 2007 T719 and 2008 T743.

Finder: Ken Mordle, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

L.B.

74. Frome II, Somerset, 3–4 Oct. 2012 (2012 T732 addenda to 2011 T233 and 2010 T278)

Dep.: AD 388–95 or later.

Contents: 1 AR miliarensis (AD 375–95, Trier) and 60 AR siliquae: (AD 355–64): Trier, 1; Lyon, 1; Arles, 2; Uncertain mint, 2; (AD 364–67) Rome, 2; (AD 365–67) Trier, 11, Nicomedia, 1; uncertain mint, 2; (AD 375–78): Trier, 5; Aquileia, 1, Uncertain mint, 3; (AD 378–83): Trier, 5; Lyon, 1; (AD 383–88) Trier, 14; Milan, 2; Aquileia, 1; (AD 388–95): Trier, 2; Uncertain issue: 4.

Note: Some of the siliquae were fragmentary and two were found to fit with fragments from the original find, making 58 additional siliquae only.

Finder: David Crisp, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The Museum of Somerset has expressed interest.

L.B.

75. Godshell, Isle of Wight, 11 Apr. 2012 (2012 T288)

Dep.: After AD 395.

Contents: 5 base metal radiates and 22 nummi: Gallienus (sole reign, AD 260–68), 1; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 3; Irregular radiate, 1; Later Constantinian (AD 337–40): Trier, 1, Eastern mint, 1, uncertain mint, 1; Fel Temp (AD 348–50): Uncertain mint, 1; Post-Magnentian (AD 354–61): Eastern mint 1, uncertain mint, 4; Valentinianic (AD 364–83): Lyon, 1, Eastern mint, 1, uncertain mint,

1; Theodosian (AD 383–95): Lyon, 1, Aquileia, 1, Eastern mint, 1; Uncertain nummi, 7.

Note: Amongst the latest coins is a SALVS REIPUBLICAE type. It appears to be an example of the earlier issue of Aquileia although the mintmark is not really legible. The possibility remains of it being an issue of Rome from the next period; AD 395–402.

Finder: Name withheld, with a metal detector.

Disposition: The finder and landowner have generously donated the find to the Isle of Wight Heritage Service.

R.A.

76. Wetherby (near), N. Yorks., 13 Mar. 2012 (2012 T196)

Dep.: c.AD 378–402.

Contents: 38 AR siliquae and 2 AE nummi: AD 355–64: Lyon, 6; Arles, 8; Uncertain mint, 2; AD 364–67: Lyon, 6; Arles, 1; Thessalonica, 1; Uncertain mint, 2; AD 367–75: Trier, 6; AD 375–78: Trier, 1; AD 395–402: Uncertain mint, 1; Irregular, 4.

Note: One highly clipped coin of a slightly later type (AD 395–402) could have been deposited well into the fifth century after a long period of circulation. The difference in the degree of clipping of this coin and the others in the group suggests that they were deposited some time before this and that this later coin may be a stray find. Of the two nummi, one was of small module contemporary and with the hoard and the other of larger module, slightly earlier than the group. Such mixed hoards are not unknown (for example Bishops Cannings and Hoxne) and it is therefore not inconceivable that the larger module bronze coin was also either part of the hoard or associated with the same pattern of deposition at this site. The fact that the hoard was found near a spring would point to a votive or ritual context for this deposition.

Finder: Trevor Austin, Michael Smith and Sid Hallam, with metal detectors.

Disposition: The British Museum has expressed interest in one coin.

E.G.

77. Ely, Cambs, 30 Aug. 2011 (2012 T95)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 1,021 base-metal nummi and fragments: The hoard contained coins from the late third to the late fourth century but the vast majority of the issues were of the last 20 years of the fourth century. Nearly 41 per cent of the assemblage was unidentifiable. The mint marks could be read for just over 5 per cent of the examples: Trier (8), Arles (21), Lyon (15), Aquileia (7) and Rome (3). Emperors represented in the identifiable coins were: Claudius II Gothicus (1), Helena (1), Constantinopolis (2), Constantine II (2), Constantius II (3), Constans (6), Valentinian I (4), Valens (3), Gratian (2), Valentinian II (12), Theodosius I (18), Arcadius (31) Maximus (4) and Honorius (12). This list of coins identifiable down to obverse type is just under 10 per cent of the total although Theodosian period busts could be observed on many more.

Note: Found during an archaeological trial trench evaluation in the uppermost fill of a boundary ditch. No evidence of a container was found but the hoard was associated with other artefacts. Many of the group are irregular (usually cast) copies. The presence of a possi-

ble copper alloy ingot in the same ditch context might suggest coin forging in the same workshop that the other items derived. Further work on the hoard is anticipated.

Finder: Northamptonshire Archaeology, during a controlled archaeological excavation.

Disposition: To be archived by Northamptonshire Archaeology in the Cambridgeshire County Store. I.M.

78. Chichester (near), Hoard A, W. Sussex, Dec. 2011 (2012 T424)

Dep.: AD 395–402 or later.

Contents: 2 AR siliquae: Uncertain emperor, *Virtus Romanorum* type, 1 uncertain mint (AD 388–95), 1 probably Milan (AD 395–402).

Note: The same finder found another two coins over 500 m away (not in the same field) and these have been designated Near Chichester B (see above, 2012 T425).

Finder: E. Mustard, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Chichester District Museum has expressed interest. E.G.

79. Hingham (near), Norfolk, Mar. 2012 (2012 T230 addendum to 1993 find)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 1 AV solidus of Arcadius, mint of Milan (*RIC* IX 35b), AD 394–95, 4.51 g.

Note: For the original find of 26 solidi and 4 siliquae see J. Davies, 'Deopham, Norfolk' in *CHRB* X, pp. 468–9.

Finder: Mark Dover, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest. A.M.

80. Norwich (near), Norfolk, Dec. 2011 to Dec. 2012 (2012 T343)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 1 AV solidus of Theodosius, Trier (AD 388–92) and 6 AR siliquae: House of Valentinian, uncertain mint (AD 367–78), 1; House of Theodosius, uncertain mint (AD 393–402), 2; Arcadius, Milan (AD 388–93), 1; Honorius: Milan (AD 393–402), 1; uncertain mint (irregular), 1.

Note: Most of the silver coins are quite heavily clipped, suggesting a deposition date probably c.410.

Finder: Alan Matthewson, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest. A.M.

81. Bury St Edmunds (near), Suffolk, 1 Feb. 2012 (2012 T348 addenda to 2011 T660)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 2 AR siliquae of Gratian (Aquileia, AD 375–78) and Arcadius (Milan, AD 395–402).

Finder: Sam Smith, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. J.B./E.G.

82. Pewsey, Wilts., Jan. to Mar. 2012 (2012 T421 addenda to 2009 T233, 2010 T746 and 2011 T545)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 2 AR siliquae: Julian, contemporary copy struck c.AD 360–62 and Valens, contemporary copy struck c.377–83.

Note: Addenda to a hoard of 30 siliquae dated to AD 402 or later.

Finder: Nick Barrett, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

D.A./K.H.

83. Gressenhall, Norfolk, 2000 and Feb. 2012 (2012 T402)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 2 AR siliquae of Theodosius (uncertain mint, AD 383–95) and Honorius (uncertain mint, AD 395–402).

Note: Both coins were heavily clipped.

Finder: George Keppler, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. A.M.

84. Quidenham, Norfolk, from Sept. 2009 (2012 T591)

Dep.: AD 402 or later.

Contents: 7 AR siliquae and 143 base metal coins to AD 402. *Siliquae:* Valentinian I: (AD 364–67) Sirmium, 1; Uncertain emperor: (AD 375–78/9) Uncertain mint, 1; (AD 378/9–88) Uncertain mint, 1; Arcadius and Honorius: (AD 395–402) Milan, 3; Uncertain fragment, 1. *Nummi:* Constantinian earlier nummi: Trier, 1; uncertain mint, 4; AD 346–48: Trier, 1; Uncertain mint, 2; AD 348–61: Uncertain mint, 1; AD 364–83: Lyon, 6; Arles, 24, Aquileia, 4; Siscia, 2; Uncertain mint, 61; AD 388–402: Arles, 1; Aquileia, 1; Uncertain mint, 20; Illegible: 9; Irregular: 5. Irregular radiate, 1.

Note: This is a summary of the hoard to date, including the original find.

Finder: Malcolm Weale, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest. R.A.

85. Stokesley (near), N. Yorks., 18 May 2012 (2012 T432)

Dep.: AD 407–08 or later.

Contents: 39 AR siliquae: Julian: (AD 360–63) Arles, 2; Valens: (AD 364–67) Rome, 2; (AD 365–67) Trier, 2, uncertain mint, 1; (AD 375–78) Trier, 1; Gratian: (AD 367–75) Trier, 1; (AD 375–78) Trier, 1; (AD 379–83) uncertain mint, 1; Valentinian II: (AD 375–83) Trier, 1; (AD 378–83) Aquileia, 1; House of Valentinian: (AD 379–88) Trier, 1; Magnus Maximus: (AD 383–88) Trier, 1; Theodosius: (AD 389–94) Milan or Trier, 1; Arcadius: (AD 392–95) Trier, 6; uncertain mint, 2; Eugenius: (AD 392–94) Trier, 1; Lyon, 1; Honorius: (AD 395–402) Milan, 5; Arcadius or Honorius: (AD 395–402) uncertain mint 1; Milan, 3; House of Theodosius: (AD 388–408) uncertain mint, 2; Constantine III: (AD 407–08) Lyon, 1; Uncertain emperor/issue: 1.

Note: There were four bronze nummi found in the same area, however identification suggests that they were not deposited with the siliquae, as they largely date to the early fourth century.

Finder: Barry Solomon, with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. E.M./R.C.

86. Sandridge, Herts, 23 Sept. to 1 Oct. 2012 (2012 T674)

Dep.: AD 408 or later.

Contents: 159 AV solidi: *Earlier solidi* (AD 367–95): Gratian (AD 367–83), 1; Theodosius (AD 379–95), 7;

Valentinian II (AD 375–92), 11; Arcadius (AD 383–408), 4. *The joint reign of Arcadius and Honorius* (AD 395–408): Honorius (AD 393–423), 98; Arcadius (AD 383–408), 38.

Note: No Roman pottery was recovered, suggesting an organic container or no container at all.

Finder: Westley Carrington, with a metal detector,

finding fifty-five coins on 23 September 2012. The findspot was subsequently excavated by St Albans Museum with Mr Carrington and the owners of the Hidden History store from the 28 September to 1 October 2012, recovering a further 104 coins.

Disposition: St Albans Museum has expressed interest. D.T.

Medieval and post-medieval hoards

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
87	Colchester district, Essex	17–18 Apr. 2012	2 AV Merovingian tremisses	c.580–670	2012 T248-9 (addenda to 2010 T254; 2011 T202) 2012 T216
88	South Norfolk	1 Dec. 2011–31 Mar. 2012	15 AR sceattas	c.715–20	2012 T401
89	Downham Market, near, Norfolk	1–29 Oct. 2011	9 AR sceattas	c.720–50	2012 T319
90	South Norfolk	5 Apr.–27 June 2012	23 AR pennies of Eadmund of East Anglia + 4 AR brooches + 2 AR strap-ends	c.869	2012 T341
91	York area	by 10 May 2012	34 AR pennies (Edward the Elder and Athelstan)	c.930–35	2012 T920
92	Lewes, near, E. Sussex	13 Sept. 2012	2 AR coins (Æthelred II <i>Last Small Cross</i> type)	c.1009–early 1020s	2012 T200
93	Stogumber, Somerset	1 Aug. 2011	4 AR fused pennies (William I type 4 (only?))	mid/late 1070s	2012 T808
94	Outwell, Norfolk	10 Sept.–8 Oct. 2012	2 AR pennies (Henry I types 10 and 12)	early 1120s	2012 T544
95	Wroughton, Wilts.	26 May 2012	2 AR pennies (Stephen type 1)	c.1141–45	2012 T586
96	Charnwood, Leics	Aug. 2012–Jan. 2013	25 AR pennies (<i>Tealby</i>)	c.1158–80	2012 T390 (addenda to 2009 T71) 2012 T450
97	Fakenham, near, Norfolk	19 Mar.–16 Apr. 2012	2 AR pennies (<i>Tealby</i>)	c.1160–80	2012 T500
98	Shalfleet, Isle of Wight	13 June 2012	2 AR fused cut farthings (Short Cross)	1205–c.1250	2012 T169 (addenda to 2009 T427) 2012 T900
99	Rock, Worcs	14 Mar. 2012	7 AR pennies (Short Cross)	1220s	2012 T138
100	Wendover, Bucks	22 Feb. 2012	3 AR coins (Short Cross)	mid-1230s	2012 T253
101	Arundel, near, W. Sussex	c.1 Sept. 2012	4 AR pennies (Long Cross)	mid/late 1250s	–
102	Ashbourne area, Derbys.	19 Feb. 2012	40 AR pennies + 3 AR fragments (Long Cross)	mid/late 1260s	2012 T219
103	Ansley, Warks	26 Feb. 2012	5 AR pennies (Edward I and Alexander III)	early/mid-1280s	
104	Loch of Wester, Caithness	Jan. 2012	46 AR pennies (Edward I, Alexander III and Continental) (see this volume, pp. 249–51)	early 1290s	
105	Hanworth, Norfolk	1 Jan.–29 Feb. 2012	11 AR pennies (Edward I and II)	1311–1320s	

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
106	Brinkburn, Northumberland	Jan. 2012	11 AR pennies (Edward I and II)	mid-1310s–1320s	2012 T158
107	South Northamptonshire area	13 Apr. 2012	12 AR coins (Edward I–III and Continental)	late 1330s/early 1340s	2012 T303
108	Boltby, N. Yorks.	6 Apr. 2012	23 AR pennies (Edward I–III)	early/mid-1350s	2012 T293
109	Bodham, Norfolk	1 Jan.–6 Mar. 2012	4 AR coins (Edward III)	late 14th century	2012 T218
110	Elsing, Norfolk	1 Jan.–19 Dec. 2012	11 AR coins (Edward III and Richard II)	c.1400–1412	2012 T521
111	East Bergholt, near, Suffolk	27 Feb. 2012	7 AR coins (Edward I–Henry VI and Continental)	early 1430s–1464	2012 T223
112	Elmstead, Essex	2011	2 AR groats (Edward IV)	late 1460s–late 15th century	2012 T215
113	Solway, Cumbria	9 Nov. 2012	5 AR groats (Henry VIII)	1529–44	2012 T757
114	Wymondham, Norfolk	Apr. 2012	14 AR coins (Henry VIII)	1544–c.1545	2012 T193
115	Middleham, N. Yorks.	22 Apr. 2012	7 AR coins (Henry VIII)	1545–c.1549	2012 T321
116	Brixton Deverill, Wilts.	22 May 2012	1 AR groat (Edward VI)	1549–51	2012 T446 (addendum to 2006 T490)
117	Norton Malreward, Avon	19 June 2011	2 AR groats (Philip and Mary)	1554–58 or later	2012 T283
118	Holy Island, Northumberland	2003	10 AV + 7 AR coins (Henry VI to Elizabeth I and Continental)	c.1562	2012 T19
119	Bures St Mary, Suffolk	15 Sept.–18 Oct. 2012	6 AR coins (Elizabeth I)	1565–late 16th century	2012 T724
120	Nuneaton, Warks	30 Nov. 2011	3 AR coins (Elizabeth I)	1570–17th century	2012 T11
121	Hayton and Mealo, Cumbria	30 Mar. 2012	3 AR coins (Elizabeth I)	1574–17th century	2012 T244
122	Elland, W. Yorks.	1 Jan.–1 June 2007	5 AR coins (Elizabeth I and French)	1595–early 17th century	2012 T871
123	Chardstock, Devon	24 Mar. 2012	13 AR coins (Elizabeth I, James VI and I, and Spanish)	1607–1610s	2012 T242
124	Lapley Stretton and Wheaton Aston, Staffs	15 Apr. 2012	1 AR halfcrown (Charles I)	1640–41 or later	2012 T433 (addendum to 2011 T544)
125	Hartpur, Glos	15 Jan. 2012	4 AR halfcrowns (Charles I)	1641–43 or later	2012 T384
126	Millthorpe area, Derbys.	June 2012	48 AR coin clippings (Elizabeth I to Charles I)	1641–43 or later	2012 T858
127	Uttoxeter, Staffs	18–25 Aug. 2012	82 AR coins (Mary to Charles I)	1643–44	2012 T604
128	Wychavon, Worcs	c.1 Sept. 2012	3 AR coins (Elizabeth I to Charles I)	1644–1690s	2012 T168
129	Stanton, Wilts.	13 May 2012	21 AR coins (Philip and Mary to Charles I)	c.1645	2012 T355
130	Newton Abbot, Devon	25 Nov. 2012–June 2013	12 AR coins (Edward VI to Charles I)	1646–c.1649	2012 T865
131	Selwood, Somerset	23 Feb.–31 May 2012	2 AR coins (Charles I)	1690s?	2012 T568
132	Southrowham, W. Yorks.	2007	4 AR coins + 1 Æ halfpenny (Charles II and William III)	1696–18th century	2012 T872

COIN REGISTER 2013

EDITED BY MARTIN ALLEN, JOHN NAYLOR AND PHILIPPA WALTON

COIN Register is an annual survey of single finds of Iron Age, Roman, medieval and post-medieval coins and tokens found in England and Wales, using data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), Celtic Coin Index (CCI), and Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC), and other sources. The editors would be very grateful to be notified of any finds that might be included in Coin Register. All Celtic, pre-conquest Roman, Roman silver prior to AD 64, Roman gold and late Roman silver coins from the fourth century onwards are welcomed, as are Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coins and their continental contemporaries (down to and including the *Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby)* type of Henry II), and most later medieval continental coins. However, finds outside these categories will still be considered for their numismatic interest. As always, the essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from archaeological excavations may be included if it seems that there would otherwise be a considerable delay in publication.

Celtic material should be sent in the first instance to Dr Ian Leins, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG (ileins@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Finds of Greek and Roman coins should be notified to Dr Sam Moorhead, c/o Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG (smoorhead@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Other material should be sent to Dr Martin Allen, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge CB2 1RB (mra25@cam.ac.uk).

The Iron Age, Greek and Roman coins have been edited by Philippa Walton, and Martin Allen and John Naylor are responsible for the surveys of medieval and post-medieval finds. An Appendix lists additional finds recorded by EMC in 2011 and 2012, and illustrations of these coins are available as pdf-files on the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org).

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Abbreviations

CCI	Celtic Coin Index (www.finds.org.uk/CCI)
cuir.	cuirassed
diad.	diademed
dr.	draped
EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds AD 410–1180 (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc)
ex.	exergue
helm.	helmeted
HER	Historic Environments Record
l.	left
laur.	laureate
M/d	Metal detector
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme (www.finds.org.uk)
r.	right
rad.	radiate
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
std	seated
stg	standing
wnr	weight not recorded

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Greek coins

1. Carthaginians, copper-alloy coin, Sardinia, 300–264 BC, *SNG Copenhagen*, no. 144ff

Obv: Tanit I.

Rev: Horse's head r.

Weight: 4.6 g.

Bath, near, Avon. Found whilst walking, December 2012, by Richard Stabbins.

(PAS: FASAM-73C2A0) S.M.

2. Massalia, copper-alloy coin, c.215/11–140 BC, Brenot and Scheers p. 35, series 7

Obv: Head of Apollo I.

Rev: MA above butting bull r.

Weight: 4.96 g

Tangmere, W. Sussex. M/d find, August 2007.

Specimens of this type struck in Massalia (modern Marseille) were the prototypes for the British 'Thurrock' cast potin coins. A similar Greek coin of this type was published in *Coin Register* 2011, p. 265, no. 1.

A.P.

Iron Age coins

3. Early Uninscribed 'QC' Gold, AV quarter stater, *ABC* 506, *BMCIA* –

Obv: Damaged die.

Rev: Horse r., from neck pellet-ring, above 'flower', beneath 'wheel'.

Weight: 1.20 g.

Ickleton, Cambs. M/d find, April–May 2006.

A.P.

4. Early Uninscribed 'LX' Silver, AR unit, *ABC* 2490, *BMCIA* –

Obv: Head r.

Rev: Horse l.

Weight not recorded.

Horningsea, Cambs. M/d find 2007–8.

A.P.

5. Continental potin, attributed to the *Nervii*, c.60–40 BC, Delestrée and Tache 630

Obv: Cross of pellets with two wavy lines in each quarter.

Rev: Horse r.; ?reversed crescent above.

Weight: 3.8 g.

Bucklebury, W. Berks. M/d find, February 2012. Found by Trevor Sprules.

(PAS: BERK-F5D894) A.By./I.L.

6. Continental bronze coin, attributed to the *Suessiones*, 60–25 BC, Delestrée and Tache 365

Obv: Janiform head.

Rev: Lion stg l.; three ringlets above, one ringlet below

Weight not recorded.

Awre, Glos. M/d find, 2010. Found by David Warren.

Although the British Museum has several examples of this coin, none has a British provenance.

(PAS: GLO-35BE44) K.A./S.M.

7. Continental bronze unit, Middle Loire valley region, 50–20 BC, Delestrée and Tache 2577–8

Obv: Head r.

Rev: Eagle and pentagram.

Weight: 1.99 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, March 2012. Found by Dave Cole.

(PAS: IOW-059144) F.B./I.L.

8. Uninscribed Silver unit, Southern region, 50–20 BC, *ABC* 875 var.

Obv: Boar l., three crescents above, pellets above and below boar.

Rev: Horse l., wheel above, ring-and-pellet joints, one ring-and-pellet above, two below.

Weight: 0.76 g.

Ropley, Hants. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Peter Welch.

This coin appears to be a variant of *ABC* 875 (VA 288). It is very similar except for the details around the boar on the obverse and the pellet-in-ring joints on the horse. (PAS: HAMP-F51387) I.L./K.H.

9. South-Eastern bronze of Dubnovellaunos, bronze unit, *ABC* 354, *BMC IA* –, c.25 BC–AD 5

Obv: Lion l., head turned back, above ring, beneath pentagram.

Rev: D[...], horseman to r.

Weight not recorded.

Sawston, Cambs. M/d find, 2005.

A.P.

10. Silver unit, attributed to Cunobelin, AD 10–40, *ABC* 2906

Obv: CVNOB IIINVS, plant within plain circle.

Rev: CA MV, stg figure r. holding thunderbolt in l. hand, club in r.

Weight: 1.23 g.

Chelmsford, Essex. M/d find, January 2013. Found by David Chalkley.

(PAS: SUR-2C9836) M.B.

11. Northern Bronze of Cunobelin, bronze unit, *ABC* 2960, *BMC IA* 1956, c.AD 8–41

Obv: [...], helmeted head r.

Rev: [...], boar r.

Weight: 2.07 g.

Stanfield, Norfolk. M/d find, 2012. The coin was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM. 836–2012). Not illustrated.

A.P.

12. Northern Bronze of Cunobelin, bronze unit, *ABC* 2957, *BMC IA* 1968, c.AD 8–41

Obv: CVNOBELI[...], head l.

Rev: TAS[...], NI F, centaur r.

Weight: 2.78 g.

Congham, Norfolk. M/d find, May 2013. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.372–2013).

A.P.

13. Uninscribed North-Eastern Silver, 'Boar/Horse' type, silver unit, *ABC* 1779, *BMC IA* 3194

Obv: Boar r.

Rev: Horse l.

Weight not recorded.

Stilton, Cambs. M/d find, April 2009.

A.P.

14. Uninscribed East-Anglian Silver, 'Face/Horse Regular' type, silver unit, *ABC* 1564, *BMC IA* 3556.

Obv: Head r.

Rev: Horse r.

Weight: 0.80 g.

Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, November 2012.

A.P.

Roman coins*by Philippa Walton*

A total of 12,436 Roman coins were recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) in 2012, bringing the total of finds recorded to 193,198. In addition, 396 Iron Age coins and 23 Greek and Roman provincial coins were recorded with the totals now standing at 47,500 and 220 respectively. These data continue to contribute to our understanding of coin use and loss throughout the province of Roman Britain. In the past year, several pieces of research have been published which make use of the PAS data, most notably a study of the distribution and usage of late Roman silver coinage (Bland, Moorhead and Walton 2013). In addition, the size of the dataset means that it can now also be used as a resource for investigating the frequency with which particular issues, denominations and types appear in Britain. A brief case-study investigating the coinage of Faustina II under Antoninus Pius, illustrates the potential of this resource.

119 coins of Faustina II under Antoninus Pius have been recorded by the PAS, of which 38 are denarii, 29 sestertii, and 49 dupondii or asses. Although 25 individual reverse types for denarii issued by Faustina II are recorded by *RIC*, only three appear with any frequency in Britain and only ten are actually represented. The most common denarius reverse types are:

- (i) **AVGVSTI PII FIL** reverse depicting Venus standing left holding Victory and resting hand on shield set on helmet; *RIC* III, p. 93, no. 495a (10 examples).
- (ii) **CONCORDIA** reverse type depicting Concordia seated left, holding flower and resting elbow on cornucopiae; under chair, a globe; *RIC* III, p. 93, no. 502a (9 examples).
- (iii) **AVGVSTI PII FIL** reverse type depicting Spes advancing left holding flower and lifting hem of skirt; *RIC* III, p. 93, no. 497 (6 examples).

The range of reverse types of sestertii of Faustina II recorded by the PAS is greater, with thirteen types represented and there are no types dominating. The most common reverse types are:

- (i) **AVGVSTI PII FIL** reverse type depicting Spes advancing left holding flower and hem of skirt; *RIC* III, p. 191, no. 1371 (4 examples).
- (ii) **S C** reverse type depicting Diana standing left with arrows and bow; *RIC* III, p. 192, no. 1383 (3 examples).
- (iii) **CONCORDIA S C** reverse type depicting Concordia seated left holding flower, resting elbow on cornucopiae; under chair, globe; *RIC* III, p. 191, no. 1374 (3 examples).

The dupondii and asses of Faustina II under Antoninus Pius are however dominated by three reverse types, the third of which is a variant recorded in *RIC*:

- (i) **S C** reverse type depicting Diana standing left holding arrow and resting on bow; *RIC* III, p. 194, no. 1405 (12 examples).
- (ii) **FELICITAS S C** reverse type depicting Felicitas standing left holding caduceus; *RIC* III, p. 193, no. 1395 (12 examples).
- (iii) **VENVS S C** reverse type depicting Venus standing left holding apple and leaning on pillar; *RIC* III, p. 194, no. 1408 var. (7 examples). For further discussion of this type, see *BNJ* 81 (2011), 270, nos. 28–31.

It remains to be seen whether these patterns are peculiar to the province of Britannia, perhaps indicating some selection in the supply of coinage, in the same way as Walker's 'Coins of British association' (Walker 1988). The PAS finds continue to include a significant number of other coins of numismatic interest.

15. Republican victoriat, after 211 BC, Rome, Crawford 53/1

Obv: Head of Jupiter r.

Rev: Victory standing r., crowning trophy; in exergue, Roma.

Weight: 2.67 g.

North Bedfordshire area. M/d find, September 2011.

Found by Ron Westwood.

(PAS: BH-1DD9E4)

J.W./S.M.

16. Brutus, denarius, 43–42 BC, Crawford 508/3

Obv: [B]RVT [IMP] [C.PLAET.CEST], bust r.

Rev: [EID.]MAR, *pileus* between two daggers.

Weight: 3.14 g.

Whitchurch on Thames, Berks. M/d find, November 2012.

M.A.

17. Sextus Pompeius, denarius, 42–40 BC, Sicily, Crawford 511/13a–c

Obv: MAG [PIVS IMP ITER], head of Cn. Pompeius Magnus in profile r., behind a jug.

Rev: [...], Neptune stg l., wearing diad., placing r. foot on prow.

Weight: 3.10 g.

Thetford area, Norfolk. M/d find, 2004. Not illustrated.

A.P.

18. Augustus (27 BC – AD 14), denarius, Lyon, *RIC* I, p. 53, no. 174, 12 BC

Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F, bare head r.

Rev: IMP XI, Capricorn r., holding globe.

Weight not recorded.

Tangmere, W. Sussex. M/d find, August 2007. Not illustrated.

A.P.

19. Augustus (27 BC–AD 14), *as*, Lyon, 12 BC–after 10 BC, *RIC* I, p. 57, no. 230

Obv: CAESAR [PONT] MAX, laur. head r.

Rev: ROM ET AVG, front elevation of the Altar of Lyons decorated with the *corona civica* between laurels, flanked by nude male figures; to the l. and r., Victories on columns, facing one another.

Weight: 5.2 g.

Ashchurch, Glos. M/d find, August 2012. Found by Jonathan Day.

This is a rare find in a Romano-British context.

(PAS: WAW-0C6133)

A.B.

20. Caligula (AD 37–41), denarius, Lyon, *RIC* I, p. 108, no. 2

Obv: C CAESAR AVG GERM PM TR POT COS, bare-headed bust r.

Rev: Rad. head of Augustus facing r. between two stars.

Weight: 3.27 g.

Grayshott, Hants. M/d find, July 2012. Found by Adrian Bell.

(PAS: SUR-1B9C73)

D.W./S.M.

21. Claudius (AD 41–54), *as*, contemporary copy, cf. *RIC* I, p. 128, no. 99 (Rome)

Obv: Bare head r.

Rev: Male figure, apparently wearing a radiate crown, advancing l. with l. arm merging into elaborate drapery and holding a small object in his r. hand.

Weight: 6.1 g.

Pulham St Mary, Norfolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by John Kineavy.

This is presumably a cast variation on the ‘Claudian copy’. The reverse figure is derived from a *SPES AVGVSTA* sestertertius of Claudius, cf. *RIC* I, p. 128, no. 99.

(PAS: NMS-B076E4)

A.M./P.W.

22. Nero (AD 54–68), aureus, AD 64–65, Rome, *RIC* I, p. 153, no. 52

Obv: NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS, laur. head r.

Rev: IVPPITER CVSTOS, Jupiter enthroned l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre.

Weight: 7.39 g.

Dearham, Cumbria. M/d find, November 2012. Found by James Renney.

(PAS: LANCUM-78D013)

D.Sh.

23. Nero (AD 54–68), dupondius, Lyon, AD 64–67, *RIC* I, p. 181, no. 519 var.

Obv: IMP NERO CAESAR P MAX TR P P P, laur. head l.

Rev: VICTORIA AVGVSTI, S C; Securitas std r. on throne, holding short sceptre in l. hand and leaning on throne with r.; to her r., garlanded and lighted altar, against which leans lighted torch [on *bucranium*].

Weight: 11.11 g.

London (St Clements Lane). Excavation find by Museum of London Archaeology Service, 1981.

This coin shows a die-engraver’s error: the engraver has inserted VICTORIA instead of SECVRITAS. This appears to be unpublished and is not on record in the British Museum photofile.

S.M./E.J.

24. Galba (AD 68–69), denarius, Tarraco?, AD 68, *RIC* I, p. 234, no. 49

Obv: SER GALBA IMPERATOR, laur. head r. with globe at neck.

Rev: [CONCORDIA] PROVINCIA[VM], Concordia, dr., stg l., holding branch in r. hand, with cornucopiae in l.

Weight: 3.5 g.

Shorwell, Isle of Wight. M/d find, December 2012. Found by Aidan McHale.

This rare type is not represented in the British Museum collection, but there is an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

(PAS: SUSS-02E231)

S.S./S.M.

25. Trajan (AD 98–117), sestertertius, Rome

Obv: IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P, laur. and dr. bust r.

Rev: ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM PR REDACTAE S C, Trajan stg; reclining figures of Armenia, Euphrates and Tigris at his feet.

Weight: 22.3 g.

Haversham cum Little Linford, Bucks. M/d find, June 2011. Found by Mark Schollar.

(PAS: NARC-CE14A4)

S.M./J.C.

26. Trajan (AD 98–117), sestertertius, Rome, AD 114–17

Obv: [...], laur. and dr. bust r.

Rev: [REX PARTHIS DATVS] S C, Trajan std l. on platform r., with prefect, presenting laurel wreath to King Parthaspates; Parthia kneeling before platform.

Weight: 20 g.

Froxfield, Wilts. M/d find, December 2012. Found by Melvin Hind.

(PAS: BERK-1D84E3)

P.W./A.By.

27. Trajan (AD 98–117), aureus, Rome, AD 114–17, *RIC* II, p. 267, no. 324

Obv: IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GER DAC PARTHICO, laur., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R; in ex. PARTHIA CAPTA, trophy between two seated Parthian captives.

Weight: 7.13 g.

Broxbourne, Herts. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Nick Driver.

(PAS: BH-80B838)

J.W.

28. Sabina (AD 117–38), denarius, Rome, AD 136, *RIC* II, p. 386, no. 391

Obv: SABINA AVGVSTA, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: CONCORDIA AVG, Concordia std l., holding patera in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.

Weight: 2.8 g.

Dean and Shelton, Beds. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Alan Standish.

(PAS: NARC-C05273)

J.C.

29. Hadrian (AD 117–38), medallic *as*, Rome, c. AD 131–38

Obv: HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P, bare headed bust r.

Rev: HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P, bare headed dr. bust r.

Weight: 13.18 g.

Hatfield Woodhouse area, Doncaster. M/d find, March 2012. Found by Keith Broadhurst.

(PAS: NLM-FD2B23)

M.F./R.A.

30. Hadrian (AD 117–38), quinarius, Rome, c. AD 118–24, cf. King nos. 30 and 31

Obv: IMP CAESAR TR[...], laur. and dr. bust r.

Rev: [P M TR P COS II(l)], Victory advancing r. holding palm and wreath.

Weight: 1.3 g.

Kingston upon Hull area, E. Yorks. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Eliot Ledger.

(PAS: YORYM-EF2CB7)

R.G./P.W.

31. Aelius Caesar (AD 136–38), dupondius or *as*, Rome, AD 137, *RIC* III, p. 482, no. 1067

Obv: L AELIVS CAESAR, bare-headed bust r.

Rev: TR POT COS II SC, Spes advancing l. holding flower and lifting hem of skirt.

Weight: 9.8 g.

Piercebridge, Co. Durham. River find between 1986 and 2010. Found by Bob Middlemass and Rolfe Mitchinson.

(PAS: BM-516070)

P.W.

32. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), sestertius copy, as Rome, as *RIC* III, p. 110, no. 624, AD 140–44

Obv: ANTONINVS [AVG PIVS] P P TR P COS IIIII, laur. head r.

Rev: ROMVLO AVGVSTO S C, Romulus advancing r. holding spear and trophy.

Weight not recorded.

Harlington, Beds. M/d find, August 2012. Found by Viv Latham.

(PAS: BH-BA80C2)

P.W./J.W.

33. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), cast dupondius copy, 'Rome', *BMC* IV, p. 216, no. 1348, after AD 140–44

Obv: AN[TONIN]VS AVG PI – VS PP TR P COS III, rad. head r.

Rev: [SAL]V[S AV]G, S-C, Salus stg l., feeding snake coiled round altar and holding sceptre in l. hand.

Weight: 12.34 g.

Cambridge (King's Hedges area), Cambs. M/d find, October 2005.

A.P.

34. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), dupondius copy

Obv: [...]VS[...]PIVS PP TR, rad. and dr. bust r.

Rev: [...]IIII[...]SC, Moneta or Aequitas stg l. with scales and cornucopiae.

Weight: 5.35 g.

Wickham, Hants. M/d find, November 2011. Found by Scott Cooper.

Similar copies are recorded amongst the assemblage from the Sacred Spring at Bath (particularly Walker, p. 350, Pl. XLI, 30), which share the same reverse die. Dupondius copies of Antoninus Pius are discussed in *BNJ* 81 (2011), 269–70, nos. 24–7.

(PAS: SUR-8394E4)

D.W./P.W.

35. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), sestertius, Rome, *RIC* III, p. 135, no. 867, AD 150–51

Obv: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P X[...], laur. head r.

Rev: [LIBERALITAS COS IIIII] S C, Liberalitas standing l. holding account-board and vexillum, VI on vexillum.

Weight: 25.9 g.

Everingham, E. Yorks. M/d find, December 2012. Found by Ronan Whitaker.

(PAS: YORYM-F353D4)

P.W./R.G.

36. Lucius Verus (AD 161–69), denarius, Rome, cf. *RIC* III, p. 260, no. 571, AD 166–67

Obv: L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, laur. bust r.

Rev: TR P VII IMP IIII COS III, Victory, half-draped, stg front, head r., holding palm and fixing to palm-tree a shield inscribed VIC PAR.

Weight: 2.77 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, March 2012. Found by Eric Chappell.

This coin only appears in *RIC* as an aureus with a TR P VII IMP IIII COS III reverse. There is no example of a denarius with this reverse in the BM collections.

(PAS: IOW-8384C7)

F.B./P.W.

37. Divus Marcus Aurelius (AD 180), sestertius, Rome, *RIC* III, p. 441, no. 662

Obv: DIVVS M ANTONINVS PIVS, bare head r.

Rev: [CONSECRATIO] S C, pyre in four storeys ornamented with statues; on top, Marcus Aurelius in quadriga.

Weight: 19.62 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, April 2012. Found by John Cordiner.

(PAS: IOW-C058D8)

F.B./P.W.

38. Caracalla (AD 196–217), Æ medallion, Pergamum, cf. *SNG* France 3, no. 2244

Obv: AVTKPAT.K.M A – VP ANTΩNEINOC, laur. and cuir. bust r. (same die as *SNG* France 3, no. 2247).

Rev: ΕΠΙ CΤΡ Μ ΚΑΙΡΕΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟ – V, ΠΕΡ/Γ – Α/ΜΗ/ ΝΩ – N and in ex. – ΠΡΩΤΩΝ Γ ΝΕ/ΩΚΟΡΩΝ, Caracalla on horseback r., r. hand raised to salute the statuette of Asclepius presented to him by an individual; in r. field two soldiers r., each holding a standard (?).

Weight: 46.44 g.

Great Chesterford, Essex. Found in 1856 (?).

This coin is in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection (CM.248–1968).

A.P.

39. Diadumenian (AD 217–18), denarius, Rome, *RIC* IV, Pt II, p. 13, no. 102

Obv: M OPEL ANT DIADVMENIAN CAES, bare-headed, dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: PRINC IVVENTVTIS, Diadumenian stg l. holding baton and sceptre; to r., two standards.

Piercebridge, Co. Durham. Diving find between 1986 and 2010. Found by Bob Middlemass and Rolfe Mitchinson.

Coins of Diadumenian are rare finds in Britain. There are only eight examples on the PAS database.

(PAS: FAPJW-39A993)

P.W.

40. Diadumenian (AD 217–18), denarius, Rome, cf. *RIC* IV, Pt II, p. 13, no. 107

Obv: M OPEL ANT DIADVMENIAN CAES, bare-headed, dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: PRINC IVVENTVTIS, Diadumenian stg l. holding baton and sceptre; to r., two standards.

Weight: 1.62 g (pierced).

Gainsborough area, Lincs. M/d find, December 2012. Found by Chris Kilner.

(PAS: SWYOR-1CCA62 and 2012 T881)

A.Do./S.M.

41. Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), Æ, Side, *SNG* von Aulock –

Obv: [A K M] A[VP C]EOVHP AA[EΞ]ANΔΠOC, laur., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: CΙΔΗ – ΤΩ – N, Zeus stg r., holding sceptre and thunderbolt.

Weight: 19.42 g.

Colchester, Essex. Casual, surface find from an area with Roman archaeology.

The obverse die is the same as the specimens in *SNG* France 3, no 840 and *SNG* Levante 417 (Syedra). On the latter it seems that the obverse legend does not end in **CEB** as described in both catalogues. The coin was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.798–2012).

A.P.

42. Julia Mamaea (AD 222–35) denarius, Rome, *RIC* IV, Pt II, p. 98, no. 331

Obv: [...], diad. bust r.

Rev: **[FECV]ND [AVGVSTAE]**, Fecunditas stg l., holding hand over child and holding patera and cornucopiae.

Huntingdon District area, Cambs. M/d find, 21 March 2010. Found by Bill Johnstone.

This coin has been deliberately cut following the outline of the bust on the obverse.

(PAS: CAM-EC24C6)

P.W./H.F.

43. Maximus (AD 236–38) *as*, Rome, *RIC* IV, p. 156, no. 12b

Obv: **MAXIMVS CAES GERM**, bare-headed bust r.

Rev: **PIETAS AVG S C**, priestly implements.

Weight: 5.71 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, July 2012. Found by Dave Cole.

This is one of only nine coins of Maximus recorded by the PAS.

(PAS: IOW-4A9F07)

P.W.

44. Herennia Etruscilla (AD 249–51) *as*, Rome, *RIC* IV, p. 137, no. 136c

Obv: [...]**JENNIA ETRVS**[...], bust r.

Rev: **PVDICITIA AVG S C**, Pudicitia std l. drawing back veil with r. hand and holding sceptre.

Weight: 6.33 g.

Gravesham, Kent. M/d find, May 2012. Found by Steven Harvey.

(PAS: SUR-8F6F97)

D.W./P.W.

45. Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251–53), *as*, Rome, *RIC* IV, Pt III, p. 172, no. 117b

Obv: **IMP CAE C VIB TREB GAL**[**LVS AVG**], laur., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: **[PIE]TAS AVGG S C**, Pietas veiled, stg l., raising both hands; small altar at her feet to l.

Weight: 6.83 g.

Owslebury, Hants. M/d find, September 2012. Found by Oliver Emmans.

(PAS: HAMP-F4DFE2)

R.W.

46. Carausius (AD 286–93), radiate, C Mint, *RIC* V, Pt II, p. 550, no. 1

Obv: **CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI**, rad. and cuir. busts of Maximian, Diocletian and Carausius l.

Rev: **PAX AVGGG**, Pax stg l. holding olive-branch in r. hand and vertical sceptre in l.; mintmark: **S/P//C**

Weight: 4.06 g.

Cholsey area, Oxon. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Paul Shields.

(PAS: BUC-158958)

R.T./S.M.

47. Carausius (AD 286–93), radiate, C mint

Obv: **IMP C CARAVSIVS P F AVG**, rad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: **IOVI C[ON]S AVG**, Jupiter l. holding thunderbolt and vertical trident; mintmark: **SC//**

Weight: 3.79 g.

This is an unpublished coin which conflates the attributes of Jupiter (thunderbolt) and Neptune (trident). Acquired by the British Museum (BM: 2012.4235.1).

Lincolnshire. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Karl Tebb.

Acquired by British Museum.

(PAS: FASAM-3A2380)

S.M.

48. Carausius (AD 286–93), denarius, London

Obv: **IMP CARAVSIVS P F AV**, rad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: **VIRTVS SAEC**, rad. lion advancing l. with thunderbolt in jaws; mintmark: **-//RSR**

Bicester area, Oxon. M/d find, March 2012. Found by Barrie Randall.

Weight: 4.37 g.

This is an exceptionally rare coin. Only one other example is known.

(PAS: BUC-7A7BF7)

S.M.

49. Carausius (AD 286–93), denarius, London, *RIC* V, Pt II, p. 512, no. 571

Obv: **IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG**, laur., dr. and cuir. bust l.

Rev: **RENOVAT ROMANO**, she-wolf r. with suckling twins Romulus and Remus; mintmark: **-//RSR**

Weight: 3.9 g.

County Durham. M/d find, February 2012. Found by David Scott.

Silver *denarii* of Carausius are rare. However, the wolf and twins type is one of the most common reverse types.

(PAS: DUR-EA5A65)

E.M./S.M.

50. Maximian I (AD 286–310), post-reform laureate, Trier, AD 307–8, *RIC* VI, p. 219, no. 793

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG**, laur., cuir. bust r.

Rev: **VOT / XXX / AVG / N**, four lines within wreath.

Weight: 1.1 g.

South Oxfordshire. M/d find October 2012. Found by Steven Bain.

(PAS: BERK-DF6FC1)

A.By./P.W.

51. Galerius (AD 293–311), nummus, London, *c.* AD 300–11, *RIC* VI, p. 124, no 15

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES**, laur. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: **GENIO POPVLI ROMANI**, Genius stg l., holding patera and cornucopiae.

Weight not recorded.

Reach, Cambs. M/d find, April 2008. Not illustrated.

A.P.

52. Constantine I (AD 306–37), nummus, Arles, AD 328, cf. *RIC* VII, p. 268

Obv: **CONSTAN – TINVS AVG**, laur. head r.

Rev: **D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG**, wreath enclosing **VOT / dot / XXX**, mintmark: **-//SF.ARP**

Weight: 3 g.

Barton on Humber, N. Lincs (not verified). Bought on Ebay and reported to SM. Finder unknown.

The mintmark **SF.ARP** is unpublished, cf. *RIC* VII p. 268: the coin falls between the **S F//ARLP** and **S F//CONST** issues. It does suggest that Arles was not renamed Constantia until 329 and that this was the last issue before the mint changed its name.

(PAS: FASAM-4B7E98)

S.M.

53. Constantine I (AD 306–37), nummus, Rome, AD 329, cf. *RIC* VII, p. 335, no. 320

Obv: CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG, rosette-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG, wreath enclosing VOT / XXX, mintmark: -//RP

Weight: 2.31 g.

Northamptonshire. M/d find, April 2012. Found by David Allan.

This bust variant is only recorded in *RIC* for one known coin of this type with mintmark RS. The coin has been acquired by the British Museum.

(PAS: FASAM-E62997)

S.M.

54. Constantius II (AD 337–61), nummus, Amiens, AD 353, *RIC* VIII, p. 124, no. 46.

Obv: D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG, pearl diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: FEL TEMP REPARATIO, soldier spearing fallen horseman.

Weight: 2.97 g.

Brough, Notts. M/d find, March 2012. Found by Andrew Diamond.

(PAS: NCL-A43997)

P.W.

55. Julian II (AD 355–63), siliqua, Arles, AD 360–61, *RIC* VIII, p. 225, no. 295

Obv: D N IULIANVS P F AVG, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: VOTIS / V / MVLTIS / X in wreath, //TCON

Weight: 1.85 g.

Sawston, Cambs. M/d find, June 2003. Not illustrated.

A.P.

56. Valentinian I (AD 364–78), solidus, Arles, AD 364–67, *RIC* IX, p. 61, no. 1b

Obv: D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG, rosette-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE, emperor stg facing, head r. holding labarum and Victory on globe; palm-branch on shaft of labarum; mintmark: KONSTAN (TAN ligatured).

Weight: 4.39 g.

Ulceby with Fordington, Lincs. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Steve Sutton.

(PAS: NLM-3CA9C2)

M.F.

57. Honorius (AD 393–423), siliqua, Milan, AD 393, *RIC* IX, p. 82, no. 26

Obv: D N HONORIVS P F AVG, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: VOT / V / MVLT / X in wreath, //MDPS

Weight not recorded.

Manea, Cambs. M/d find, January 2009.

A.P.

58. Eugenius (AD 392–94), siliqua, Trier, AD 392–94, *RIC* IX, p. 33, no. 106d

Obv: D N EVGENIVS P F AVG, diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: VIRTVS ROMANORVM, Roma std l. on cuir., holding Victory on a globe and reversed spear, //TRPS

Weight: 0.84 g (neatly clipped).

Cambridge (Cherry Hinton, Roman villa site), Cambs. M/d find, 2009. Not illustrated.

A.P.

59. Theodosius II (AD 402–50), nummus, Nicomedia, AD 404–06, cf. *RIC* X, p. 250, no. 131

Obv: [...]HEODOSIVS P[F AVG], pearl-diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev: [CONCORDIA AVGGG], cross and wreath; mintmark: -//SMN[...]

Weight: 0.83 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, October 2012. Found by Tony Perez.

(PAS: IOW-D05764)

P.W/F.B.

Coins of 410–1180

In 2012 EMC recorded 321 coins issued between 410 and 1180, and PAS recorded 485, as summarized in Table 1. The percentages of coins in each category are broadly similar for EMC and PAS, with Anglo-Saxon and continental *sceattas* the most numerous category, closely followed by English and Scottish coins of 1066–1180, as in previous years.

TABLE 1. Finds of coins of 410–1180 recorded by EMC and PAS in 2012

Period	EMC		PAS	
		%		%
Merovingian and Visigothic gold and silver	10	3.1	6	1.2
Anglo-Saxon gold shillings	5	1.6	2	0.4
Anglo-Saxon and continental <i>sceattas</i>	100	31.2	158	32.6
Northumbrian <i>sceattas</i> and <i>stycas</i>	18	5.6	31	6.4
Later Anglo-Saxon to Edgar's reform	35	10.9	35	7.2
Anglo-Scandinavian	7	2.2	6	1.2
Hiberno-Scandinavian	0	—	0	—
Post-Reform Anglo-Saxon	55	17.1	83	17.1
Post-Conquest English and Scottish to 1180	86	26.8	144	29.7
Carolingian and later continental to 1180	5	1.6	5	1.0
Byzantine	0	—	10	2.1
Islamic dirhams and fragments	0	—	2	0.4
Uncertain early medieval	0	—	3	0.6
Total	321		485	

Source: M.A./J.N.

Byzantine coins

60. Justinian I (AD 527–65), decanummium, Nicomedia, *MIBE* I, p. 138, no. 118a, year 30, AD 556–57
Obv. [DN IVSTINIANVS PP AVC], profile bust r. with cuirass, paludamentum and diadem.

Rev. ANNO I. and XXX r.; above cross; mintmark: -// NIK

Weight: 3.31 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, January 2012. Found by Tony Perez.

This decanummium is one of very few recorded by the PAS.

(PAS: IOW-AECD51)

P.W./F.B.

61. Justin II (AD 565–78), follis, Constantinople, *MIB* II, 43b, AD 569–70

Obv. D N IVST[INVS PP AVG], Justin, on left, and Sophia, on right, std facing; he holds a cross on globe; she holds a cruciform sceptre; cross between their heads.

Rev. Large M; above, cross; to l., ANNO; to right U (= regnal year 5), officinal letter A below; mintmark: CON

Weight not recorded.

Hertfordshire. M/d find, March 2012. Found by Dave Banham.

The cross between the heads on the obverse only occurs on a small number of issues: it is not recorded for this issue in *MIB*.

(PAS: BH-3F1BA7)

J.W./S.M.

Merovingian and Visigothic coins

62. Plated imitation of Visigothic Pseudo-Imperial solidus in the name of Severus III (461–66), cf. *MEC* I, 176
Obv. DNLIBVSSEVRVSP[], diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VICTORI[]CCC, emperor stg, holding long cross [and Victory on globe?], CO[]OB in ex., R in field l.

Weight: 1.06 g (two fragments, one of them pierced).
 Die axis 180°.

Isle of Wight. M/d finds, 2006 and 2011.

(PAS: SUR-5B13A4; EMC 2012.0154)

J.N./M.A.

63. Merovingian tremissis, Paris, Aegomund, cf. Belfort 3389; Prou 714 (same dies)

Obv. +PAR+IV2, diad. bust l.

Rev. AEGOMVNQDM, cross ancrée on globe.

Weight: 1.20 g.

Malton, near, N. Yorks. M/d find, July 2012. Found by David Guest.

(EMC 2012.0277)

M.A.

64. Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Anglus, cf. Belfort 4966; Prou 1130 (c.660–75)

Obv. +VVICCOFIT, diad. bust r.

Rev. ANGLOMONET, cross on steps.

Weight not recorded.

North Norfolk. M/d find, 2012. Found by Steven Laidlaw.

(EMC 2012.0217)

M.A.

65. Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Anglus, cf. Belfort 4665, 4976 (c.660–75)

Obv. +VVICCOFIT, diad. bust r.

Rev. ANGLOMONET, cross on steps.

Weight: 1.2 g.

York, near. M/d find, 16 November 2012. Found by Steve Clinton.

(EMC 2012.0302)

M.A.

66. Plated imitation of Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Dutta

Obv. IIIVIIIIIIIVIII, diad. bust r.

Rev. +VI[VI?][TT-II, cross on steps, six pellets around cross.

Weight: 0.91 g.

Goring, Oxon. M/d find, 19 August 2012. Found by Mark Salisbury.

(EMC 2012.0207)

C.W./M.A.

67. Merovingian tremissis, 'Nietap' type

Obv. Pseudo-inscription, bust r.

Rev. Cross on step and pellet.

Weight: 1.20 g.

Heckington, Lincs. M/d find, by 2012.

(EMC 2012.0120)

J.P./M.A.

68. Merovingian tremissis, 'Nietap' type

Obv. Pseudo-inscription, bust r.

Rev. Cross on step and pellet.

Weight: 1.30 g.

'South Lincolnshire' productive site. M/d find, 2012.

(PAS: LIN-58A436; EMC 2012.0128)

A.D./M.A.

69. Merovingian tremissis, uncertain mint

Obv. Pseudo-inscription, bust l.

Rev. Winged Victory stg l., holding wreath.

Weight: 1.42 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, by 2012.

(EMC 2012.0323)

N.M./M.A.

70. Merovingian denier, Paris, cf. Belfort 3470, Prou 800–6

Obv. ODE[]TA (T on its side), bust r.

Rev. []VEO, large E with cross l.

Weight not recorded.

Hook, Wilts. M/d find, 2011–12. Found by Mick Rae.

(EMC 2012.0317)

M.A.

71. Merovingian denier, uncertain mint

Obv. FAS

Rev. FAP

Weight not recorded.

Brighton, near, E. Sussex. M/d find, by 2012.

(EMC 2012.0272)

M.A.

Anglo-Saxon shillings

72. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Crispus/Delaiona type, Sutherland 27, North 18

Obv. CBIPSV[]COBCAES, helm. and dr. bust r.

Rev. Runic inscription, cross with three upper limbs terminating in annular ornaments, X / X in lower field.

Weight: 1.18 g. Die axis 180°.

Wilton, Wilts. M/d find, 2011.

(EMC 2012.0166; PAS: DEV-E8CCA1)

D.Wo./M.A.

73. Shilling ('thrymsa'), York Group, Sutherland V, cf. North 27, York

Obv. Stg figure holding two crosses.

Rev. Cross forchée with lozenge centre in circle, four crosses and four double triangles around.

Weight: 1.28 g.

Harrogate, near, N. Yorks. M/d find, 2012. Found by Ricky Brelsford.

A new type for the York Group coinage (Specific Gravity analysis: 14.75 = c.55% gold).

(EMC 2012.0025; PAS: SWYOR-62B752)

A.A.

74. Shilling ('thrymsa'), York Group, Sutherland V, North 27, York

Obv. Facing figure with cross on each shoulder.

Rev. Inscription around cross pattée in dotted circle.

Weight: 1.3 g.

East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2012.

(PAS: YORYM-78A342; EMC 2012.0179) J.N.

75. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Vanimundus, Va B I, North 12/2

Obv. Inscription, helm. bust r. with staff on shoulder.

Rev. Inscription, cross pattée in double beaded inner circle.

Weight: 1.10 g.

Essex. M/d find, 2012. Found by John Mills.

(EMC 2012.0188) M.A.

76. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Vanimundus, Va B II, North 12/2

Obv. Inscription, helm. bust r. with staff on shoulder.

Rev. Inscription, cross pattée in double beaded inner circle.

Weight: 1.12 g. Die axis 90°.

Birch, Essex. M/d find, March 2012.

(EMC 2012.0106) C.M./M.A.

Pennies ('Sceattas')

77. Series BI (copy)

Obv. Bust l.

Rev. Inscription, bird on cross, four annulets in field.

Weight: 1.00 g.

Swindon, near. M/d find, 2011. Found by Rob Abbott.

An imitation of Series B with a bust exceptionally facing left.

(EMC 2012.0113) M.A.

78. Series C1, plated imitation

Obv. Rad. bust r., *apa* (runic) before face.

Rev. TOTII in standard.

Weight: 1.08 g.

Horsley Cross, Essex. M/d find, September 2012.

(EMC 2012.0210) C.M./M.A.

79. Series C2

Obv. Rad. bust r.

Rev. T[O]T[II] in standard.

Weight: 0.46 g (cut fraction, less than half of the coin).

Die axis 0°.

South Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2012.

Cut fractions of *sceattas* are relatively rare as finds.

(PAS: LIN-586D76; EMC 2012.0129) A.D./M.A.

80. Vernus group (Type 3b), Metcalf 1a

Obv. Abstract bust r.

Rev. Four lines around annulet and pellet within standard, pellets in field.

Weight: 1.1 g.

Eccleshall, Staffs. M/d find, by December 2012.

(PAS WMID-31E116) T.G./J.N.

81. Series O (Type 38) imitation

Obv. Bust l. with cable border.

Rev. Saltire Standard, pseudo-inscription around.

Weight: 0.76 g.

Clare, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 28 July 2012. Found by Brian Collins.

From the same dies as two coins in the Fitzwilliam museum, ex de Witt (CM.1868–2007 and CM.1869–2007). (EMC 2012.0199) M.A.

82. Beonna of East Anglia (749–c.760), North 430/1

Obv. Be[o?]nna Rex (runic).

Rev. Interwoven linear design.

Weight not recorded.

Ipswich, Suffolk. M/d find, 2012.

From an obverse die not recorded by M.M. Archibald in *BNJ* 55 (1985), 10–54 and *BNJ* 65 (1995), 1–19.

(EMC 2012.0191) M.A.

Later Anglo-Saxon

83. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Heavy Coinage, London, Ludoman, Chick –, North –

Obv. M / +OFFA / REX

Rev. +LIÐIMAN, cross with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.3 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.

Louth, near, Lincs. M/d find, 4 October 2012. Found by Graham Vickers.

A previously unrecorded type.

(EMC 2012.0250; PAS: LIN-A89814) M.A.

84. Cuthred of Kent (798–807), Canterbury, Duda, Naismith C30.1, North 211

Obv. +CVÐRED REX CANT

Rev. +DVDA MONETA

Weight: 1.26 g. Die axis 30°.

Great Finborough, Suffolk. M/d find, August 2012.

(PAS SF-86FCD1; EMC 2013.0244) A.B.

85. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), London, Eama, Naismith –, North –

Obv. M / CENVVLF / REX

Rev. E / A / M / V in angles of cross of three lines.

Weight: 1.22 g. Die axis 180°.

Stones Green, Essex. M/d find, March 2012.

A new type for the Three-Line coinage of Coenwulf, cf. Naismith type L7.

(EMC 2012.0121) C.M./M.A.

86. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), London, Ibba, copper-alloy core of contemporary imitation

Obv. Illegible.

Rev. [] / B / A, tribrach.

Weight: 0.92 g (chipped).

Royston, near, productive site, Herts. M/d find, September 2011. Found by Gordon Stewart.

(EMC 2012.0134) M.A.

87. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Canterbury, Sigeberht, Naismith –, North –, c.805–10

Obv. +COENVVLFREXM (bar of contraction over M), diad. bust r.

Rev. +SIGEBERTIMONETA (HT ligated), eight-pointed radiant star.

Weight: 1.35 g.

Swindon, near. M/d find, 2012.

A previously unrecorded type.

(EMC 2012.0242) C.M./M.A.

88. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), East Anglian mint, Wihtrud, Naismith E12.5, North 365

Obv. +COENVVLFREXM, diad. bust r.

Rev. FIHTRED, cross moline.

Weight: 1.3 g (bent).

Akeby, Bucks. M/d find, February 2012.

The second recorded specimen of Naismith type E12.5, from new dies.

(EMC 2012.0239) D.S./M.A.

89. Ecgeberht of Wessex (802–39), London, Redmund, Naismith L.31 var., cf. North 585

Obv. +ECG[]XM , cross potent.

Rev. +JDMOHT , cross with fillet in each angle.

Weight not recorded (fragment). Die axis 270°.

Findon, W. Sussex. M/d find, 2012.

A new reverse variant for the London coinage of Ecgeberht.

(EMC 2012.0321) J.H./M.A.

90. Æthelstan of East Anglia (825–45), East Anglian mint, Monne, cf. Naismith E31.2, North 436

Obv. []ELZCANREX

Rev. +MONNM[]ET\AA , cross with wedge in each angle.

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.

East Stratton, Hants. M/d find, 15 April 2012. Found by Hugh Vincent.

A new type for this moneyer, featuring an unbroken circle on the obverse and a new form of the cross on the reverse.

(EMC 2012.0142) M.A.

91. Alfred (871–99), Danelaw imitation of London Monogram type, North 644

Obv. \AA ELFREREX

Rev. London monogram.

Weight: 1.24 g (slightly chipped). Die axis 270°.

Melbourn, Cambs. M/d find, 10 October 2012. Found by Jason Baker.

(EMC 2012.0253) M.A.

92. Æthelstan II/Guthrum (880–90), Two-Line type, North –

Obv. $\text{+EDLA[N?]\AA[R?]\text{E+}}$, pincer cross with lozenge centre containing four small wedges.

Rev. $\text{[]EEE[C, G or L?]\text{RI MO}}$

Weight: 0.45 g. Die axis 270°.

Thornborough Bridge, Bucks. M/d find, May 2012. Found by Gordon Heritage.

A new type for the coinage of Æthelstan II/Guthrum.

(EMC 2012.0167) M.A.

93. Siefred/Cnut coinage of York (c.895–905), Cunetti, North 501

Obv. []VNNET[]

Rev. []CNV[]

Weight: 0.59 g (cut halfpenny). Die axis 30°.

Newark, near, Notts. M/d find, 3 November 2012. Found by Richard Northey.

Cut halfpennies are rarely encountered before Edgar's reform of the English coinage c.973. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CM.5–2013).

(EMC 2012.0284) M.A.

94. St Peter of York coinage (c.905–27), Phase II (c.910–20), Two-line Horizontal type, York, North 553

Obv. ZCHIT/R in two lines, branch above, upright key below, 'propeller' to lower l.

Rev. +BRACEC , cross pattée.

Weight: 1.22 g. Die axis 270°.

Scarning, Norfolk. M/d find, September 2012.

(PAS NMS-BDD828; EMC 2013.0245) A.B.M.

95. Eadmund (939–46), Two-Line type, HT2, uncertain mint, Burhwig

Obv. +EADMVND REX

Rev. BVRH / FIG MO (contraction mark over MO)

Weight: 0.86 g.

South Cambridgeshire. M/d find, May 2012.

This new coin, the only coin by this moneyer and of this type for Eadmund that is currently known, substantiates the description of a now lost specimen of the same type that was the third coin in lot 272 of the 1866 sale at Sotheby's of the collection formed by Capt. R.M. Murchison. The reading BVRH / FIG on the present coin accords with the reading of the moneyer's name printed in the Murchison catalogue. The entry in *CTCE* for a coin of Eadmund of a moneyer Burnwig of O/HT2 type, with an annulet rather than a cross in the centre of the obverse field, which is based on the incorrect assumptions that the Murchison coin must have had an annulet in this position, and that the moneyer's name on it must have read Burnwig, should now be deleted. A related entry in *CTCE* for a coin of Eadmund of HT1 type of a moneyer 'Byrnwic' is based on the fact that a contemporary listing of the coins in the 1755 Bath hoard records two coins of Eadmund's Two-line type by a moneyer whose name is read on the first coin as BVRNRIC and on the second coin as BVRNFIC . This entry too should be deleted for the present, for it is not clear that the coins in question were of HT1 type rather than of HT2 type or of any other related design variant, but the existence of an earlier coin of Two-line type struck in the reign of Æthelstan by a moneyer whose name is certainly spelled Byrnwig (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, ex Blunt) makes it possible that the moneyer's name on one or other, or on both, of the coins in the Bath hoard might indeed have been spelled Burnwig rather than Burhwig.

Since the Æthelstan moneyer seems to have been operating in the same geographical area as the moneyer of the present HT2 coin of Eadmund, the issue of whether Eadmund's moneyer was really called Burhwig or Burnwig remains more open than could be wished, and will only be resolved by future discoveries.

The style of the coin is Southern, with a distinctive wedge-shaped stop after the X of REX. Wedge-shaped stops occur on a small number of other coins of this reign that are of Southern style, e.g. on a coin of O/HT2 type by the moneyer Burhelm (*NCirc* Dec. 1991, no. 7968), and this may be helpful in associating them with a particular location or locations in Southern England. Most coins of varieties of Eadmund's Two-Line type that have single pellets, annulets (as on the present coin) or additional crosses as elements in the reverse die seem not to have been the work of moneyers working at London or at Winchester, and the most likely hypothesis is that they represent part of the output in Eadmund's reign of moneyers based at Canterbury and maybe at other mints in the same general area. Finally, it is worth noting that the reverse die of the present coin may originally have been cut as a die of HT1 type, with the outside crosses later removed and replaced by annulets, as this could account for an impression of several tiny pellets close to the right-hand annulet.

(EMC 2013.0024) H.E.P./C.S.S.L.

96. Edgar (959–75), Circumscription Cross type, Winchester, Leofric, North 749

Obv. **†EADGARREXT-OBR-I**

Rev. **†LEOFRIEMOVVINI**

Weight: 1.44 g. Die axis 180°.

St Mary Bourne, Hants. M/d find, 3 September 2011. Found by Brad Jordan.

A new moneyer for the Winchester mint in Edgar's Circumscription Cross type.

(EMC 2012.0123)

M.A.

97. Edgar (959–75), Bust Crowned type, London, Wyncsige, North 751/2

Obv. **†EADGARREX**

Rev. **†FYNSIGEM-OLONCIFI**

Weight not recorded.

London (Thames foreshore). M/d find, November 2012. Found by John Higginbotham.

A previously unrecorded moneyer in the reign of Edgar.

(EMC 2012.0303)

M.A.

98. Edgar (959–75), Reform Portrait type, London, Æthelsige, North 752

Obv. **†EADGARREXANGLORX**

Rev. **†ÆÐELSIGEM-OLVN.**

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 270°.

Wareham, near, Dorset. M/d find, 2012.

A previously unrecorded moneyer in Edgar's Reform type. There is a moneyer of this name in Edgar's pre-Reform coinage and in Æthelred II's First Hand and Crux types.

(EMC 2012.0246)

J.T./M.A.

99. Æthelred II (978–1016), Last Small Cross type, Thetford, Leofthegn, North 777

Obv. **†ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO**

Rev. **†LEOFÐEGNMOÐEOD**

Weight not recorded.

Duxford, Oxon. M/d find, 2012. Found by Kevin Gutteridge.

The reverse inscription has been re-engraved to obscure the reading.

(EMC 2012.0222)

M.A.

100. Cnut (1016–35), Short Cross type, Salisbury?, uncertain moneyer, North 790

Obv. **†ENVTREXCA**

Rev. **†[LE?][]ON[]ER.**

Weight: 0.92 g (corroded). Die axis 270°.

Banbury, Oxon. Excavation find, 1998 (found during excavations by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit on the site of Banbury Castle).

The mint signature is clearly **[]ER**, with the first letter largely obscured by corrosion products. A credible reading would be **SER**, for Salisbury. This mint signature appears on *SCBI* 15 Copenhagen, 3448, but a comparison of the two coins shows that they come from different reverse dies so the attribution cannot be confirmed. Other possibilities are **HER** for Herford and **PER** for Warwick.

(EMC 2012.0194)

D.J.S.

101. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Bust Facing/ Small Cross type, Warwick, Leofing, North 830

Obv. **†EDPARDREX**

Rev. **†LVFFINEONPEAR**

Weight: 1.05 g. Die axis 180°.

Long Itchington, Warks. M/d find, by March 2012.

A new type for the moneyer.

(PAS LEIC-CDEB04; EMC 2013.0246)

W.S.

102. Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Pyramids type, Gloucester, Leofwine, North 831

Obv. **†EADPARDREXA**

Rev. **†LEOFFINEONGLE**

Weight: 1.27 g.

Dymock, Glos. M/d find, 17 November 2012. Found by Andy Frape.

A previously unrecorded type for this moneyer.

(EMC 2012.0296)

M.A.

Post-Conquest English and Medieval Scottish

103. William I (1066–87), Bonnet type, *BMC* ii, Exeter, Ægelwi, North 842

Obv. **†PILLEMVR TSEX**

Rev. **†ÆGEL[P?][]ONEXECE2**

Weight not recorded (chipped and cracked). Die axis 90°.

Wickham, Hants. M/d find, August 2012. Found by Karen Horton.

A previously unrecorded moneyer for the Exeter mint.

(EMC 2012.0232; PAS: GLO-1FF8D4)

M.A.

104. William I (1066–87), Sword type, *BMC* vi, Gloucester, Silacwine, North 846

Obv. **†PILLELMREX**

Rev. **†SILIACPINCONGLE**

Weight 1.31 g.

Highnam, Glos. M/d find, December 2012.

Silacwine can be added to the types known for this moneyer and the Gloucester mint (see M. Allen in *BNJ* 82 (2012), 73) from this coin and another specimen in the Gotlands Museum, Visby (information from Kenneth Jonsson).

(PAS GLO-A6DDA1; EMC 2013.0247)

K.A./M.A.

105. William II (1087–1100), Profile type, *BMC* i, London?, Smaewine?, North 851

Obv. **†PILLELMRIEX**

Rev. **†[S[M?][]P?][]NEON[L?][]ND**

Weight: 0.75 g.

Salisbury, near, Wilts. M/d find, by 2012.

A previously unrecorded type for the moneyer if this is correctly identified as a coin of the London moneyer Smaewine. The light weight and the traces of copper corrosion products suggest that this coin might be from a deliberately evasive reverse die used to conceal the identity of a moneyer producing light and base coins.

(EMC 2012.0100)

J.P./M.A.

106. Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* ii, uncertain mint (Canterbury or London?), Edwine, North 858

Obv. **†HEN[]**

Rev. **†EDPI[N?][]**

Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 0°.

Lowick, Northants. M/d find, 21 April 2012. Found by Simon Hall.

A moneyer named Edwine is recorded at Canterbury in Henry I type i and at London in type iii.

(EMC 2012.0146)

M.A.

107. Henry I (1100–35), Pax type, *BMC* iii, Canterbury, Ahgeminde, North 859
Obv. **†HENRIRE†**
Rev. **†AHGMVNDONCET**
 Weight: 1.24 g. Die axis 180°.
 Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, 14 November 2012. Found by Roy Davis.

A previously unrecorded type for this moneyer.
 (EMC 2012.0295) M.A.

108. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets and Piles type, *BMC* iv, Exeter, Oter, North 860
Obv. **†HENR[]RE**
Rev. **†OTERONEXCEST**
 Weight: 1.20 g (chipped). Die axis 0°.
 Horncastle, near, Lincs. M/d find, 26 September 2012. Found by Graham Vickers.

A previously unrecorded mint and moneyer in Henry I type iv.
 (EMC 2012.0241) M.A.

109. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, Swansea, (?)Henri, North 873
Obv. **††T]IEFI[EREI2]**
Rev. **[]E[]EON[]**
 Weight: 1.08 g.
 Llantwit Major, Vale of Glamorgan. M/d find, October 2011.

Although little of the reverse legend is visible the obverse die-links to two specimens from the Coed-y-Wenalt hoard (G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979–1981* (Cardiff, 1986), 74, nos. 19–20) minted in Swansea by the moneyer Henri.
 (PAS NGMW-C24337; EMC 2013.0248) M.L./E.B.

110. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, roundels variant, cf. North 891–5
Obv. **†STIEFNE**
Rev. **†FALCHE:ON:PIL**
 Weight not recorded. Die axis 0°.
 Broadway, Worcs. M/d find, 2012. Found by Dean Crawford.

An new variant of Stephen type i with two roundels on the obverse, on the lower part of the portrait, and one roundel in the reverse inscription.
 (EMC 2012.0144) M.A.

111. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, York Group, cf. North 918–19
Obv. **†STIEFNER**
Rev. **†GMS[]ornament?]ISS**
 Weight not recorded.
 Horncastle, near, Lincs. M/d find, 16 September 2012. Found by Garry Neighbour.

A new variant of the ‘Wisegneta’ type (North 918; Mack 215–16) with inscriptions more appropriate to the Flag type (North 919; Mack 217).
 (EMC 2012.0237) M.A.

112. Stephen (1135–54), Awbridge type, *BMC* vii, North 881, uncertain mint
Obv. **†ST[]**
Rev. **LEN[]D or P?]**
 Weight not recorded.
 Dunmow, Essex. M/d find, 2011.

A previously unrecorded moneyer in the type, with a name that cannot be completed on the available evidence.
 (EMC 2012.0111) M.A.

113. William I of Scotland (1165–1214), first coinage (c. 1165–74), uncertain mint
Obv. **[]IL[IE?][]**
Rev. **[]A:V:IO[]**, cross pattée with arc and cross pommée in each angle.

Weight: 0.87 g (chipped).
 Roudham, Norfolk. M/d find, October 2012. Found by R. Hines.

A new variant of William I’s first coinage, cf. Stewart pl. II, 17, but with bust r. and four pellets rather than five in each angle of the reverse cross.
 (EMC 2012.0298; PAS: NMS-B6FF88)

A.B.M./M.A.

114. William I of Scotland (1165–1214), first coinage (c. 1165–74), uncertain mint
Obv. **[]W[IE?][]**
Rev. **†[R?][]**, cross pattée with arc and cross pommée in each angle.

Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny, chipped).
 Blyth, near, Notts. M/d find, 12 March 2012. Found by Andrew McLay.

See note to no. 113.
 (EMC 2012.0105; PAS: SWYOR-263361) M.A.

Continental

115. Charlemagne (768–814), denier, class III (793/4–812), Sens or Senham?, cf. MG 94
Obv. **XCARLVX REX FR**, *Karolus* monogram.
Rev. **†SENNES**, cross on steps.

Weight: 1.64 g.
 Crawley, Hants. M/d find, 14 March 2012. Found by Gerard McGivern.
 (EMC 2012.0122) M.A.

116. Charles the Bald (843–77), denier, GDR type (864–77), Blois, MG 923
Obv. **†BLESIANISCASTRO**
Rev. **†GRATIAD-IREX**
 Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 210°.

Great Dunham, Norfolk. M/d find, 2012. Found by Arronn Webster.
 (EMC 2012.0221; PAS: NMS-721CC8) M.A.

117. Charles the Bald (843–77), cut half of *denier*, GDR type (864–77), Namur or Noyon, MG 657–8 or 802–4

Obv. **†N[]MVN**
Rev. **[]A.D.-IRE[]**
 Weight: 0.53 g (cut half).
 Spofforth, S. Yorks. M/d find, 2011. Found by Ricky Brelsford.
 (EMC 2012.0049) M.A.

118. ?Otto III (983–1002), Otto-Adelheid pfennig, Holzkirche type, probably Goslar
Obv. Illegible inscription; short cross pattée; **○ / [D] / [D]** / **○** in angles.

Rev. Illegible inscription; representation of a wooden church.
 Weight 1.40 g. Die axis ?; very uneven striking.
 Mains of Baldoon, Wigtownshire. M/d find, December 2012.
 (EMC 2013.0249) N.H.

119. Henry II (1002–24), denier/denar, first type (1002–14), Hävernack 137 ff., Cologne (or imitation from another mint)

Obv. **HEII** []; last letter uncertain; short cross pattée with pellet in each angle.

Rev. [] / **CO** **LON** [] / [] across field; uncertain ornaments around.

Weight: 0.65 g. Die axis 300°; very uneven striking; obverse badly off-centre.

Kilbeg, Isle of Skye. M/d find, 2013.

(EMC 2013.0250)

N.H.

120. Friesland, Count Ekbert II (1068–77?), pfennig, Dokkum, Dannenberg 528

Obv. **ECBERT** **V** **S**, crowned bust facing.

Rev. **DOG** **G** **INGVN**, two facing busts, cross between.

Weight: 0.49 g.

Market Rasen, near, Lincs. M/d find, by 2012,

(EMC 2012.0257)

C.W./M.A.

121. Norway, Olav Kyrre (1067–93), Phase II (c. 1070–80), Stenerson type L

Obv. Facing bust, cross or sceptre r., inscription illegible.

Rev. **+** [**R**?] **N** [] **II** [] **II**

Weight: 1.32 g. Die axis 0°.

Wordwell, Suffolk. M/d find, 26 December 2012.

S.H. Gullbekk, *Pengevesenets fremvekst og fall i Norge i middelalderen*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 2009), 358, lists fourteen coins of Stenerson type L: the heaviest weighed 1.07 g, with fineness 38% Ag, 53.1% Cu and 8.8% Zn (Gullbekk 2009, 358). This new coin is heavier, but the Norwegian coins of the time have a great variety in their weights (cf. the more than 200 analyses in Gullbekk 2009, 356–62), and the flan is conspicuously thick (c.1 mm). From outward appearance, the coin seems to have very little silver in it. The lowest amount of silver in Gullbekk's tables is c.12% (two cases at p. 357), with copper amounting to c.80%, and zinc to c.7%.

(EMC 2012.0322)

J.S.J.

Coins of 1180–c.1800

Table 2 summarizes 9,009 finds of coins dated between 1180 and c.1800 recorded by PAS in 2012. The total number of finds recorded has continued to grow, from 6,743 in 2010 and 7,726 in 2011. As in previous years, the 'uncertain' categories include some coins with as yet incomplete records as well as coins too worn or corroded for precise identification. Coins post-dating c.1700 are recorded in a much more selective manner than earlier coins due to the large number of finds and the limited resources of PAS.

TABLE 2. Finds of coins of 1180–c.1800 recorded by PAS in 2012

Category	Finds	%	2011 %	Remarks
1180–1247	961	10.7	9.3	953 English + 8 Irish
1247–79	819	9.1	8.4	807 English + 12 Irish
1279–1377	2,184	24.2	22.9	2,144 English + 40 Irish
1377–1485	676	7.5	7.5	666 English + 10 Irish
1485–1547	317	3.5	3.8	
1547–1649	2,657	29.5	30.3	2,639 English + 18 Irish
1649–c.1800	596	6.6	7.4	571 English + 25 Irish
Scotland 1195–1286	122	1.4	1.5	
Scotland 1286–1488	19	0.2	0.01	
Uncertain Scottish 1195–1488	1	0.01	0.03	
Scotland 1488–1800	113	1.3	0.5	
Continental 1180–1500	168	1.9	1.8	
Continental 1500–1800	186	2.1	3.0	
Non-European 1500–1800	15	0.2	0.1	
Uncertain 1180–1500	125	1.4	2.2	
Uncertain 1500–1800	50	0.6	1.3	
Total	9,009			

Source: J.N.

122. Scotland, William the Lion (1165–1214), sterling, 2nd (Crescent and Pellet) coinage (c. 1174–95)

Obv. **+** **WL** **EL** **MV** **RE** **I**; bust l. with sceptre; cross pommée sceptre head.

Rev. **+** **R** **A** **D** **V** **L** **F** **V** **S** **N**; short cross pattée; crescent and pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.41 g, Die axis 0°.

Dryburgh Mains, Melrose, Roxburghshire. M/d find, April 2013.

Dr Timothy Crafter places this coin in his Type E, the latest of the crescent and pellet coinage, minted shortly

before 1195. The moneyer is assumed to be the same Raul, who issued coins at Roxburgh, but the use of the long Latin form of his name left no room in the inscription for a mint name. The coin is from the same dies as two coins (nos. 6 and 7) from the Baddingsgill hoard of 1834, published by Lord Stewartby, 'The 1834 Baddingsgill Find of Crescent Sterlings', *NC* 165 (2005), 223–5 and Pl. 27. The final pellet in the obverse legend, which is clear on the new coin, was not noted on the other two.

N.H.

123. Edward III (1327–77), penny, London, class 15d1, 1329–30
Obv. EDWARR[]
Rev. []DON
 Weight not recorded (clipped). Die axis 300°.
 Beeston with Bittering, Norfolk. M/d find, by March 2012. (Not illustrated.)
 (PAS NMS-BED344) A.B.M.

124. England, Henry VI (1422–61), halfpenny, Calais, Trefoil/Leaf-Mascle mule.
Obv. []IC*~~R~~AX*ANGL[]
Rev. VIL / (mascle)LA / [] / SIG
 Weight: 0.39 g.
 Larling, Norfolk. M/d find, 8 August 2012. Found by Steve Elden.
 A previously unrecorded mule for the Calais mint.
 M.A.

125. Edward IV, first reign (1464–70), plated contemporary counterfeit of AV quarter ryal, Blunt and Whitton types VII–VIII (c. 1466–68)

Obv. []DWARD.D.GRA.[]
Rev. *EXALTABIT[]RIA
 Weight not recorded.
 Royston and Melbourn (between), Cambs. M/d find, January 2013. Found by George Joyce.
 M.A.

126. Richard III (1483–85), noble, London, North 1676
Obv. RICARD·DI·GRAT·REX·ANGL·FRANC
Rev. PER GRVCE·TVAM·SALVAT·NOS·XPC·REDE
 Weight: 5.16 g.
 Hinkley area, Leics. M/d find, by November 2012. (Illustration courtesy of Spink & Son.)
 (PAS LEIC-E209C1) W.S.

127. Massachusetts Bay Colony, threepence, Pine Tree issue, Boston (MA), 1667–82
Obv. [MASA]THVSE[TS]
Rev. NEWENGLAND / 1652 III
 Weight: 0.96 g (pierced). Die axis 330°.
 Fareham, Hants. M/d find, December 2011.
 (PAS HAMP-936A71) R.W./J.N.

APPENDIX

Additional coins recorded by EMC in 2011 and 2012

By an unfortunate oversight the list of additional coins recorded by EMC in *BNJ* Coin Register 2012 (pp. 266–77) referred to the finds recorded in 2010 and not those of 2011. This error is corrected below, with tables of the additional coins recorded in 2011 and 2012 (Tables 3 and 4). These coins have been given numbers in two sequences, for 2011 and 2012, with the prefix A (for Additional). Plates to accompany Tables 3 and 4 are available as pdf-files on the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org).

TABLE 3. Additional coins recorded by EMC in 2011

Pennies ('sceattas')

No.	Type	Wt. (g)	Die axis	Find-spot and county/ unitary authority	Date of find	EMC no.
A.1	Series BX	1.29		Ampney Crucis, Glos	by 2010	2011.0070
A.2	Series BX	wnr		Ampney Crucis, Glos	by 2010	2011.0071
A.3	Series BIa	0.95		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0152
A.4	Series BIa	wnr		Buttercrambe, N. Yorks.	18 Sept. 2011	2011.0192
A.5	Series BIb	1.11		Dover, near, Kent	1995	2011.0180
A.6	Series BIb	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0134
A.7	Series BIb	1.16		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0053
A.8	Series BIa-c (imitation)	1.22		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0135
A.9	Series BII	1.19	180	Birch, Essex	27 Mar. 2011	2011.0076
A.10	Series BII	wnr		Haverhill, near, Suffolk	28 June 2011	2011.0132
A.11	Series BII	1.17		Flitcham with Appleton, Norfolk	Apr. 2011	2011.0095
A.12	Series BIIc	0.84		Barnack, near, Peterborough	by 2011	2011.0072
A.13	Series CZ	1.19		Godmanchester, Cambs	8 Sept. 2011	2011.0185
A.14	Series C1	1.19		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0136
A.15	Series C1 inverted	1.05	90	Papworth, near, Cambs	19 Nov. 2011	2011.0262
A.16	Series C1 inverted	1.00	180	Farnborough, near, Bromley	by 2011	2011.0268
A.17	Series C2	1.22		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0048
A.18	Series C2	0.46		Horsley Cross, Essex	2011	2011.0278
A.19	Series C2	1.15		Little Eversden, Cambs	22 Oct. 2011	2011.0229
A.20	Series C2	1.1		Manfield, N. Yorks.	30 Jan. 2011	2011.0022
A.21	Series C imitation	1.08		Horsley Cross, Essex	2011	2011.0261
A.22	Series D (Type 2c)	1.13		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0139
A.23	Series D (Type 2c)	1.20		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0138
A.24	Series D (Type 2c)	1.00		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0137

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.25	Series D (Type 2c)	wnr		Skirpenbeck, E. Yorks.	25 Sept. 2011	2011.0198
A.26	Series D (Type 2c)	1.17		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0144
A.27	Series D (Type 2c)	1.10		King's Lynn, near, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0191
A.28	Series D (Type 2c)	1.19		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0153
A.29	Series D (Type 2c)	0.97		Ashington, W. Sussex	2010	2011.0190
A.30	Series D (Type 2c)	1.23		Birch, Essex	2011	2011.0066
A.31	Series D (Type 2c)	0.6		Birtsmorton Court, Worcs.	2011	2011.0220
A.32	Series D (Type 8)	1.12		Birch, Essex	2011	2011.0045
A.33	Series D (Type 8)	1.14		Birch, Essex	11 Apr. 2011	2011.0085
A.34	Series D derivative (Metcalf Type 8Z)	wnr		Skirpenbeck, E. Yorks.	25 Sept. 2011	2011.0199
A.35	Series E, VICO 3	1.15		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0140
A.36	Series E, var. G1	wnr		Canterbury, near, Kent	Jan. 2011	2011.0008
A.37	Series E, var. G1	1.13		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0054
A.38	Series E, var. G1	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0154
A.39	Series E, var. G3	wnr		Canterbury, near, Kent	Jan. 2011	2011.0007
A.40	Series E	0.7		Birtsmorton Court, Worcs	2011	2011.0219
A.41	Series E	0.92		Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk	Feb. 2011	2011.0040
A.42	Series E	0.91		Long Bennington, Lincs	by 2011	2011.0260
A.43	Series E	wnr		Horncastle, near, Lincs	Nov. 2011	2011.0276
A.44	Series E	1.29		Newark, near, Notts	1999	2011.0065
A.45	Vernus Group	wnr		Alne, N. Yorks.	by 2010	2011.0032
A.46	Vernus Group	wnr		Dunmow, Essex	Aug. 2010	2011.0062
A.47	Series F (Metcalf b.ii)	1.01		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0051
A.48	Series F (Metcalf c.i)	1.09	0	Stanfield, Norfolk	2011	2011.0183
A.49	Series F (Metcalf c.i)	1.18	270	Freckenham, Suffolk	by 2010	2011.0033
A.50	Series G (Type 3a)	0.87		Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0112
A.51	Series H (Type 49), Metcalf var. 4c	0.72		Sutton Scotney, near, Hants	15 Oct. 2011	2011.0227
A.52	Series H (Type 49), Metcalf var. 5	0.86		Sutton Scotney, near, Hants	2 Apr. 2011	2011.0080
A.53	Series J (Type 37)	0.94		East Barsham, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0269
A.54	Series J (Type 36)	1.08		Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk	Oct. 2011	2011.0287
A.55	Series K (Type 33)	1.09		King's Lynn, near, Norfolk	Sept. 2011	2011.0204
A.56	Series K (Type 33)	1.11		Winchester, near, Hants	by 2011	2011.0055
A.57	Series K (Type 32a)	0.77		Fulbourn, Cambs	2011	2011.0251
A.58	Series K (Type 42), Metcalf var. a	wnr		Papworth, near, Cambs	2 Jan. 2011	2011.0001
A.59	Series K (Type 42), Metcalf var. b	wnr		Saffron Walden, near, Essex	2011	2011.0039
A.60	Series L (Type 15a)	1.04		Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0024
A.61	Series L (Type 18)	1.01		West Sussex	by 2011	2011.0203
A.62	Series L (Type 18)	0.79		Catworth, Cambs	by 2011	2011.0094
A.63	C ARIP Group	1.09		Sleaford, near, Lincs	by 2011	2011.0167
A.64	C ARIP Group	wnr		Ely, near, Cambs	3 Nov. 2011	2011.0247
A.65	K/N Group	0.88		Little Eversden, Cambs	23 Oct. 2011	2011.0231
A.66	Animal Mask Group	0.50		Winchester, near, Hants	by 2011	2011.0056
A.67	Animal Mask Group	1.04		West Sussex	by 2011	2011.0202
A.68	Series M var. c (Type 45)	0.90		Little Eversden, Cambs	23 Oct. 2011	2011.0230
A.69	Series N (Type 41b)	0.93		Bawsey, near, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0018
A.70	Type 70	0.94		Eyke, near, Suffolk	2011	2011.0158
A.71	Type 70	0.79		Papworth, near, Cambs	9 Mar. 2011	2011.0063
A.72	Series O (Type 40)	0.76		Sudbury, near, Suffolk	by 2011	2011.0077
A.73	Series Q I e (Type 67b)	0.93		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0141
A.74	Series Q II c	0.99		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0149
A.75	Series Q II d	0.72		Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0079
A.76	Series Q(R) (Type 73)	0.96		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0150
A.77	Series Q IV c	0.89		Tivetshall St Mary, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0078
A.78	Series Q IV e	0.85		Eyke, near, Suffolk	2011	2011.0157

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.79	Series R5	1.05		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2010	2011.0174
A.80	Series R7	1.07		Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0111
A.81	Series R7	0.85		Kelling, Norfolk	by Oct. 2010	2011.0096
A.82	Series R7	0.67		Brancaster, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0169
A.83	Series R derivative, Annulet Cross rev.	wnr		Horncastle, near, Lincs	2011	2011.0069
A.84	Series U (Type 23c)	1.06		Cliffe, near, Kent	2011	2011.0108
A.85	Series X (Type 31)	1.06		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0050
A.86	Series X (Type 31)	wnr		Wetwang, near, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2011.0015
A.87	Series X (Type 31)	1.18		Wetwang, near, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2011.0011
A.88	Series X (Type 31), insular style	0.92		Great Dunmow, near, Essex	by 2011	2011.0104
A.89	Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class A, North 177, York	0.66		Thwing, near, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2011.0017

Later Anglo-Saxon

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.90	Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 247, North 261	Canterbury	Eoba	wnr		Isle of Thanet, Kent	2011	2011.0122
A.91	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 125, North 264	Canterbury	Osmod	1.00	90	Badsey, Worcs	1978–82	2011.0058
A.92	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 39, North 282	London	Ealhmund	1.30	270	Chelmsford, near, Essex	9 Nov. 2011	2011.0257
A.93	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 13, North 287/1	London	Ethelwald	wnr		Wildhern, Hants	Jan. 2011	2011.0023
A.94	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 46, North 307	London	Ealhmund	1.01	180	Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk	Mar. 2011	2011.0117
A.95	Offa of Mercia, Heavy Coinage, Chick 203, North 322	London	Ciolhard	1.13	180	Glemsford, Suffolk	2011	2011.0130
A.96	Offa of Mercia, Heavy Coinage, Chick 238, North 320	Canterbury	Osmod	0.9	90	Seaford, near, E. Sussex	2 Oct. 2011	2011.0208
A.97	Cynethryth of Mercia, Portrait type, Chick 138, North 339	Canterbury	Eoba	1.13		Louth, near, Lincs	2011	2011.0218
A.98	Archbishop Æthelheard (793–805) with Offa, Group II, North 229	Canterbury		wnr	180	Matching Green, Essex	2011	2011.0270
A.99	Eadberht Præn of Kent (796–98), Tribrach type, North 206/1	Canterbury	Duda	wnr	0	Wiltshire	Dec. 2011	2011.0285
A.100	Eadwald of East Anglia (c.796–98), North 432	East Anglian	Lul	1.39	270	Canterbury, near, Kent	2011	2011.0178
A.101	Eadwald of East Anglia, North 432	East Anglian	Lul	wnr	180	Deal, near, Kent	by 2011	2011.0170

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.102	Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Tribach type, North 342	London	Eanmund	0.90	180	Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk	Apr. 2011	2011.0116
A.103	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 358	Canterbury	uncertain	wnr		Orwell parish, Cambs	2011	2011.0281
A.104	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 363	East Anglian	Lul/Lulla	1.30		Cotgrave, Notts	2011	2011.0243
A.105	Ceolwulf I of Mercia (821–23) North 392	East Anglian	Wihfred	1.15	0	Chipping, Herts	2011	2011.0210
A.106	Beornwulf of Mercia (823–25), North 394	East Anglian	Werbald	1.36		Melchbourne, Beds	Oct. 2011	2011.0250
A.107	Æthelstan I of East Anglia (c.825–45), North 439	East Anglian		1.30	270	Dunstable, Beds	Feb. 2011	2011.0067
A.108	Æthelstan I of East Anglia, North 442	East Anglian	Torthelm	1.10	270	Louth, near, Lincs	29 Oct. 2011	2011.0239
A.109	Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), North 573	Canterbury	Swefheard	1.30		Watlington, Oxon	2011	2011.0293
A.110	Wiglaf of Mercia, 2nd reign (830–40), North 401	London	Redmund	0.41	280	Surrey	by 2011	2011.0109
A.111	Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58), North 618	Rochester	Tirweald	wnr	90	Whaddon, Cambs	2011	2011.0225
A.112	Burgred of Mercia (852–74), North 423	London	Dudecil	wnr	180	Aylesford, Kent	2011	2011.0290
A.113	Burgred of Mercia, North 423		Guthmund	0.90	30	Torksey, Lincs	2011	2011.0099
A.114	Alfred (871–99), Lunette type, North 625	Canterbury	uncertain	wnr	120	Horncastle, near, Lincs	Nov. 2011	2011.0277
A.115	Alfred, Lunette type, North 625	Canterbury	Heremod	1.02	90	Torksey, Lincs	Jan. 2011	2011.0061
A.116	Alfred, Two-Line type, North 649		Landuc	wnr	270	Harston, near, Cambs	2011	2011.0279
A.117	Alfred, Two-Line type, Viking imitation, North 475/1		Stephen	wnr	270	Shepreth, near, Cambs	14 July 2011	2011.0164
A.118	Alfred, Two-Line type, Viking imitation, North 475/1		uncertain	wnr	0	South Cambridgeshire	Mar. 2011	2011.0103
A.119	St Edmund coinage, North 483		Odalbert	0.79	0	Godmanchester, Cambs	6 Aug. 2011	2011.0171
A.120	St Edmund coinage, North 483		uncertain	1.32		Brandon, Suffolk	2011	2011.0068
A.121	St Edmund coinage, North 483		uncertain	0.47	0	Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk	Apr. 2011	2011.0115
A.122	St Edmund coinage, North 483		uncertain	1.13	0	Bradenham, Norfolk	Jan. 2011	2011.0041
A.123	Athelstan (924/5–39), Two-Line (HT 1) type, North 668		Gota	wnr	180	Harston, near, Cambs	2011	2011.0272
A.124	Athelstan, Two-Line (HT 1) type, North 668		Man	wnr	270	Aylesbury, near, Bucks	2011	2011.0113
A.125	Athelstan, Bust Crowned type, North 673		uncertain	wnr (½d.)	120	Wereham, Norfolk	26 June 2011	2011.0124
A.126	Eadmund (939–46), Two-Line (HT 1) type, North 688	York	Ingelgar	wnr	90	Lincolnshire	2011	2011.0083

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.127	Eadmund, Bust Crowned type, North 697		Fredard	wnr	0	Thetford, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0082
A.128	Eadmund, Bust Crowned type, North 698	Norwich	Barbe	wnr		Whittlesford, Cambs	5 Nov. 2011	2011.0246
A.129	Eadred, Two-Line (HT 1) type, North 706	York?	Theodmær	wnr	180	Staffordshire	2011	2011.0196
A.130	Alfred to Edgar, round halfpenny	Winchester	uncertain	0.16	90	Winchester (Staple Gardens), Hants	2004	2011.0012
A.131	Two-Line type, tenth century	uncertain	uncertain	0.34	180	Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0155
A.132	Edward Martyr (975–78), North 763	Ipswich	Leofric	1.41		Epping Upland, Essex	by 2011	2011.0091
A.133	Æthelred II (978–1016), <i>First Small Cross</i> type, North 764	Stamford	uncertain	0.82	180	Lincoln, Lincs	c.1987	2011.0027
A.134	Æthelred II, <i>First Hand</i> type, North 766	York	Tumme	wnr ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	0	Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0245
A.135	Æthelred II, <i>First Hand</i> type, North 766	London	uncertain	1.22	90	Birch, Essex	2011	2011.0084
A.136	Æthelred II, <i>Second Hand</i> type, North 768	London	Æthelwulf	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Bassingbourne, near, Cambs	2011	2011.0273
A.137	Æthelred II, <i>Crux</i> type, North 770	Canterbury	Leofstan	1.4		Romney Marsh, Kent	14 Feb. 2011	2011.0029
A.138	Æthelred II, <i>Long Cross</i> type, North 774	York	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	180	Buslingthorpe, Lincs	2011	2011.0253
A.139	Æthelred II, <i>Long Cross</i> type, North 774	Exeter	Wynsige	wnr	0	Sutton Scotney, near, Hants	6 May 2011	2011.0102
A.140	Æthelred II, <i>Long Cross</i> type, North 774	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Birtsmorton Court, Worcs	2011	2011.0212
A.141	Æthelred II, <i>Helmet</i> type, North 775	London	Toca	1.47		Wymington, Beds	27 Oct. 2008	2011.0258
A.142	Æthelred II, <i>Helmet</i> type, North 775	Ipswich	Leofwine	1.23	270	Reepham, Norfolk	Feb. 2011	2011.0042
A.143	Æthelred II, <i>Helmet</i> type, North 775	Lincoln	Osmund	1.41	90	South Somercotes, Lincs	30 Oct. 2011	2011.0236
A.144	Cnut (1016–35), <i>Quatrefoil</i> type, North 781	London	Leofwold	wnr	0	St Mary in the Marsh, Kent	2011	2011.0168
A.145	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	London	Brihtmær	0.98	0	Lewes, near, E. Sussex	6 Nov. 2011	2011.0249
A.146	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	Canterbury	Leofwine	0.60 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Winwick, Cambs	16 Apr. 2011	2011.0090
A.147	Harold I (1035–40), <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	uncertain	Wulfgar	0.51 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Thetford area, Norfolk	2011	2011.0125
A.148	Harold I, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)		Aldington, Kent	by 2011	2011.0107
A.149	Harold I, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)		Thornton le Moor, Lincs	2011	2011.0240
A.150	Harold I, <i>Fleur-de-lis</i> type, North 803	Winchester	Æthelwine	0.98	180	Upwell, Norfolk	Sept. 2011	2011.0252
A.151	Harthacnut (1035–37, 1040–42), <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 809	Southwark	Dudinc	0.98	270	Cholsey, Oxon	2010	2011.0098

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.152	Harthacnut, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 809	Ilchester	Æthelwine	0.51 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Oxborough, Norfolk	2011	2011.0119
A.153	Harthacnut, <i>Arm and Sceptre</i> type, North 811	London	Goldsigne	wnr	180	Swainby, N. Yorks.	Mar. 2011	2011.0073
A.154	Edward the Confessor (1042–66), <i>Pax</i> type, North 813	Lincoln	Godric	0.92	90	Barton Mills, Suffolk	2011	2011.0129
A.155	Edward the Confessor, <i>Radiate/Small Cross</i> type, North 816	Canterbury	Eadweard	wnr		Lydd, near, Kent	2011	2011.0186
A.156	Edward the Confessor, <i>Small Flan</i> type, North 818	Canterbury	Goldwine	1.10		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	by 2011	2011.0233
A.157	Edward the Confessor, <i>Small Flan</i> type, North 818	Huntingdon	Ælfwine	wnr		Fen Drayton, Cambs	1 Oct. 2011	2011.0205
A.158	Edward the Confessor, <i>Expanding Cross</i> type, heavy issue, North 823	Canterbury	Edward	0.95 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Stagsden, Bucks	27 Nov. 2011	2011.0267
A.159	Edward the Confessor, <i>Expanding Cross</i> type, heavy issue, North 823	London	Spraclinc	0.70 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Woodwalton, Norfolk	22 Jan. 2011	2011.0259
A.160	Edward the Confessor, <i>Pointed Helmet</i> type, North 825	Cambridge	Godwine	wnr	270	Wereham, Norfolk	3 Oct. 2011	2011.0215
A.161	Edward the Confessor, <i>Pointed Helmet</i> type, North 825	Dover	Cinstan	1.19		Birchington, Kent	1999	2011.0118
A.162	Edward the Confessor, <i>Bust Facing</i> type, North 830	Thetford	Godleof	0.88	0	Holme Hale, Norfolk	2010	2011.0006
A.163	Edward the Confessor, <i>Bust Facing</i> type, North 830	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Bassingbourne, near, Cambs	2011	2011.0280
A.164	Harold II (1066), <i>Pax</i> type, North 836	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Dorchester, near, Dorset	by 2011	2011.0009
A.165	Harold II <i>Pax</i> type, North 836	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	180	North Yorkshire	Nov. 2011	2011.0264

Post-Conquest English, medieval Scottish and Islamic

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.166	William I (1066–87), <i>BMC</i> type i, North 839	Nottingham	Forna	1.23		Grafton Underwood, near, Northants	by 2011	2011.0016
A.167	William I <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 842	York	Outhgrim	wnr		Stansted, Essex	2011	2011.0209
A.168	William I <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 842	Canterbury	Man	wnr	90	Dorset	by 2011	2011.0234
A.169	William I <i>BMC</i> type v, North 845	Shrewsbury	Earnwi	wnr	270	Matching Green, Essex	2011	2011.0284
A.170	William I <i>BMC</i> type v, North 845	Sandwich	Ælfheh	wnr		Harlow, near, Essex	2011	2011.0294
A.171	William I <i>BMC</i> type v, North 845	Bristol	Ceorl	wnr		Gloucestershire	2011	2011.0211
A.172	William I <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 846	London?	uncertain	wnr	180	Skidbrooke, Lincs	17 Aug. 2011	2011.0176

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.173	William I <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 847	Derby	Godwine	1.24	0	Newark, near, Notts	c.2000	2011.0086
A.174	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 848	Romney	Wulfmær	wnr		Whittlesford, Cambs	30 Oct. 2011	2011.0235
A.175	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 848	Thetford	Godelef	wnr	0	Lincoln, near, Lincs	by 2011	2011.0242
A.176	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 848	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Farnsfield, Notts	2011	2011.0254
A.177	William II (1087–1100), <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 852	Oxford?	Godwine	wnr	0	Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0181
A.178	William II <i>BMC</i> type iii, North 853	Shaftesbury?	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Skidbrooke, Lincs	2011	2011.0200
A.179	William II <i>BMC</i> type v, North 856	Leicester	Sæmer	0.55 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Chilcomb, Hants	2011	2011.0265
A.180	Henry I (1100–35), <i>BMC</i> type i, North 857	York	Leising	0.5	270	South Somerccotes, Lincs	13 Feb. 2010	2011.0177
A.181	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 858	Norwich	uncertain	0.66	30	West Stow, Suffolk	2011	2011.0120
A.182	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 858	London	Ælfwine	wnr		Steyning, W. Sussex	Nov. 2011	2011.0263
A.183	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type iv, North 860	Bristol	Eddric	1.23		Stow, Lincs	2011	2011.0187
A.184	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 863	Rochester	Rodbert	1.36	0	West Wittering, W. Sussex	2007	2011.0271
A.185	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 863	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Winchester, near, Hants	c.1986	2011.0182
A.186	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xi, North 867	Southwark?	uncertain	0.34 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	by 2011	2011.0101
A.187	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xii, North 868	London	Sigegar	wnr	270	Islip, Northants	1 Apr. 2009	2011.0092
A.188	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xiii, North 869	Bury St Edmunds	Godric	1.31	260	East Anglia	1980s	2011.0100
A.189	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xiv, North 870	London	Ordgar	0.65 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	60	Chilcomb, Hants	2011	2011.0266
A.190	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Thetford	Rodbert	1.40		Ongar, near, Essex	2011	2011.0179
A.191	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Norwich	Suniman	wnr	0	Wereham, Norfolk	24 Sept. 2011	2011.0214
A.192	Stephen (1135–54), <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Lewes	Osbern	1.0		Lewes, near, E. Sussex	3 July 2011	2011.0151
A.193	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Thetford	Rodbert A	wnr	270	Over Wallop, Hants	2011	2011.0232
A.194	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Norwich	Sihttric	wnr ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)		Orwell parish, Cambs	2011	2011.0274
A.195	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Salisbury	Stanghun	1.36	270	Carleton Rode, Norfolk	Sept. 2011	2011.0188
A.196	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	uncertain	uncertain	1.30		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2011	2011.0052
A.197	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	London	Dereman	1.02	330	Dymock, Glos	2010	2011.0026
A.198	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Sudbury	Godimer	1.23	90	Kenninghall, Norfolk	2011	2011.0161
A.199	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Winchester	Kippig	wnr	270	Newchurch, near, Kent	Sept. 2011	2011.0194
A.200	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Stamford	Siward	wnr	90	Lincoln, near, Lincs	2010	2011.0019
A.201	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 874	Carlisle	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	240	Lincoln, near, Lincs	2010	2011.0020

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.202	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 874	uncertain	uncertain	1.13	90	Newark, near, Notts	c.2000	2011.0088
A.203	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 878	London	Wulfwine	wnr		Norwich, near, Norfolk	by 2011	2011.0226
A.204	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 878	uncertain	uncertain	0.23 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	170	Chippenham, Cams	Feb. 2011	2011.0043
A.205	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 881	Hedon	Gerhard	wnr		South Humberside	by 2011	2011.0201
A.206	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 881	Colchester	Godhese	0.70 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	180	Swaffham Prior, Cams	3 Jan. 2011	2011.0003
A.207	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i var., North 887	Oxford	Adam	1.00	300	Newark, near, Notts	c.2000	2011.0089
A.208	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i var., North 892	Ipswich	Rodger	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	120	Shadingfield, near, Suffolk	2011	2011.0163
A.209	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type iv, North 897	Lincoln	uncertain	1.08	320	Newark, near, Notts	c.2000	2011.0087
A.210	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type iv, North 897	Lincoln	Godwine	1.05	90	Tickhill, Doncaster	11 Jan. 2011	2011.0013
A.211	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i var., North 904	Lincoln	uncertain	0.7 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Edingley, Notts	2011	2011.0244
A.212	David I of Scotland (1124–53), as Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 909	Edinburgh	Erebald	wnr		North east Lincolnshire	2011	2011.0216
A.213	Henry of Northumbria, North 913	Carlisle	Willelm	1.57	260	Cumbria	2011	2011.0165
A.214	Henry of Northumbria, North 913	Carlisle	Willelm	1.4		Alnwick, near, Northumberland	Jan. 2011	2011.0014
A.215	Archbishop Henry Murdac, North 934	York		wnr	180	York, near	by 2011	2011.0241
A.216	Henry (of Anjou?), North 940	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Wigmore, Heref.	2011	2011.0121
A.217	Henry (of Anjou?), North 940/2	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Martin parish, Hants	9 Aug. 2011	2011.0172
A.218	Henry II (1154–89), <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A, North 952	Thetford	Turstain	wnr	180	Bedford, near, Beds	2011	2011.0195
A.219	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class A2, North 952/2	London	Wit	0.60 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	120	Flitcham with Appleton, Norfolk	Dec. 2010	2011.0004
A.220	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class A2, North 952/2	uncertain	uncertain	0.75 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Flitcham with Appleton, Norfolk	Dec. 2010	2011.0005
A.221	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class B, North 953–5	Winchester	uncertain	0.26 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	120	Outwell, Norfolk	June 2011	2011.0131
A.222	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class C, North 956–7	uncertain	Rawulf	wnr	340	Chillenden, Kent	Oct. 2011	2011.0237
A.223	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class C1, North 956	Carlisle	Willem	wnr		Norwell, Notts	Jan. 2011	2011.0047
A.224	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class C1, North 956	London	Lefwine	1.28	150	North Norfolk	2011	2011.0207
A.225	Henry II <i>Cross-and-</i> <i>Crosslets</i> class D1, North 958/1	Canterbury	Wiulf	1.23	330	Fordham, Cams	Sept. 2011	2011.0197

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.226	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class D1, North 958/1	London	Iohan	wnr	0	Cotesbach, Leics	26 Mar. 2011	2011.0075
A.227	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class D1, North 958/1	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Lolworth, near, Cambs	10 Dec. 2011	2011.0289
A.228	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class E3, North 960/3	Newcastle	Willem	wnr		Lincoln, near, Lincs	2010	2011.0021
A.229	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F, North 961	Newcastle	Willem	wnr		Stillington, near, N. Yorks.	Feb. 2008	2011.0046
A.230	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F, North 961	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Market Rasen, near, Lincs	2011	2011.0255
A.231	Malcolm IV of Scotland (1153–65), Stewart type IV	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Perthshire	24 Mar. 2011	2011.0074
A.232	Samanid dirham	uncertain		1.30		Catfield, Norfolk	Sept. 2011	2011.0248
A.233	Samanid dirham	uncertain		0.96		Sparham, Norfolk	Aug. 2010	2011.0010

TABLE 4. Additional coins recorded by EMC in 2012

Pennies ('sceattas')

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/</i> <i>unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.1	Series A2	1.05		Stirtloe, Cambs	26 Feb. 2012	2012.0078
A.2	Series A2	wnr		Dymock, Glos	2001	2012.0089
A.3	Series A2	1.12		Oxfordshire	by 2012	2012.0195
A.4	Series A2	1.12		Uttlesford, Essex	2012	2012.0299
A.5	Series BIa	wnr		Clacton, Essex	29 July 2012	2012.0196
A.6	Series BIa	1.09		Mersea Island, Essex	17 Oct. 2012	2012.0265
A.7	Series BIb	0.85	180	Birch, Essex	Apr. 2012	2012.0138
A.8	Series BIb	wnr		Canterbury, near, Kent	2012	2012.0244
A.9	Series BIc	wnr		Swindon, near	2011	2012.0114
A.10	Series BIa-c (copy)	1.09		Bridge, Kent	c.1978	2012.0209
A.11	Series BII	1.20		Canterbury, near, Kent	by 2012	2012.0175
A.12	Series BIIIa	1.1		Hertfordshire	2012	2012.0187
A.13	Series B	1.07		Horsley Cross, Essex	Mar. 2012	2012.0131
A.14	Series C1	wnr		Hethel, Norfolk	Oct. 2012	2012.0260
A.15	Series C2	1.12	180	East Yorkshire	by 2012	2012.0185
A.16	Series C2	1.28		Mersea Island, Essex	Oct. 2012	2012.0266
A.17	Series C2	wnr		Bassingbourne, near, Cambs	23 Oct. 2012	2012.0270
A.18	Series D (Type 2c)	0.75		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0067
A.19	Series D (Type 2c)	wnr		Wistow, Cambs	Mar. 2012	2012.0094
A.20	Series D (Type 2c)	wnr		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	Jan. 2007	2012.0098
A.21	Series D (Type 2c)	1.22		Mersea Island, Essex	Mar. 2012	2012.0101
A.22	Series D (Type 2c)	wnr		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	9 Sept. 2012	2012.0226
A.23	Series D (Type 8)	1.1		Louth, near, Lincs	25 Aug. 2012	2012.0215
A.24	Series D derivative (Metcalf BZ)	1.18		Sheffield, near	by 2011	2012.0046
A.25	Series E, Plumed Bird var. J	wnr		Spofforth, N. Yorks.	7 May 2010	2012.0058
A.26	Series E, Plumed Bird var. J	1.21		Birch, Essex	Mar. 2012	2012.0124
A.27	Series E, Plumed Bird var. K	wnr		Thrapston, Northants	2012	2012.0309

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.28	Series E, Plumed Bird uncertain var.	1.12		Pocklington, near, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0044
A.29	Series E, Plumed Bird imitation	wnr		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	by 2012	2012.0173
A.30	Series E, var. G1	wnr		Canterbury, near, Kent	Apr. 2012	2012.0140
A.31	Series E, var. G2	1.20		Badsey, Worcs	26 Mar. 2012	2012.0135
A.32	Series E, var. G2	1.13		Suffield, Norfolk	May/June 2012	2012.0190
A.33	Series E, var. G imitation	1.13		Malton, near, N. Yorks.	2011	2012.0045
A.34	Series E, var. D	1.1		Louth, near, Lincs	25 Aug. 2012	2012.0212
A.35	Series E, Secondary var. A	1.1		Louth, near, Lincs	25 Aug. 2012	2012.0213
A.36	Series E, Secondary var. C	wnr		Shipston-on-Stour, Warks	2012	2012.0319
A.37	Series E	wnr		Wetheringsett-cum-Brockford, Suffolk	Aug. 2011	2012.0083
A.38	Series E	0.8		Louth, near, Lincs	29 Feb. 2012	2012.0097
A.39	Series E	1.17		Leadon Roding, Essex	2012	2012.0107
A.40	Series E	1.11		Louth, near, Lincs	19 Mar. 2012	2012.0116
A.41	Series E	1.00		Louth, near, Lincs	20 Mar. 2012	2012.0118
A.42	Series E	wnr		Pirton, Worcs	2012	2012.0143
A.43	Series E	wnr		Buckinghamshire	by 2012	2012.0181
A.44	Series E	1.0		Louth, near, Lincs	3 Oct. 2012	2012.0249
A.45	Series E	1.2		Louth, near, Lincs	Oct. 2012	2012.0268
A.46	Series E	wnr		Broad Town, near, Wilts.	2012	2012.0313
A.47	Series E	wnr		Broad Town, near, Wilts.	2012	2012.0314
A.48	Series E, runic Æthiliræd	1.12	0	Isle of Wight, Hants	by 2011	2012.0032
A.49	Series E, SEDE type	1.18		Garton-on-the-Wolds, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0033
A.50	Vernus Group 1	1.24		Wickham Market, Suffolk	2012	2012.0198
A.51	Saroaldo	1.19		Cambridgeshire	by 2010	2012.0030
A.52	Saroaldo	1.14		Lincoln, near, Lincs	by 2011	2012.0031
A.53	Saroaldo	wnr		Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk	2012	2012.0220
A.54	Series F, Metcalf var. a.ii	1.16		Horsley Cross, Essex	Mar. 2012	2012.0130
A.55	Series F, Metcalf var. d	1.25		Stirtloe, Cambs	4 Sept. 2012	2012.0219
A.56	Series F, cf. Metcalf var. b	1.14		Roughton, Norfolk	Jan. 2012	2012.0109
A.57	Series Z (Type 66)	0.9		Louth, near, Lincs	25 Aug. 2012	2012.0214
A.58	'Aston Rowant animal' type	1.16		Cheltenham, Glos	12 July 2011	2012.0029
A.59	Series G (Type 3a)	1.06		Cliffe, near, Kent	Apr. 2012	2012.0153
A.60	Series G (Type 3a)	0.8		Louth, near, Lincs	25 Aug. 2012	2012.0216
A.61	Series G (Type 3a)	0.9		Louth, near, Lincs	3 Oct. 2012	2012.0248
A.62	Series H (Type 49), Metcalf var. 1b	wnr		Hook, Wilts.	2011–12	2012.0315
A.63	Series J (Type 36)	0.80		Humberside	by 2012	2012.0192
A.64	Series J (Type 36), plated imitation	0.89		Sledmere, near, E. Yorks.	2012	2012.0300
A.65	Series J (Type 85)	wnr		Louth, near, Lincs	13 Aug. 2012	2012.0205
A.66	Series J (Type 85)	1.07		Norfolk	by 2012	2012.0287
A.67	Series K (Type 33)	0.94		Cambridgeshire	by 2012	2012.0286
A.68	Series K (Type 33)	0.68		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0068
A.69	Series K (Type 42), Metcalf var. c	1.17		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0069
A.70	C ARIP Group	1.02	0	Wisbech, Cambs	by 2011	2012.0048
A.71	Triquetras Group	0.90		Outwell, Norfolk	Nov./Dec. 2011	2012.0002
A.72	Celtic Cross with Rosettes Group (Type 58)	1.1		Ringwould, near Walmer, Kent	Apr. 2012	2012.0147

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.73	Monitascorum Group	wnr		Birch, Essex	11 Mar. 2012	2012.0103
A.74	Monitascorum Group	1.13		Tiptree, near, Essex	2010	2012.0236
A.75	Monitascorum Group	1.06		Shipston-on-Stour, Warks	2012	2012.0318
A.76	K/N Group (Type 16/41)	1.07		Kings Ripton, Cambs	20 Oct. 2012	2012.0267
A.77	Series N (Type 41b)	wnr		Higham, near, Kent	2011	2012.0115
A.78	Series N (Type 41b)	1.1		Louth, near, Lincs	31 Oct. 2012	2012.0281
A.79	Type 30	1.21		Norton, Hants	28 Feb. 2012	2012.0157
A.80	Series R/Type 51	1.28		Eye, near, Suffolk	July 2011	2012.0247
A.81	Series O (Type 38)	wnr		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	by 2012	2012.0171
A.82	Series O (Type 40)	wnr		Bratoft, Lincs	26 Mar. 2012	2012.0126
A.83	Series Q I b	wnr		Tilbury, Thurrock	by 2012	2012.0073
A.84	Series Q I d (Type 67a)	0.94		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0065
A.85	Series Q I e (Type 67b)	1.0		Louth, near, Lincs	16 Sept. 2012	2012.0234
A.86	Series Q/R	0.93		Louth, near, Lincs	2 Jan. 2012	2012.0001
A.87	Series Q/R	0.92	270	Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts	by 2010	2012.0047
A.88	Series R4			Hook, Wilts.	2011–12	2012.0316
A.89	Series R8	0.65		Clare, near, Suffolk	Jan. 2012	2012.0151
A.90	Series R10	0.81		King's Lynn, near, Norfolk	by 2012	2012.0264
A.91	Series R	1.13		St Peters, Kent	9 May 2012	2012.0174
A.92	Series U (Type 23d)	1.00		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	Aug./Sept. 2011	2012.0064
A.93	Series V (Type 7)	0.86		Sutton, Kent	24 Apr. 2009	2012.0148
A.94	Series X (Type 31)	1.15		Louth, near, Lincs	17 Mar. 2012	2012.0112
A.95	Uncertain type	0.86		Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0066

Northumbrian sceattas and stycas

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.96	Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), North 177	York	uncertain	0.90	180	Fimber, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0035
A.97	Eadberht of Northumbria, North 177	York	uncertain	wnr	0	Wirksworth, Derbys.	1985	2012.0177
A.98	Eadberht of Northumbria, North 178	York	uncertain	1.01	315	Malton, near, N. Yorks.	Apr. 2010	2012.0034
A.99	Ecgerht, archbishop of York (732–66) with Eadberht, North 192	York	uncertain	wnr		Spofforth, N. Yorks.	9 May 2010	2012.0059
A.100	Ecgerht, archbishop of York with Eadberht, North 192	York	uncertain	wnr		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	4 Mar. 2012	2012.0102
A.101	Ecgerht, archbishop of York with Æthelwald Moll (757/8–65), North –	York	uncertain	0.89	345	Driffield, E. Yorks.	2008	2012.0036
A.102	Alchred of Northumbria (765–74), North 179	York	uncertain	1.10	120	Carthorpe, N. Yorks.	Mar. 2011	2012.0041
A.103	Æthelred I of Northumbria (1st reign) (774–8), North 180	York	uncertain	0.91		Nafferton, near, E. Yorks.	2011	2012.0137

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.104	Ælfwald I of Northumbria (778–88), North 181	York	uncertain	1.01	225	Pocklington, near, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0037
A.105	Ælfwald I of Northumbria, North 181	York	uncertain	1.09		Barnsley, S. Yorks.	by 2012	2012.0150
A.106	Eanbald I archbishop of York (780–96) with Æthelred I of Northumbria, North –	York	uncertain	1.07	90	Hayton, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0038
A.107	Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign, 790–96), North 185	York	Ceolbald	1.15	270	Sledmere, E. Yorks.	c.2008	2012.0039
A.108	Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign), North 185/1	York	Hnifula	1.05	0	Weaverthorpe, N. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0040
A.109	Eardwulf of Northumbria (796–806), North –	York	Cuthheard	0.78	180	Market Weighton, near, E. Yorks.	2010	2012.0042
A.110	Eanred of Northumbria (810–40), North 186	York	Ethelhiah	0.64	235	Hayton, E. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0043
A.111	Eanred of Northumbria, North 186	York	Eadvini	wnr		Buttercrambe, N. Yorks.	26 Feb. 2012	2012.0096
A.112	Æthelred II of Northumbria (1st reign, 840–44), North 188	York	uncertain	wnr		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	Jan. 2007	2012.0099
A.113	Æthelred II of Northumbria (1st reign) North 188	York	Leofthegn	1.03		Bamburgh, near, Northumberland	by 2012	2012.0184

Later Anglo-Saxon

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.114	Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 31, North 303	London	Eadhun	1.31		Horsley Cross, Essex	Mar. 2012	2012.0110
A.115	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 136, North 315	Canterbury	Udd	wnr	270	Lincolnshire	8 Sept. 2012	2012.0225
A.116	Offa of Mercia, Heavy Coinage, Chick 251, North 337	East Anglian	Lul	1.1	0	Ashford, near, Kent	2012	2012.0164
A.117	Archbishop Æthelheard (793–805) with Offa of Mercia, Chick 247, North 229	Canterbury	uncertain	0.91	225	Waltham, Kent	Jan. 2012	2012.0007
A.118	Archbishop Æthelheard with Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 232	Canterbury	uncertain	0.27 (frag.)	270	Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0070
A.119	Coenwulf of Mercia, Naismith E12.5, North 365	East Anglian	Wihtried	1.35		Kimbolton, near, Cambs	2012	2012.0263

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.120	Coenwulf of Mercia, Naismith E13.1, North 369	East Anglian	Wodel	0.87 (frag.)	230	Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex	29 Sept. 2012	2012.0243
A.121	Eadwald of East Anglia (796–98), Naismith E4, North 433	East Anglian	Wihfred	1.40		Eye, near, Suffolk	by 2012	2012.0204
A.122	Eadwald of East Anglia, Naismith E4, North 433	East Anglian	Wihfred	wnr		Tendring, Essex	2011	2012.0285
A.123	Baldred of Kent (c.823–25), North 213	Canterbury	Swefheard	wnr	270	Marlborough, near, Wilts.	2012	2012.0055
A.124	Anonymous Kentish issue (c.822–23), Naismith C55.1, North 221/1	Canterbury	Swefheard	1.24	0	Bridge, Kent	1978	2012.0005
A.125	Beornwulf of Mercia (823–25), North 396	East Anglian	Eadgar	0.97 (2 frags)	135	Dorking, Surrey	June 2011	2012.0155
A.126	Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), Portrait/Dorob C type, North 573	Canterbury	Diormod	1.15	0	Louth, near, Lincs	24 Sept. 2012	2012.0238
A.127	Ecgberht of Wessex, Portrait/Dorob C type, North 573	Canterbury	uncertain	0.82	90	Louth, near, Lincs	21 Mar. 2012	2012.011
A.128	Ecgberht of Wessex, Naismith W12, North 589	West Saxon	Wihthnoth	1.02	30	Warminster, Wilts.	2012	2012.0169
A.129	Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58), Naismith C97–102, North 596	Canterbury	uncertain	wnr	0	Hayton, E. Yorks.	Sept. 2011	2012.0057
A.130	Æthelwulf of Wessex, Naismith C111.3, North 612	Canterbury	Herebeald	wnr	0	Marlborough, near, Wilts.	2012	2012.0056
A.131	Alfred (871–99), Cross-and-Lozenge type, North 629	Canterbury	Burgnoth	1.05		Roxby Cum Risby, Lincs	Mar. 2012	2012.0231
A.132	Alfred, Two-Line type, North 639	Winchester?	Wulfred	1.51		Salisbury, near, Wilts.	2011	2012.0271
A.133	Viking imitation of Alfred Two-Line type, North 475/1	uncertain	Cristien	wnr		Ely, near, Cambs	2012	2012.0324
A.134	St Edmund Memorial coinage, North 483	uncertain	Iohan	1.1		East Anglia	2012	2012.0180
A.135	St Edmund Memorial coinage, North 483	uncertain	uncertain	1.49		Brantham, Suffolk	2012	2012.0117
A.136	St Peter of York coinage (c.905–27), Phase I, North 551	York	uncertain	1.12		Lincolnshire	8 Jan. 2012	2012.0293
A.137	Edward the Elder (899–924), Two-Line type, North 649	uncertain	uncertain	wnr	180	Crawley, Hants	23 Feb. 2012	2012.0075
A.138	Edward the Elder, Portrait type, North 653	East Anglian	uncertain	1.21	90	Kimbolton, near, Cambs	Dec. 2012	2012.0311
A.139	Athelstan (924/5–39), Two-Line type, North 668	uncertain	Wulfstan	wnr	0	London (Thames)	2012	2012.0278
A.140	Athelstan, Bust Crowned type, North 675	London	Grimwald	wnr	180	London (Thames)	Oct. 2012	2012.0279

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.141	Eadred (946–55), Bust crowned type, North 713	Norwich?	Notheln	1.30	0	Manningtree, near, Essex	1 Nov. 2012	2012.0280
A.142	Eadwig (955–59), Two-Line type, HT1 NE, North 724	York	Hereger	wnr	90	Spofforth, N. Yorks.	21 Jan. 2012	2012.0063
A.143	Edgar (957/9–75), Reform Portrait type, North 752	Canterbury	Wine	wn	0	Sawbridge- worth, Herts	Sept. 2012	2012.0227
A.144	Edward the Martyr (975–78), North 763	uncertain	uncertain	0.37 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)		Rochester, near, Medway	by 2012	2012.0235
A.145	Æthelred II (978–1016), First Hand type, North 766	Canterbury	Boia/Boga	0.93	270	Suffield, Norfolk	May/June 2012	2012.0189
A.146	Æthelred II, Crux type, North 770	Exeter	Ælfstan	wnr	270	East Anton, Hants	2012	2012.0274
A.147	Æthelred II, Crux type, North 770	Hertford	Boga	1.2		Cambridge, near, Cambs	by 2012	2012.0294
A.148	Æthelred II, Crux type, North 770	Norwich	Sweartlinc	wnr	270	March, near, Cambs	2009	2012.0051
A.149	Æthelred II, Crux type, North 770	uncertain	uncertain	0.37 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	180	Lincoln, Lincs	by 2012	2012.0165
A.150	Æthelred II, Long Cross type, North 774	Gloucester	Wihtsige	wnr		Friday Bridge, Cambs	by 2012	2012.0016
A.151	Æthelred II, Long Cross type, North 774	Huntingdon	Osgut	wnr		Halstead, near, Essex	2011	2012.0006
A.152	Æthelred II, Long Cross type, North 774	London	Wulfstan	wnr		Peterborough, near	2011	2012.0087
A.153	Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, North 777	Bedford	Osgar	1.2		London (Thames)	2012	2012.0186
A.154	Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, North 777	Hereford	Leofmær	wnr		London (Thames)	1 Nov. 2012	2012.0283
A.155	Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, North 777	London	Eadsige	wnr		Lakenheath, near, Suffolk	2010	2012.0086
A.156	Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, North 777	Warminster	Godwine	1.32		London (Thames)	23 Mar. 2012	2012.0132
A.157	Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, North 777	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Langar, Notts.	15 Oct. 2012	2012.0258
A.158	Cnut (1016–35), Quatrefoil type, North 781	Colchester	Brunman	1.01		Cambridgeshire	by 2012	2012.0288
A.159	Cnut, Quatrefoil type, North 781	Huntingdon	Æthelstan	1.22		Cambridgeshire	2010	2012.0304
A.160	Cnut, Quatrefoil type, North 781	Lincoln	Æthelnoth	wnr		Horncastle, near, Lincs	2011	2012.0052
A.161	Cnut, Quatrefoil type, North 781	Malmesbury	Brihstan	0.49	250	Berwick Bassett, Wilts.	2 Oct. 2012	2012.0251
A.162	Cnut, Pointed Helmet type, North 787	Dover	Leofwine	1.20		March, near, Cambs	by 2012	2012.0074
A.163	Cnut, Pointed Helmet type, North 787	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Chichester, near, W. Sussex	Oct. 2012	2012.0275
A.164	Cnut, Short Cross type, North 790	Norwich	Leofwine	wnr		Wallingford, Oxon	9 Dec. 2012	2012.0307
A.165	Cnut, Short Cross type, North 790	Norwich	Mana	1.13		Burwell, Cambs	by 2011	2012.0245
A.166	Cnut, Short Cross type, North 790	Stamford	Fergrim	wnr		Wisbech, Cambs	2009	2012.0053

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.167	Cnut, Short Cross type, North 790	York	uncertain	wnr	270	Spofforth, N. Yorks.	13 Oct. 2010	2012.0060
A.168	Cnut, Short Cross type, North 790	uncertain	uncertain	0.16 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	270	Lincolnshire	by 2012	2012.0276
A.169	Harold I (1035–40), Jewel Cross type, North 802	London	Godwine Stewer	wnr	270	Hitchin Priory, Herts	June 2012	2012.0183
A.170	Harthacnut (1035–7, 1040–2), Jewel Cross type, North 809	uncertain	uncertain	0.31 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	0	Lincolnshire	10 Mar. 2012	2012.0104
A.171	Harthacnut, Jewel Cross type, North 809	Bruton	Godric	0.94	90	Norfolk	Sept. 2012	2012.0308
A.172	Harthacnut, Arm and Sceptre type in the name of ‘Cnut’, North 799	Stamford	Godric	1.04		Whittlesford, Cambs	1 Mar. 2012	2012.0088
A.173	Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Pax type, North 813	uncertain	uncertain	0.25 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	270	East Dean, near, E. Sussex	by 2012	2012.0182
A.174	Edward the Confessor, Trefoil Quadrilateral type, North 817	Colchester	Leofward	1.0		Thetford area, Norfolk	Oct. 2012	2012.0297
A.175	Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, North 818	Canterbury	Lefstan	wnr	270	Petham, Kent	2012	2012.0254
A.176	Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, North 818	London	Wulfwine	wnr		Lakenheath, near, Suffolk	by 2010	2012.0085
A.177	Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, North 818	uncertain	Lifinc	0.8		Littleton, Hants	Mar. 2012	2012.0160
A.178	Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, heavy issue, North 823	London	Spraclinc	0.72 (frag.)	270	Mersea Island, Essex	4 Mar. 2012	2012.0095
A.179	Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, heavy issue, North 823	Norwich	Thurfurth	0.8 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	20	Glemsford, Suffolk	Sept. 2012	2012.0229
A.180	Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, heavy issue, North 823	uncertain	uncertain	0.40 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	0	Tacolneston, Norfolk	Sept. 2011	2012.0082
A.181	Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, North 825	Canterbury	Goldwine	wnr	0	Norfolk	2012	2012.0262
A.182	Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, North 825	Norwich	Thurstan	wnr		Thetford, Norfolk	2011	2012.0027
A.183	Edward the Confessor, Sovereign/Eagles type, North 827	Stamford	Godwine	wnr		Barham, Kent	26 Aug. 2012	2012.0218
A.184	Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, North 828	London	Wulfgar	wnr		March, near, Cambs	2008	2012.0054
A.185	Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, North 828	Wilton	Thurcil	1.20		Sedgeford, Norfolk	Mar. 2012	2012.0152
A.186	Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, North 828	Winchcombe	Godwine	wnr	0	Winchcombe, near, Glos	c. 1992–94	2012.0090
A.187	Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, North 828	Winchester	Ælfwine	wnr		Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	2012	2012.0028

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.188	Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, North 828	York	Arngrimr	wnr		Cambridge, near, Cambs	2010	2012.0050
A.189	Edward the Confessor, Bust Facing type, North 830	Cambridge	Godwine	0.47		Leadon Roding, Essex	21 Aug. 2012	2012.0208
A.190	Edward the Confessor, Bust Facing type, North 830	Malmesbury	Brihtwi	0.99	90	Hinton Ampner, Hants.	20 May 2012	2012.0168
A.191	Edward the Confessor, Bust Facing type, North 830	Sudbury	Folcwin	1.1		Glemsford, Suffolk	Sept. 2012	2012.0228
A.192	Edward the Confessor, Pyramids type, North 831	Huntingdon?	Wilgrip?	wnr		Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk	2011	2012.0026
A.193	Harold II (1066), Pax type, North 837	Norwich	Godwine	wnr		Shropham, Norfolk	Sept. 2012	2012.0261

Post-Conquest English and medieval Scottish

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.194	William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 839	Leicester	Æthelric	0.97		Elkesley, near, Notts	20 Feb. 2011	2012.0178
A.195	William I, Profile/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 839	London	uncertain	(½ <i>d.</i>)	90	Lincolnshire	c.2003	2012.0008
A.196	William I, Bonnet type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 842	Huntingdon	Godwine	wnr	90	Irchester, Northants	2012	2012.0320
A.197	William I, Bonnet type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 842	Winchester	Lifinc	1.2		Wilton, Wilts.	2012	2012.0224
A.198	William I, Bonnet type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 842	Worcester	Wicinc	1.25		Withern, Lincs	6 Aug. 2012	2012.0203
A.199	William I, Canopy type, <i>BMC</i> iii, North 843	Leicester?	Frithekest	1.30	90	Market Rasen, near, Lincs	by 2010	2012.0019
A.200	William I, Canopy type, <i>BMC</i> iii, North 843	Oxford	Godwine	1.11		Oxford, near, Oxon	2012	2012.0233
A.201	William I, Canopy type, <i>BMC</i> iii, North 843	Wallingford	Brihtmær	1.26		Winchester, near, Hants	by 2012	2012.0072
A.202	William I, Two Sceptres type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 844	Canterbury	Wulfric	wnr		Newchurch, Kent	Jan. 2012	2012.0009
A.203	William I, Two Sceptres type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 844	Chichester	Brunman	wnr		Framlingham, near, Suffolk	2011	2012.0012
A.204	William I, Two Sceptres type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 844	London	Eadwine	wnr		Framlingham, Suffolk	16 Nov. 2011	2012.0023
A.205	William I, Two Sceptres type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 844	London	Wulfgar	0.50 (½ <i>d.</i>)	90	Bradenham, Norfolk	2 May 2012	2012.0197
A.206	William I, Two Sceptres type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 844	York	Arthulf	wnr		Glington, Peterborough	by 2010	2012.0018

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.207	William I, Two Stars type, <i>BMC</i> v, North 845	Lincoln	Sigewerth	wnr	0	Tacolneston, Norfolk	Sept. 2012	2012.0259
A.208	William I, Two Stars type, <i>BMC</i> v, North 845	Norwich	Eadword	0.8		Isleham, Cambs	by 2011	2012.0017
A.209	William I, Sword type, <i>BMC</i> vi, North 846	Oxford	Brihtred	wnr		Buckingham, near, Bucks	10 Nov. 2012	2012.0289
A.210	William I, Sword type, <i>BMC</i> vi, North 846	Wallingford	Swart-brand	1.25	0	Sutton, Kent	2010	2012.0149
A.211	William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, <i>BMC</i> vii, North 847	Lincoln	Ulf	1.34		Fishtoft, Lincs	2011	2012.0163
A.212	William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, <i>BMC</i> vii, North 847	Norwich	Godwine	wnr		Norwich, near, Norfolk	2012	2012.0301
A.213	William II (1087–1100), Paxs type, William I <i>BMC</i> viii, North 848–50	Cambridge	[Jric	0.66	270	Grimston, Norfolk	Nov./Dec. 2011	2012.0004
A.214	William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 852	Chester	Ælfwine	1.10		Lincolnshire	26 Feb. 2012	2012.0080
A.215	William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 852	Maldon	Wulfwine	wnr	90	Burmarsh, Kent	by 2012	2012.0159
A.216	William II, Cross Voided type, <i>BMC</i> iii, North 853	Thetford	Burhard	wnr		Little Sampford, Essex	5 Aug. 2012	2012.0201
A.217	William II, Cross Fleury and Piles type, <i>BMC</i> v, North 856	London	Wulfwine	wnr		Buckingham, near, Bucks	by 2012	2012.0252
A.218	Henry I (1100–35), Profile/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 858	Thetford	Godric	wnr		Thaxted, Essex	13 Oct. 2012	2012.0255
A.219	Henry I, Profile/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 858	Thetford	uncertain	0.29 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	45	Oxborough, near, Oxon	Nov./Dec. 2011	2012.0003
A.220	Henry I, Pax type, <i>BMC</i> iii, North 859	Huntingdon	Ælfwine	wnr		Bythorn, Cambs	by 2009	2012.0021
A.221	Henry I, Annulets and Piles type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 860	Thetford	Turstan	1.35		North Lopham, Norfolk	by 2012	2012.0172
A.222	Henry I, Pointing Bust and Stars type, <i>BMC</i> vi, North 862	Southwark	Lefwine	1.2		Beverley, near, E. Yorks.	by 2010	2012.0020
A.223	Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> x, North 866	Canterbury	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Watlington, Oxon	23 Oct. 2012	2012.0273
A.224	Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> x, North 866	Oxford	Tovi	0.92	0	Aynho, near, Northants	2012	2012.0010
A.225	Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> x, North 866	Wilton	Ailward	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Coventry, near, W. Midlands	May 2012	2012.0161

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.226	Henry I, Profile/Cross and Annulets type, <i>BMC</i> xii, North 868	Winchester	Sawulf			Easterton, Wilts.	2012	2012.0200
A.227	Henry I, Star in Lozenge Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xiii, North 869	Leicester	Waldher	0.5 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Lincoln, near, Lincs	by 2009	2012.0022
A.228	Henry I, Pellets in Quatrefoil type, <i>BMC</i> xiv, North 870	uncertain	Osbern	0.31 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	20	Essex	by 2012	2012.0176
A.229	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	Bury St Edmunds	Gilbert	wnr	0	Essex	July 2012	2012.0206
A.230	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	Canterbury	Rodbert	wnr	270	Maisemore, Glos	c.2004	2012.0091
A.231	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	Gloucester	Wiberd	wnr		Huntingdon, near, Cambs	2012	2012.0108
A.232	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	Hereford	uncertain	0.62	90	Winwick, Cambs	2011	2012.0133
A.233	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	London	Ædgar	1.35		Buckingham, near, Bucks	2012	2012.0290
A.234	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	London	Rogerus	1.4	260	Wragby, near, Lincs	2011	2012.0077
A.235	Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, <i>BMC</i> xv, North 871	uncertain	uncertain	wnr	330	Suffolk	Jan. 2012	2012.0011
A.236	Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	Bury St Edmunds	Gilbert	1.01		West Stow, Suffolk	Dec. 2012	2012.0310
A.237	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	Hereford	Sibern	wnr		Broadway, Worcs	26 Feb. 2012	2012.0079
A.238	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	London	Estmund	wnr		Winchcombe, near, Glos	c.2006	2012.0092
A.239	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	London	Estmund	wnr		Higham, near, Kent	25 Mar. 2012	2012.0125
A.240	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	Southwark	Ælfwine	1.04	0	Royston, near, productive site, Herts	2011	2012.0071
A.241	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	Thetford	Gefrei	1.17		Hemingford Abbots, Cambs	5 Aug. 2012	2012.0202
A.242	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 873	Warwick	Everard	wnr		Winchcombe, near, Glos	2010	2012.0093
A.243	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 874	Ipswich	Edgar	wnr		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	2 Dec. 2012	2012.0305
A.244	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 874	Rye	Raulf	wnr		Chart Sutton, Kent	11 Nov. 2012	2012.0291
A.245	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, North 874	uncertain	uncertain	0.59 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	240	Fakenham, near, Norfolk	2012	2012.0282

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.246	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, rosette by sceptre, North 886	Cricklade?	uncertain	1.10		Cricklade, near, Wilts.	2012	2012.0084
A.247	Stephen, Cross Moline or Watford type, <i>BMC</i> i, roundel in centre of rev., North 895	Bury St Edmunds	Gilebert	0.56 (frag.)	270	West Stow, Suffolk	Dec. 2012	2012.0312
A.248	Stephen, Cross Voided and Mullets type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 878	London	Terri D	0.37 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	270	York, near	by 2012	2012.0156
A.249	Stephen, Cross Voided and Mullets type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 878	Thetford	Hacun	wnr	0	Kent	c.1992	2012.0062
A.250	Stephen, Cross Voided and Mullets type, <i>BMC</i> ii, North 878	uncertain	Rodbert	wnr		Framlingham, Suffolk	2012	2012.0306
A.251	Stephen, Awbridge type, <i>BMC</i> vii, North 881	Hedon	Gerard	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	240	Morton-on-Swale, N. Yorks.	2011	2012.0013
A.252	Stephen, Awbridge type, <i>BMC</i> vii, bust three-quarters right, North 881 var.	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	60	Salton, N. Yorks.	by 2012	2012.0061
A.253	Stephen, Lozenge Fleury and Annulets type, <i>BMC</i> iv, North 897	Lincoln?	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Horncastle, near, Lincs	2012	2012.0076
A.254	Stephen, <i>BMC</i> i var., ANT type, North 905	Southampton	Sanson	wnr	0	Swindon, near	Oct. 2010	2012.0014
A.255	Stephen, <i>BMC</i> i var., ANT type, North 905	Southampton	Sanson	1.0		Church Norton, W. Sussex	2011	2012.0223
A.256	Stephen, Flag type, North 919	York	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	120	Market Rasen, near, Lincs	9 Sept. 2012	2012.0230
A.257	Eustace Fitzjohn, North 929	uncertain	uncertain	wnr (frag.)		Malton, near, N. Yorks.	by 2011	2012.0024
A.258	Matilda, type A, North 936	uncertain	uncertain	1.09		Gloucester, near, Glos	early 1990s	2012.0136
A.259	Stephen, Scottish border issue, <i>BMC</i> i var. with long voided cross, North 908	Newcastle	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Kinnesswood, near, Perth and Kinross	7 Apr. 2012	2012.0139
A.260	David I of Scotland (1124–53), type as Henry I <i>BMC</i> xv, North 910	Carlisle	Erebald	1.37		Harrogate, near, N. Yorks.	2008	2012.0162
A.261	David I of Scotland, type as Henry I <i>BMC</i> xv, North 910	Carlisle	Erebald	1.46	270	Lincolnshire	26 Aug. 2012	2012.0292
A.262	David I of Scotland, Stewart type III	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		County Durham	20 May 2012	2012.0170
A.263	Henry II (1154–89), Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class A, North 952	London	uncertain	wnr		Brough, Notts	May 2011	2012.0193

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.264	Henry II, Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class C2, North 957	Newcastle	Willelm	wnr		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	Dec. 2011	2012.0015
A.265	Henry II, Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class C2, North 957	uncertain	Ricard	wnr		Kirby Bellars, Leics	4 Aug. 2007	2012.0141
A.266	Henry II, Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class C3, North 958	Colchester	Ælfwine	1.37		Dunblane, near, Stirlingshire	Oct. 2010	2012.0145
A.267	Henry II, Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class D1, North 958/1	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	0	Lolworth, near, Cambs	Jan. 2012	2012.0127
A.268	Henry II, Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class D2, North 958/2	Chester	Willelm	1.36		Marshchapel, near, Lincs	June 2012	2012.0240
A.269	Henry II, Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby), class F1, North 961/1	Bury St Edmunds	Rawul	1.31		High Wycombe, near, Bucks	Apr. 2012	2012.0158

PLATE 6





PLATE 8



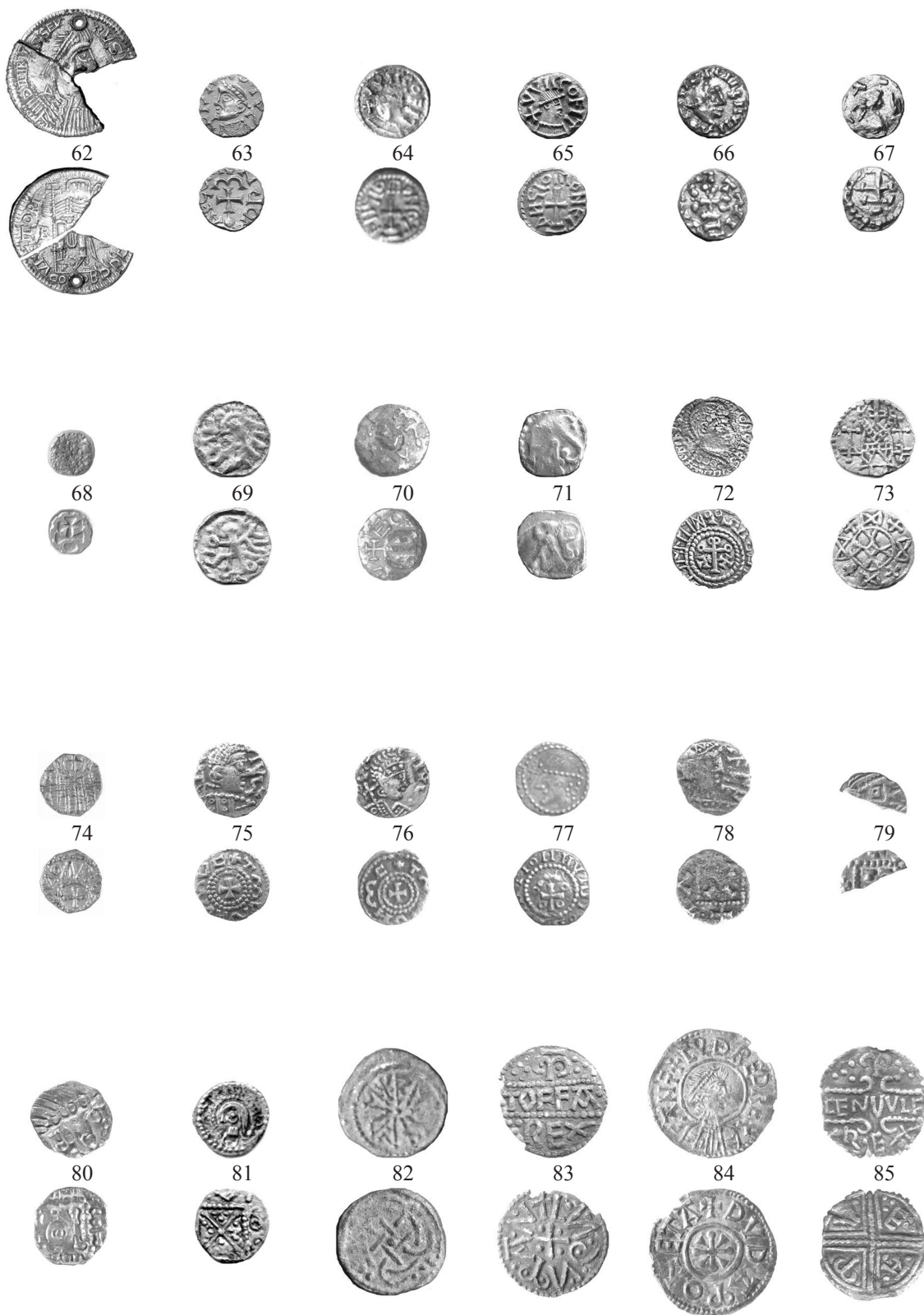
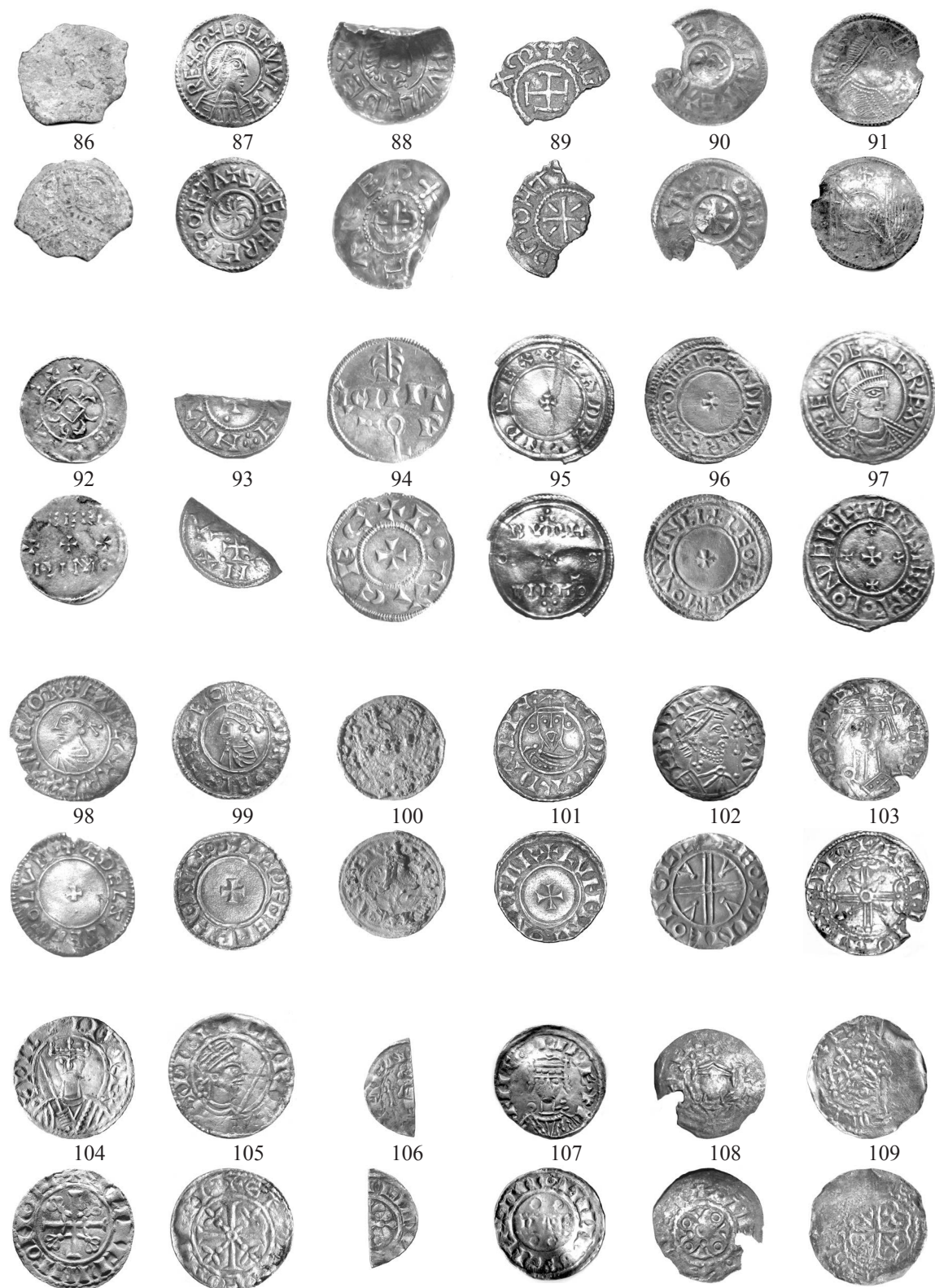
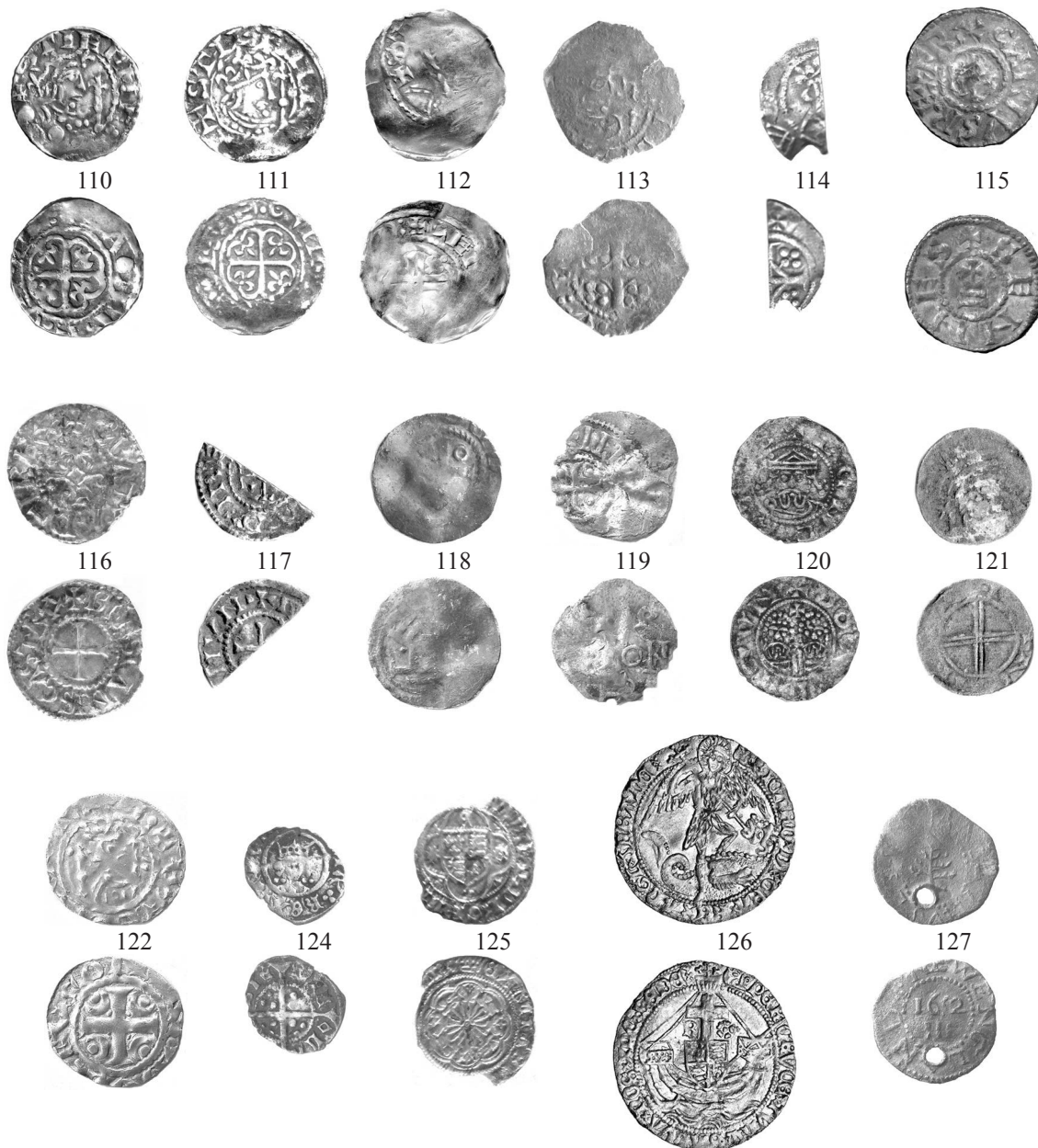


PLATE 10





REVIEWS

Philip Grierson, Irish Bulls and Numismatics, edited by Lucia Travaini (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2011), 120 pp., illus.

THIS slim but pleasing volume is offered as an affectionate tribute to the memory of Philip Grierson by the Italian scholar Lucia Travaini, friend, disciple, and colleague, and joint author with him of the excellent volume in the *Medieval European Coinage* series devoted to the issues of South Italy, Sicily and Sardinia. Grierson was on any view the most eminent numismatic scholar of the second half of the twentieth century, and his legacy to our subject is such that publications such as the present one, enlightening both about his contributions to knowledge and about the factors that led to them, have a very special value.

Of the texts that Prof. Travaini has assembled, *Irish Bulls*, a youthful jeu d'esprit by Grierson (here reprinted in facsimile from a pre-Second World War printing by the Rampant Lions Press), is slight in content, but it testifies to Grierson's enduring sense of humour, and it is the only item in his very extensive published output which directly or indirectly reflects the fact that he was of Southern Irish Protestant stock. It is followed in the volume by a lengthy interview given by Grierson in 1978 to *The Caian*, his Cambridge college's annual in-house publication, which provides much essential information about his educational background, his academic career, and his diverse scholarly and personal interests. Its inclusion here will be particularly useful for scholars of the future, who may find back issues of *The Caian* singularly difficult to locate, and Prof. Travaini deserves our warmest congratulations for this.

The numismatic community will also be much indebted to Prof. Travaini both for her brief memoir of Grierson with which the volume begins and for her more thoughtful essay, later in the volume, 'Philip Grierson: History and Coins. Monetary economy, Russian beards and the origin of money', reprinted here from the Italian periodical *Rivista di Storia Economica*. In both places her expressions of opinion on Grierson's scholarly achievement and personal attitudes seem in general to be very well-founded, and her measured explanation of Grierson's early flirtation with Marxism is as fairly put as is the passage and accompanying footnote in which she acknowledges Grierson's failure in the early 1960s to recognise the abilities of Michael Metcalf.

On one issue only, but one that is of some salience for readers of this *Journal*, is the present reviewer not quite of the same mind as Prof. Travaini. As she very properly points out, Grierson's ground-breaking explanations for the content of the two celebrated hoards of seventh-century gold tremisses at Sutton Hoo and Crondall have recently attracted serious criticism in the light of the greatly increased evidence that is now available for the existence of an active monetary economy at that period, and the need for a fresh interpretation of both

hoards, along lines suggested by Dr Gareth Williams,¹ is one that she endorses in her *Rivista* article (the relevant paragraphs are on pp. 87–9 of the present volume). So far as the Crondall hoard is concerned, that causes this reviewer no undue problem, for, even if one puts on one side any doubts as to whether the whole of the hoard was recovered, Dr Williams is certainly correct to point out both that Grierson's interpretation of the hoard as an intended wergild payment of 100 shillings fails to take account of the additional presence in the hoard of two pieces of Anglo-Saxon jewellery, and that Grierson's argument also relies on a clearly over-ingenious argument by which he seeks to explain that although 101 coins were reported as being found, only 100 of them would have constituted the intended payment.

The position as regards Sutton Hoo is rather different, for, as Dr Williams himself has remarked, 'the correspondence between the number of coins (including blanks) and the number of oars [on the Sutton Hoo boat] is certainly a striking coincidence',² and Grierson's contention that the number of coins and coin blanks found is related to the number of oarsmen is one that is hard to dismiss out of hand, whether or not there is substance to his further contention that the two gold ingots contained in the same purse represented 'an unusually splendid form of Charon's obol' intended for the boat's steersman.

One final very small point to draw attention to is that in his interview for *The Caian* Grierson is reported as remarking (at the foot of p. 73 in this volume) that he once walked the whole fifty miles from London to Cambridge on a single night in November 1932 or November 1933, 'having gone to play in London'. It would seem to this reviewer likely that the correct reading should be 'having gone to a play in London', which would not be a wholly uninteresting statement, since it would be the only evidence in this volume for Grierson taking an interest in the theatre (as distinct from the cinema), just as a reference to Verdi's *Requiem* (on p. 63) is the only evidence here for his keen interest in music.

The book has a bilingual English and Italian text, so presents no difficulties for an English-speaking readership, and it is an excellent buy for its published price of 18 euros.

HUGH PAGAN

REFERENCE

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¹ Williams 2006, 173–81.

² Williams 2006, 178.

The Cuerdale Hoard and Related Viking-Age Silver and Gold from Britain and Ireland in the British Museum, edited by James Graham-Campbell, BM Research Publication 185 (London: British Museum Press, 2011), xii + 387 pp., 83 plates.

THE Cuerdale hoard is justly famed as the biggest single tranche of Viking-Age silver ever found in the British Isles, and is among the largest Viking hoards *tout court*. It contained over 40 kg of silver, comprising about 1,200 objects and 7,500 coins; the latter accounted for around a quarter of the hoard's total content by weight. Presentation of a confident estimate of the hoard's make-up is one of the primary achievements of Professor Graham-Campbell and the other contributors to this volume. It constitutes the most authoritative treatment published to date of the Cuerdale hoard, for the authors have trawled not only the extensive published records, but also unpublished archival material preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. Together they present a formidably detailed survey of the discovery and content of the hoard, and of certain elements of its wider context. This is no mean feat. Found on land owned by Richard Assheton in the Duchy of Lancaster on 15 May 1840, the hoard has, because of its size, historical importance and find-spot, been well recorded since virtually the day of its discovery;¹ the contrast with so many early-nineteenth-century hoards, dispersed leaving little trace, is striking. Most of the find was sent to the British Museum, where it was examined and published in (for the time) exemplary fashion by Edward Hawkins,² though some of the coins and metalwork were retained by Assheton, and other small parcels became detached at an early stage. More problematically, the Duchy of Lancaster chose to distribute the bulk of the find among interested public institutions and private individuals across Europe. Lists of recipients were kept (and are reproduced as an appendix in this volume), but nonetheless pursuing the fate of Cuerdale material remains deeply complex. For this reason it is extremely gratifying that most of the relevant primary material as well as interpretation of it has now been published in one place: quotations, images, lists and other details are offered up in impressive bulk. The information gathered in this volume permits more confident reconstruction of the find than ever before, and it will form an essential basis for any future work on Cuerdale and its context.

As befits the largely non-numismatic content of the hoard, it is on metalwork that the spotlight shines most brightly. The volume is fundamentally a catalogue of Viking-Age metalwork in the British Museum, the majority of which derives from Cuerdale. Catalogues and plates of metalwork occupy half the volume, and five of the nine chapters of discussion deal with various aspects and categories of the objects. This material is intended to complement David Wilson's classic catalogue of late Anglo-Saxon metalwork in the British Museum, which did not include objects classed as part of the Viking or Irish tradition even when found or quite

probably made in the British Isles.³ It is with these that the present volume is primarily concerned. It covers everything from rough ingots of various forms through to brooches and rings of great accomplishment and beauty. Inevitably there is uncertainty in the classification of certain pieces, and one hopes at some stage for a wide-ranging treatment of the metalwork of the ninth to eleventh centuries, comparing developments across northern Europe. Yet there is a great deal to chew over in the meantime. The authors discuss in depth matters of attribution, use, economic context and manufacture, as well as secondary treatment. It should also be stressed that although Cuerdale is by far the biggest single source of the British Museum's relevant holdings, fifteen other hoards and many single-finds are represented as well. These offer a broad range of dates and geographical origins, and include gold as well as silver. Even if the focus necessarily remains on Cuerdale, these other finds (and references to still more outside the British Museum) serve to flesh out the broader setting. What one finds is not just a study of one – albeit very large – hoard, but a survey of metalworking practice between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

The relevance of this volume for numismatists is not to be underestimated because of its emphasis on metalwork. Coins and other objects circulated side by side in the Danelaw and other parts of the British Isles: in the context of a 'dual' or 'bullion economy' such as this, there was little meaningful separation between different categories of silver. There is also a long and detailed chapter by Gareth Williams and Marion Archibald dealing with the coins from Cuerdale (pp. 39–71). The quantity of coins involved precludes inclusion of a detailed catalogue. Instead, one of the appendices is dedicated to a summary listing of the British Museum's Cuerdale holdings, while in the main text of the numismatic chapter Williams devotes much of his effort to establishing the precise contents and date of the hoard, which leads him into a section of up-to-date commentary on each of its major segments (Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Viking, Carolingian, Islamic and others). After careful consideration, he concludes that the hoard is most likely to have been concealed in the period c.905–10, and wisely declines from pinning it down to any specific year. He notes that the diverse makeup of the numismatic portion of the hoard suggests that it was drawn together from several distinct parcels, assembled in most cases just a little before the hoard was concealed. Williams's discussion also extends to the hoard's place within the complex monetary economy of northern England in the early tenth century. His important and well-informed treatment of all aspects of Cuerdale and its background (including several recent hoards) is sure to become a major prop of future scholarship on the subject.

In a long sub-section of the same chapter Marion Archibald returns to a subject she has considered several times in the past: that of pecking, nicking, bending and other forms of secondary treatment among the Cuerdale coins. Her work here is particularly detailed, and results in a number of significant conclusions. Archibald demonstrates that among recent coin-issues, Viking pennies generally show more evidence of peck-

¹ The first published notice appeared in *The Preston Pilot* on 16 May 1840, the day after the hoard was discovered.

² Hawkins 1843 and 1847.

³ Wilson 1964.

ing than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts; indeed, within English territory pecking and bending were not generally practiced. She also addresses the complexities of how secondary treatment came about: points which develop from this include that not every coin would be pecked in every transaction; that the number of pecks on a coin or (as discussed elsewhere in the volume by Graham-Campbell) object is not necessarily commensurate with the number of times it changed hands; and that coins were more likely to have been pecked if they were old or unfamiliar. Checking a coin's purity was thus probably as much a social and symbolic exercise as an economically motivated verification. That said, there had to be something worth testing, and coins of better silver tended to attract more test-marks in general. The often badly debased *Lunettes* pennies minted before c.875 were therefore not usually tested, and the custom of checking metallic quality seems first to have taken hold among Viking users of the higher-quality *Cross-and-Lozenge* issue (c.875–80). The earliest hoards to show extensive pecking and bending come from the last decade or so of the ninth century (though closely datable Viking finds from the period immediately before this are scarce). In other words, pecking, bending and similar practices had more than a decade of widespread use behind them in Viking territory at the time the Cuerdale hoard was put together.

This book is crucial for any student or scholar with a serious interest in Viking-Age coinage, metalwork or trade in general. It assembles important research materials and contains cutting-edge research, as well as an invaluable catalogue of precious metal objects. The British Museum Press has served its authors well in producing a volume of high quality, with illustrations (some in colour) impressive in their quality as well as quantity. Numismatics as such may only be covered by a portion of the material in this book, but as a demonstration of how specialists in allied disciplines can collaborate to shed light on all aspects of a famous hoard and related categories of archaeological material, this publication excels.

RORY NAISMITH

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Mints and Money in Medieval England, by Martin Allen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), xvii + 576 pp., illus; *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973–1489*, by J.L. Bolton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), xv + 317 pp.

THESE two recently published works on the coinage of England, and its role in society and economy during the

period from Edgar's reform to the Tudors, are complementary in that while Allen provides comprehensive information on the coinage, Bolton demonstrates why that information is historically important. Accordingly, they are here reviewed together.

Allen's work will be universally welcomed by both numismatists and historians. It is a mine of detailed information, rationally organized to set out the wood as well as the trees of English monetary history in this period. While Challis' *New History of the Royal Mint* covered the whole story from earliest times to the present day, Allen's dates run from 973 to 1544, allowing him to provide more detailed coverage, and to move beyond mint history to include the study of the currency. Readers of this *Journal* will be familiar with many of the topics which have interested Allen – the hoards, the mint production figures, the size of the currency, the ecclesiastical mints, the exchanges – but he brings new information and analysis taking this work beyond his earlier articles. Bringing this all together, and updating it, makes this book the essential handbook of English medieval numismatics and monetary history. The bibliography alone will make this a constant point of reference. Readers should note, however, that this is not a book about the classification and enumeration of coin types, for which we should turn instead to Lord Stewartby's masterly treatment, *English Coins 1180–1551* (London: Spink, 2009). Nor does Allen treat with the rich single finds material, where his own Fitzwilliam Museum, and the Portable Antiquities Scheme have made such an enormous contribution. In one sense, perhaps Allen feels that this evidence which grows daily is better served by websites which can be regularly updated, but the broad outlines of the picture revealed by the single finds is already emerging quite clearly, and his reflections on this data would have been well worth reading. Nevertheless, this book represents a huge achievement, presenting the state of the subject with painstaking accuracy and sound judgement. No one will now be able to write about medieval English coins and currency without first asking, 'What does Allen say?' It is a magnificent achievement.

Allen provides the key data which historians will need if they seek to understand the English currency, but he does not set out to explain to historians why they need to tackle this subject. That is why Bolton's book is so important. As an established historian and university teacher he is well placed to introduce the study of coins and currency to other academic historians and their students. In recent decades medieval economic historians have been increasingly conscious of the highly commercial nature of late medieval society, and this awareness necessarily brings with it a growing interest in medieval money. However, post-Conquest historians have long been reluctant to engage with coins, perhaps because they enjoy such rich manuscript sources that they hesitate to engage with an additional area of study. Now Bolton's work sets out very clearly the importance of the coinage for the study of medieval England, building it into his picture of an increasingly urbanized, and commercialized society with all the necessary legal and fiscal institutions which allow him to describe the England of the period 1158 to 1351 as fully

monetized. Some may argue that this is to understate the role of money in the eleventh century, when huge sums were raised in taxation and Domesday Book records much more widely spread money rents than is sometimes realised. To my mind the 'resounding No' which Bolton gives to the question 'Did a money economy exist in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England?' is a little too clear cut, since the line of development does not look to be simply chronological, but rather is characterized by bouts of significant monetary progress interspersed by set-backs and played out against a background of general scarcity. Nevertheless, Bolton's picture of an increasing use of coin, made possible by new silver mines and rising mint production sketches out a very plausible line of monetary development from Edgar's reform to the Black Death. He pays numismatics the enormous compliment of engaging fully with the evidence of the coins, hoards, recoinages and mint output figures. Sadly few historians have taken the trouble to do this, but this work will oblige others to follow his example. Bolton puts the question of medieval money right at the heart of the study of the medieval economy.

This is not to suggest that all the questions in the debate are now resolved. Bolton, like Allen, might have made greater use of the Portable Antiquities Scheme database of medieval single finds. His engagement with the Quantity Theory of Money does not really move beyond challenging a direct and proportional relationship between money and prices, though modern Quantity Theory is a good deal more sophisticated than that. Perhaps most contentiously, his understanding of the role of credit in the economy – where his outstanding work on the Borromei makes him an authority – does not really get to grips with the work of Nightingale – another authority on medieval credit. The key question here concerns how far the development of credit in the later middle ages could have liberated the economy from the effects of limited supplies of bullion. (Nightingale makes her case very effectively elsewhere in this volume.)

Yet together these two books move our subject on, and will undoubtedly provide a stimulus for further work. Historians will be unable to read Bolton without concluding that an understanding of the coinage is fundamental to the study of medieval economy, while Allen's book will provide them with the means to develop that understanding. The information presented by Allen sets out the current state of our knowledge with great clarity and precision. Only when he moves beyond the factual to estimate the size of the currency will there be any room for debate, though even in these contentious waters he operates with sound judgement and sureness of touch. Some of Bolton's conclusions will excite debate, but readers of the *BNJ* will derive much satisfaction from seeing money take its place in the historical mainstream.

N.J. MAYHEW

The Ipswich Mint c.973–c.1210. Volume II. Cnut the Great to the end of Edward the Confessor 1016–1066, by J.C. Sadler (Ipswich: the author, 2012), 232 pp., illus.

THIS second volume in Mr Sadler's intended series of three volumes on the Ipswich mint is in the same format as his first volume, published in 2010, and provides the reader with excellent photo illustrations of some 450 coins struck by Ipswich moneyers under the later Anglo-Saxon kings. Of these, 199 are of Cnut, 37 are of Harold I, 9 are of Harthacnut, 191 are of Edward the Confessor, and the balance are coins of Æthelred II of which Sadler has secured illustrations since the publication of the first volume. This is on any view a substantial body of material, and an added bonus is that because each coin is illustrated it is readily possible to check the accuracy of the readings given of its inscriptions and the correctness of the die-identifications made.

The comprehensiveness of the volume, always a key factor in publications of this nature, is also very praiseworthy. The writer of this review has over recent years been collecting data about coins of the first four types of Edward the Confessor, and is pleased to be able to report that Sadler has recorded the same number of coins that he has for the *PACX* and *Radiate/Small Cross* types, and more coins than he has for the *Trefoil Quadrilateral* and *Small Flan* types. For the latter two types the difference between our two figures is down to the fact that as a specialist in the coins of the Ipswich mint Sadler has become aware of coins in dealers' stock or coins in the possession of private collectors that would not normally have come to scholars' attention, and the volume as a whole benefits greatly from this kind of knowledge.

In this context, it is again a pleasure to see the care which Sadler has taken to record coins of the Ipswich mint from the huge hoard, predominantly of coins of Cnut, found in the 'Cambridge area' in the mid 1990s but not declared to the authorities at the time of its discovery. He tabulates its Ipswich content, so far as that is known to him, on p. 77, and his example in doing so is one that should be followed by researchers into the issues of other mints operating during the reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut. It is indeed lamentable that the fact that the hoard did not go through the treasure trove procedure has as yet deterred any museum-based numismatist from recording in print what can be discovered about the component elements of so important a hoard, and those who remember the late Prof. Michael Dolley will readily be able to visualise the enthusiasm with which he would have undertaken what to him would have been the deeply congenial task of putting in the public domain everything that could be sensibly said about the hoard and its discovery.

As Rory Naismith has observed in his review of Sadler's previous volume for this *Journal*, there are various respects in which Sadler's treatment of his subject is not as organized as it might have been, and the book would doubtless have benefited throughout from some element of external editorial involvement. Nonetheless Sadler's obvious enthusiasm both for the issues of the Ipswich mint and for the borough of Ipswich itself shines out of every page, and all of us should look forward to the next volume in his Ipswich series.

HUGH PAGAN

Angels and Ducats: Shakespeare's Money and Medals, by Barrie Cook (London: British Museum Press, 2012), 96 pp., illus.

SCHOLARS of English literature know very well that Shakespeare has a broad appeal, and are accustomed to the various forms of Shakespearean merchandise (ranging from tea-towels to books of middling seriousness) which fill museum gift-shops. Numismatists find no such general market among the museum-going public for paraphernalia of an equivalent kind, excluding the reproduction coins that continue to be popular items with children. The British Museum last year had the idea to show off some of their numismatic collections by yoking the idea of coinage with the name of Shakespeare, bound to appeal more widely. Now that the exhibition is over, the project has continued life in Barrie Cook's accompanying book – a book of middling seriousness. Nothing is further from my mind than the derogation of a book that brings considerable expertise to bear upon the noble task of capturing the interest of those who are neither specialists nor amateurs. It may well succeed in that design. But I am conscious for whom I am writing, and it is necessary to state, in fairness, that this is not a book that readers of the *BNJ* need seek out for their own perusal, and neither will it be of particular use to students of literature. For both constituencies there are a large number of articles and some monographs on the subject which are better laid out for the more experienced reader; Dr Cook has synthesized much of this research for a new audience. So this is a report on a missionary endeavour by an esteemed authority, and should be taken in that spirit.

The book means to show, not only what money looked like in Shakespeare's time, but how Shakespeare's treatment of monetary and numismatic themes contributed to the exploration of 'fundamental questions of authenticity and identity, legacy and morality'. A large number of quotations help him to demonstrate these themes and 'questions', though he typically uses only one or two passages to flesh out a point before moving on. This is as it should be; general reader and specialist alike would tire of exhaustive exemplification. As the author himself says, the book 'could easily be bigger; but, as a curator of coins, my professional career rests on the assumption that small things can still have an interest'.

As for the more basic problems of definition, there are interesting fragments of explanation; the reader discovers what a 'mill-sixpence' was, or an 'Edward shovel-board', and many of the English and foreign denominations commonly found in Shakespeare are described in more or less detail. Needless to say, readers of Shakespeare will find all of this information in the footnotes of the good modern annotated editions, so its purpose here is to be interesting rather than strictly useful. Nevertheless, the general reader of this book would surely have profited from a systematic enumeration and illustration of the English coins current in Shakespeare's day, and this is unfortunately missing.

One of the best sections is devoted to 'the costs of theatre', and conveniently summarizes a wealth of material which might otherwise take an effort to find. 'Money was needed everywhere in a theatre visit', as we

discover when the author leads us into and around the theatre, quoting the approximate prices of all the goods and services on offer. A table gives estimates of the 'cost of items in Shakespeare's time' – a pretty rough guide, but the sort of thing the reader will want to know; and we find out that 'a theatre visit cost no more than a snack and a magazine'.

Chapters 3 ('English names and distant places') and 4 ('Setting the foreign scene') discuss Shakespeare's use of English coin-names in plays set abroad and in the ancient world, and his references to foreign coins. These chapters are quite intriguing, as far as they go. How is it, for instance, that the 'doit', a Dutch coin, 'became the standard term he used for low-value coins in the ancient world', as Cook informs us? More scrutiny would be needed to find out. In these chapters, moreover, there are a few instances of interpretative insight. Remarking the reference to 'guilders' among the merchants in *The Comedy of Errors*, Cook observes that 'For a flicker of a moment, we are in the Amsterdam headquarters of the Dutch East India Company, not ancient Anatolia'. Or again, of the mention of the Portuguese 'crusado' coin in *Othello*, he notes: 'Since the relations of Europe and Africa provide crucial underpinning to *Othello*, it is tempting to see the African connection lying behind this unexpected coin. Yet, there is another dimension to the play, the war against the Turks' – and so the etymological sense of *crusado* becomes significant.

Generally, though, the literary-critical elements of the book are rather blunt: interesting quotations are left without sufficient comment; not enough is done with the material. But as the examples above demonstrate, there are moments of suggestiveness. Some members of academic 'English' departments might have something to say about the confident assertion that *Timon* is a partnership play, the work of Shakespeare and Thomas Middleton, authorship attributions between scenes coinciding with differing understandings of the worth of a 'talent' (Shakespeare, of course, being more correct); this is wobbly ground; but members of English departments are not the intended readership.

Angels and Ducats is a slim, glossy book full of attractive colour images. It looks like the companion book to an exhibition. It is not a catalogue, though; and those of us more familiar with the terrain might regret that more images of the display pieces were not included. One might also wish that coins had been reproduced in full scale. In any case, the book is led by argument, and the objects to which the text refers, including those illustrated, seem secondary to the author's drift, rather than its stimulus. If it is to be a book proper and not a catalogue, then this is the desired effect, and has been reasonably well achieved. Only on a couple of occasions does a sharp deviation towards a particular item seem forced – as when we turn for no apparent reason to Michael Mercator's medal for Drake's circumnavigation, and are sustained by references to various Shakespearean images of the world (none relating to medals, of course). The interest of the illustration makes up for it, but it does leave a taste of randomness in the discourse. In fact the whole first chapter, devoted to medals, is a little stilted, since it relies upon only a single reference (in *The Winter's*

Tale); but the contextualising information and (again) the gorgeous images carry it off.

Elsewhere one does have the sense that objects are leading the argument, but the transition is easier and the combination of illustration and Shakespearean quotation makes its own interest (as when we turn to consider the role of counters and jettons). In many parts, where we are not being given *information* but rather demonstration or interpretation, a simpler juxtaposition of quotation and image might have been more effective – which is as much as to say that the concept probably works better as an exhibition than as a book.

Qualities of the text aside, part of the difficulty with this book (and others of its kind) is in the distraction away from the reading experience caused by elements of design and format. In trying to make it look as attractive as possible – colourful, bursting with graphics and various typefaces, with wide margins and little text on the page – the design team have made it a hard book to *read*. This notwithstanding Dr Cook's readable, theme-driven text. I expect it is destined to be read piecemeal, with images and quotations (Shakespeare's lines are printed in big bold type) directing the eye. But I hope some readers will make their ways from cover to cover.

ALEX WONG

Northamptonshire & the Soke of Peterborough Tokens & Checks, by P.D.S. Waddell (Llanfyllin: Galata, 2012), 77 pp., illus.

SOME readers have taken the 'tokens & checks' in the title of this book for a subtitle, but those words are an essential part of a long title of a work which covers tokens from the seventeenth to twentieth century. Until 1889 the Soke of Peterborough was a part of Northamptonshire, so it is reasonably included with the rest of that county. A nice 1749 map of the area provides an appropriate frontispiece. Galata's illustrations are superb, but it is disappointing that they have produced a book which will not lie open on one's desk.

The chapter on seventeenth-century tokens seems comprehensive, except that the author omits William Risby in Corby 1658 as in need of further research (p. 9), but see now Norweb viii.9472.¹ The chapter is well illustrated but has some weaknesses: for example, Bristol was an authorized issuer of tokens twenty years earlier than c.1597, David Ramage was not a Royal Mint employee, and instead of relying on secondary authorities for Oxford the author could have quoted the £43 17s. received in tokens between Michaelmas 1651 and Michaelmas 1652.² The Barton Thorpe find (p. 7) is indeed of interest for containing both regal coins and tokens.

As regards devices on the seventeenth-century tokens, John Granger of Ashley's three 'awls' are clearly trees,

presumably ash trees. The author agrees that Edward Cooper of Northampton's device is not a rose but an artichoke. George Ecton's long-legged White Hind is lovely to behold. The alleged 'griffin' of the Feoffees of Oundle (pp. 6, 14), which would be a hybrid of an eagle and a lion, must instead be a dragon. It is difficult to understand the large 'tassels' on no. 157, since there are none in the Drapers' arms.

The book must have been completed too early for Chapter 2 to cite Dr Dykes's account of the only eighteenth-century token for the county, but both agree that the name 'George Jobson, banker' is false.³ In Chapter 3 on Unofficial Farthings, the suspicious rarity of the token of T. Harrison, Northampton (pp. 24–5) need not be described as still in doubt, for it was explained as Batty's misreading of T. HAMSON by Roy Hawkins,⁴ whose family connection with WAUKERZ BOOT FACTORY should make his description of crossed trumpets/Solomon's seal on its ticket more reliable than the author's (p. 29).

Chapter 4 on Refreshment Checks is thoughtful and well-researched. On p. 42 'WMC' might have been explained as Working Men's Club, as later in the volume. On p. 43 there are references to footnotes 11–13 which this reviewer cannot find. Chapter 5, in no fewer than twenty pages, publishes co-operative society and store checks in colour, which actually makes them look attractive; from Long Buckby two surviving dies are illustrated. Chapter 6 usefully presents Machine Tokens, including those made for Monarch Automatic Company, Northampton; those bearing F C in triangle, 'said to be a French manufacturer's mark', are attributable to Cartaux of Paris.⁵ Chapter 7 covers other items with monetary values.

So, a wide-ranging and well-illustrated survey of one Midland county's paranumismatica, which sets an example for other areas.

R.H. THOMPSON

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¹ Thompson and Dickinson 2011, no. 9472.

² Hobson and Salter 1933, 435–6; cf. Thompson 1994.

³ Dykes 2011.

⁴ Hawkins 1989, 445, 913.

⁵ Sealy *et al.* 1971–73, 180.

The Tokens, Checks, Metallic Tickets, Passes and Tallies of Wales. Volume 2. Two Hundred Years of Numismatic History, by Noel and Alan Cox (Cardiff: the authors, 2012), 177 pp., illus.

BOTH parts of the title are slightly inaccurate, but no matter – if it is Welsh, circular, metallic and has an inscription or legend on it, whether scratched or stamped, incuse or raised, the authors have done their best to include it if it was not recorded in their first volume. This second volume records 800 tokens, checks and passes discovered since the publication of their first work in 1994. Since that time the authors have diligently pursued any object that qualified for inclusion, and there can be scarcely a museum, public or private, library or archive of relevant literature in Wales that has escaped their attention. They have also visited many private collections and the number of those acknowledged is over thirty.

The authors are regular attendees at the annual Token Congress and it was at such a congress that they first revealed their research into the token of J.W. Ingram, grocer and tea dealer of Abergavenny, details of whom had eluded other researchers because Ingram does not appear in any directories. This led some people into speculating that the issuer of this token didn't exist and the tokens were therefore advertising samples made by J.W. Ingram, the Birmingham engraver of that name. The Cox twins, however, are intrepid researchers and visit all parts of Wales. They not only unearthed a printed invoice for the business, signed by Ingram's wife, but details of his birth and marriage, the birth of his children and his subsequent removal to Swansea, thus showing that old dogs can learn new tricks.

The book follows the pattern and style of the first volume, which was divided into three parts:

1. Tokens, checks, metallic tickets, passes and tallies.
2. Club and Institute checks.
3. Co-operative Society, dividend, payment and mutual-ity checks.

In the new volume, as in the old, each section is preceded (!) by an index and followed by a catalogue listing. The divisions are for convenience, as the first part is itself fifteen separate sections.

Each catalogue entry, although brief, contains most of what one needs to know: a description of obverse and reverse, followed by the necessary facts about size, shape, metal, thickness and edge. Each entry is followed by facts about the issuer extracted from directories, advertisements, or newspapers, etc. In some instances further details have been elicited by talking to people who used the more modern pieces listed.

Why are both parts of the title slightly inaccurate? The observant reader may notice that there is a commemorative medal for Victoria's 1897 jubilee included in the advertising tickets section, and the time frame of the book is now over a decade more than two centuries, but both are plusses, and anyway, the medal concerned might be regarded as a token of commemoration. It is an interesting medal, as the reverse inscription includes the word 'shellibiers', a word that is not in my copy of the OED. Otherwise, apart from a book referred to in the text (p. 59, *The First Dictionary of Paramumismatica*)

that is not included in the bibliography, the text is remarkably error free and would satisfy the mind and habits of a pernickety accountant.

The work, however, has three drawbacks. The first is the lack of a single, all-embracing *index rerum*, though those who use the work regularly could, I suppose, get used to having to refer to the three separate indexes in the body of the book; most things are in there, they just take a little finding. It could also do with more illustrations, but there are often problems when the object that needs illustrating is in a locked display case in a dark corner and in any case, the entries are usually more informative (and accurate) than those in Davis and Waters, for example. The third drawback is that the book still adheres to listing the tokens by county, when even Williamson had abandoned listing seventeenth-century tokens by county in 1891, preferring to organize them by town names in alphabetical order. It is even a moot point as to whether Monmouthshire is in Wales. Some former Welsh counties exist in name only.

Do not imagine that because this is Volume Two the contents are minor and secondary to those of Volume One. There are some stunning, rare and interesting pieces included. However, given that there are 800 new pieces, some of them are what the average dealer and collectors from other disciplines would regard as junk, but there is no denying that even these are of historical interest in spite of having no commercial value, and that in the case of the more modern pieces they might otherwise easily escape detection and thus be lost to posterity, leaving future collectors to wonder what they are, when they were issued and why they were used. A good example of this are the pieces issued by the North Wales Hospital in Denbigh, plain rectangular brass pieces stamped MH, which we are informed stands for Mental Hospital and that these pieces were used c. 1960–70 by patients at that hospital.

Exactly what is included? The book follows the pattern of the first volume, listing: advertising tickets, including those known as 'unofficial farthings'; barbers' checks (although no new checks have been recorded for this volume); bonus and dividend checks (including tea bonus checks); brewery checks; church, choir and temperance hall tokens and passes; colliery, mine and coking tickets; market traders' checks; military checks; miscellaneous tokens and checks; refreshment checks; telephone checks; tool and pay checks; trade union registration tallies; transport tokens and passes; and last, but by no means least, truck tickets.

The authors are to be congratulated on compiling not only this, but the previous work too, a few copies of which, I understand, are still available. Both should be in all numismatic libraries.

PAUL WITHERS

The Holey Dollars and Dumps of Prince Edward Island, by Christopher Faulkner (London: Spink, 2012), 382 pp. illus.

THIS is an excellent book that will be of great interest to students of early Canadian numismatics, counter-marked coins in general and social economic history.

Part I comprises an in-depth historical study of Prince Edward Island discussing the Island's currency situation and the local political intrigues leading up to the issue of the emergency coins that are the subject of this book, a bold action taken by the newly appointed Lieutenant Governor Charles Douglass Smith in September 1813. The quantity of dollars authorized for this issue, the people who did the work of punching the dump out of the dollar and how this operation was carried out all receive a comprehensive examination. Students of the series have long pondered the question of how to determine the official coins, issued by the Treasury, from the numerous contemporary counterfeits. The author explains in great detail why it is actually not possible with the knowledge at hand to make a definite determination in this matter. Coverage of the Island Merchants, undoubtedly the source for the majority of the contemporary counterfeits, along with survival rates for the dollars and dumps; the purchasing power of the Holey Dollar and Dump and the question of why the contemporary counterfeits circulated are made clear in great detail. There is discussion of other cut money on Prince Edward Island and the fascinating subject of 'movement and usage' of pierced dollars between Prince Edward Island and the West Indian colonies. Part I is rounded off with a section on modern forgeries and concoctions of varying descriptions produced and introduced into the numismatic market. An extensive bibliography of material from archival sources, newspapers, books, articles and auction catalogues finishes off this section.

Part II deals with the actual specimens in this rather rare series. There are only seventy-nine known examples of the Holey Dollar and twelve of the Dumps. Each of these coins has been given a name, which is very helpful in noting and following provenance details. Tables are provided listing the coins by name; date (for the dollars); host coin details; metrology of the dollars and dumps (weights, apertures or diameters, thicknesses and piercings); auction and fixed price sale references; earliest known appearances of the specific specimens; published illustrations and finally an inventory of all the known Holey Dollars and Dumps, divided into twelve groups. Each of these groups is discussed and full diagnostic details are carefully examined and accompanied by excellent enlarged photographs of the coins and blow-up images of the countermarks. The two final groups list miscellaneous and random counterstamps.

The four Appendices include Official Documents; Private Accounts; Recent Opinions and a Listing of Merchants, Artisans, Shopkeepers and Officeholders. There are four Indexes: Proper names in the Introduction; Dollars by Name; Dumps by name and Dollars by Date, followed by a List of Tables and a List of Figures used to illustrate the book.

This long needed book is the fruit of many years of historical research; correspondence with collectors and students and a painstaking first-hand analysis of nearly all the known specimens of this fascinating series. The importance of the Holey Dollar and Dump in Canadian numismatics cannot be overstated, and furthermore these coins fit into the era where similar economic circumstances required cut and countermarked local coinage adaptations in the West Indian colonies, Australia, parts of the United States and even West Africa. The

author has demonstrated how these 'adapted pierced dollars' moved between regions where similar coin mutilation action took place, which of course can be linked to shipping and trade routes. As is the case with all cut and countermarked coinages the original official action was implemented to solve a local problem. At a time when the denomination of a coin was linked to the intrinsic value of the metal it was difficult in many colonial environments to maintain the supply of coins for day-to-day transactions. The result was that credit and barter were required for even simple transactions; a system which was often cumbersome. Governor Smith's initiative to fabricate two coins from one, both with an enhanced value over the intrinsic value, was to act as an incentive to retain these coins in the local economy. While the logic for this type of official action was basically sound, typically the quantity of coins authorized was insufficient to meet the local needs properly. Thus the existence of contemporary counterfeits suggests recognition by individuals, operating unofficially, of the need to supplement the supply by introducing additional coins into the economy simply to make the marketplace work. Of course, as in the West Indies, personal profit was also certainly a motive for this action. Exposure of modern fakes is also highlighted and this is always useful to students of the series.

This is a valuable addition to a library, and it is certain that this book will be of great interest to collectors and students interested in any series of cut and countermarked coinage or the economic and currency considerations that had to be faced in many colonial areas, when access to proper coinage from the mother countries was limited or restricted.

K. V. ECKARDT

The Private Sketchbook of George T. Morgan: America's Silver Dollar Artist, by Karen M. Lee (Atlanta: Whitman Publishing, LLC, 2012), vi + 186 pp.

THE contributions made by British artists to American numismatic history have been generally overlooked. This is somewhat difficult to explain – especially given the fact that the coins designed by a couple of them are actually listed in numismatic publications under the names of the designers. Thus, we have dimes, quarters, and half dollars bearing nearly identical imagery, dubbed *Barber* dimes, etc. after their creator, Charles E. Barber. And we have one of the most famous, iconic American issues of all, the Morgan dollar, whose name pays tribute to the man who created it, another transplanted Briton, George T. Morgan.

But what do we know about these individuals, other than the coins whose designs they bear? Disappointingly little: all the average American numismatist knows about the Barbers is that there were actually two of them, William and Charles, father and son, and that they dominated what passed for artistry at the United States Mint for nearly half a century, from 1869 to 1917, during which time they produced surprisingly little work of lasting merit. And what about George T. Morgan? During the years when he *wasn't* designing his eponymous coin, what was he up to? Is there any way

we can get a better grasp of who he was, how he lived, and what he did?

We can: through the medium of a new book, *The Private Sketchbook of George T. Morgan*, Karen Lee has fleshed out the man and his story, rendering the most definitive portrait we are ever likely to have of Morgan and his career. But there is more: this book sheds valuable new light on the process of artistic creation and what it meant to be an artist in late nineteenth-century Britain and America.

The *Sketchbook's* journey into print is an interesting one. George T. Morgan acquired the blank-page, garden-variety artist's book from a Birmingham stationer a few years prior to coming to the United States. He used it carefully and sparingly over a period of nearly twenty years, filling its pages with all manner of drawings – including those of medals and coins that he wished to produce, either in the Old World or the New. The book eventually came into the possession of Stack's, then the pre-eminent American coin dealer. Stack's donated it to the Smithsonian in 1966. Securely housed in the museum's numismatic cabinet, it gathered dust for the next forty years, until it was unearthed by a prominent researcher named Jeff Garrett. Aware of the importance of what he'd discovered, Garrett advised museum staff of the event, and Curator Karen M. Lee wondered whether it might be possible to turn Morgan's *Sketchbook* into a numismatic publication. She made the attempt, and the result is this book, nothing short of a revelatory volume in American numismatics.

While Morgan's sketches form the heart of this work, numismatists will be grateful for several other, crucial elements that Lee chose to include. There is a preliminary chapter on Morgan's life and career ('A Life of Art and Labor'), that tells the artist's story more fully, and certainly better, than it has ever previously been told. The portrait of a genial, hardworking, gregarious family man emerges, one whose outlook and easygoing nature contrasted sharply with the petty jealousies that seem to have occupied the minds and careers of his two successive superiors, Chief Engravers William and Charles Barber. William disappeared from the scene in 1879, but Charles was appointed in his place, rendering Morgan's life and work difficult for the next four decades. Given the circumstances under which he worked, one wonders how Morgan was able to produce his famous silver dollar – or much else, for that matter. But produce he did, and successful work under pressure can sometimes be a mark of genius.

The second introductory chapter, called 'Sketches and Revelations', leads us to the main body of the work, a photographic reproduction of the *Sketchbook* itself; but 'Sketches and Revelations' will itself repay careful scrutiny: it affords glimpses into the mind of an artist, hinting at where he got his ideas and what he did with them. Above all, this reviewer appreciated the way in which this chapter underscored the *organic* nature of art, and of ideas, how they came to be pencil sketches on paper – and where they went from there.

As noted earlier, Morgan's sketches, embracing nearly eighty pages, form the heart of Lee's work; they would have been well worth publishing, just as they were, without additional material. But that additional material is crucial: it fleshes things out, makes major

contributions to an understanding of Morgan's *Sketchbook* itself. Similarly, three appendices conclude things in a satisfying way – among them, a catalogue of all of the artist's numismatic works created during his nearly fifty years at the United States Mint. Morgan's productions ran the gamut, from a series of pattern half dollars created within a few months of his arrival in America; to the silver dollar that still bears his name, minted from 1878 to 1904 and again in 1921; to some medals he created at the United States Mint and others struck privately; to a remarkable, sensitive portrait of a young Abraham Lincoln, gracing a commemorative coin struck in 1918, by which time Morgan was finally out from under the thumb of the Barbers and had become Chief Engraver in his own right. All in all, it was a remarkable output. But then, George T. Morgan was a remarkable man, and this is a remarkable book.

RICHARD G. DOTY†

Royal Commemorative Medals 1837–1977. Volume 8. Queen Elizabeth II: Coronation 1953 – Silver Jubilee 1977, by Andrew Whittlestone and Michael Ewing (Llanfyllin: Galata Print 2012), 108 pp.

THIS concluding volume in Whittlestone and Ewing's series on royal commemorative medals details the period from the accession of Queen Elizabeth II after the death of her father King George VI in 1952. It covers the years of medal production between her coronation in 1953 to her Silver Jubilee in 1977, this being the most recent period of the production of royal medals in significant numbers.

The volume begins with a preface from the authors stating that the format of this volume continues in the same style as the rest of the series. It states what type of object is included and what is not, and explains the format of the catalogue. The medals are once again presented chronologically, then alphabetically and some indication is given as to the rarity and value of each medal listed. The dimensions and materials of each medal are also given in each catalogue entry. So, the format of this volume continues in the same vein as its predecessors and, a few curiously inaccurate institution names in the credits aside, it is laid out in a very comprehensive style, each medal being illustrated with a photograph where possible.

Something of an unusual feature of this volume is the unique beginning of the production of medals for Elizabeth II's reign in that the Royal Mint did not produce any official coronation medals. This fact is hugely significant as coronation medals have been produced by the Mint for every monarch from James I onwards. The exact reason for this change and the curtailing of a long-lasting royal practice is not explained. Instead, this volume begins with some images of obverse medal designs featuring Elizabeth II's portrait which were made just in case of any future demand from the trade. It must be said that these images are not terribly well presented.

Another slight disappointment is the use of black and white images of each medal in the catalogue. These are significant objects that could have been brought to

life with at least some colour photographs. Instead, the medals appear flat, dull and lifeless as they are in some cases poorly lit which makes it difficult to see their detail and read their inscriptions properly. Presumably this is a cost-saving exercise, which is of course perfectly understandable, but it is still a shame that the medals themselves cannot be shown to their best effect. It is also something of a pity that several obverse and reverse images overlap each other, giving some pages in the volume a cluttered or untidy appearance.

The medals included are, as in preceding volumes in the series, commemorative of significant royal events and visits during the period covered by the catalogue. The bulk of the catalogue itself is dominated by the opening and concluding sections – medals to commemorate the coronation and the Silver Jubilee. The rest of the catalogue focuses on other royal events such as the Commonwealth Tour of 1953 to 1954 and visits to various countries, the Investiture of the Prince of Wales, the royal silver wedding anniversary and, in something of a neat throwback to the first volume in this

catalogue series, a medal commemorating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Queen Victoria. Some of the more unusual inclusions are a medal celebrating the opening of the Birmingham inner ring road by the Queen in 1971 and a medal commemorating the opening of the National Motor Museum by the Duke of Kent in 1972.

In short, this is a satisfying volume that not only signals the conclusion of this range of catalogues but also heralds a change in the production of royal commemorative medals. The introduction states that a relatively small number of medals were produced for the Golden and Diamond Jubilees and suggests that this could be explained by the decline in collectability of royal medals since 1977. Medals produced during that period do not appear to have increased in value over time and this has had the unfortunate effect of threatening the death of the tradition. In more ways than one, *Royal Commemorative Medals* Volume 8 may represent the end of an era.

HENRY FLYNN

OBITUARIES

MICHAEL JOHN BONSER (1939–2013)

MIKE Bonser, the Huddersfield-born naturalist and numismatist, died at his home in Wimbish, Essex on 1 March 2013, after a courageous battle against a long illness.

When Mike was aged seven his family moved from Yorkshire to Hebburn on the south bank of the Tyne. Thus, many would have regarded this Yorkshireman as a Geordie. Like many innate collectors, Mike began exchanging and buying coins as a schoolboy. On leaving school, Mike's first, albeit brief, employment was in the Tyne shipyards. A combination of intellectual curiosity and physical practicality remained the hallmark of his character throughout his life.

Mike trained at Durham College, becoming a qualified plantsman, which led to a post at the Royal Botanical Gardens in Jesmond, Newcastle before joining the then Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food at Stockbridge House, carrying out botanical research, despite some degree of colour blindness. In the early 1960s, Mike took an 'indoor job' with Boots the Chemist, who then had a farm and gardens department. He advised veterinarians and farmers, and was transferred from Newcastle to Saffron Walden in 1961. By this time, Mike had married Dorothy, whom he had known since schooldays and from attending the same chapel. Before too long, the urge to return to the outdoor life was too great and a customer recommended the Forestry Commission where, among many other practical skills, Mike learnt to wield a chain saw.

In the spring of 1973 Mike responded to an advertisement placed by Peter Aylett, the proprietor of Graces Fruit Farm, for a horticulturalist. After Mike had commuted for a year (on his much loved James motor-bike), he and Dorothy moved into Graces farmhouse, where a side-line in his cottage garden developed into a farm shop and he acquired new skills such as driving and welding. His children recall his wide-ranging interest in fossils, British flora and fauna, steam engines – he even built his own model engine and learnt to drive a steam train – and all such things that fascinate and educate in childhood and beyond. Between 1979 and 1984, Mike managed the orchard replanting programme of 25,000 trees and the installation of an irrigation system. Peter Aylett paid handsome tribute to Mike at the Service of Thanksgiving held at All Saints' Church, Wimbish, on 7 March 2013: 'He was a truly genuine right-hand man, valued colleague and perfectionist in everything he did.' Mike not only knew the names of all the plants on the farm, welcome or pernicious, but delighted in using the Latin name for each. Typically, he used his chain-saw induced hardness of hearing to 'turn a deaf'n' whenever it suited him.

It was in the early days of metal detecting that Mike developed his knowledge of the history of the farm and satisfied his insatiable curiosity by searching every square inch and researching the finds. By around 1980 it was clear that in the absence of an organized and accessible way of recording the burgeoning number of detector finds invaluable information would be lost. It was Mike who had the energy, enthusiasm and, above all, requisite personal skills to earn the trust of all sides in what threatened to be a fraught battle between unregulated detectorists and a potentially intransigent establishment. In autumn 1983, with the encouragement of Mark Blackburn, newly arrived at his research post at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mike started publishing articles in the popular detecting magazines, *Treasure Hunting* and subsequently *The Searcher*, describing the significance of finds and seeking information and assistance. He travelled widely to visit detectorists, identify and record their finds and harness their talent. He earned their respect and confidence and, in turn, respected their confidentiality. Many, such as Tony Carter, became close friends. His down-to-earth, candid, practical and personable character, was instrumental in minimizing hostile attitudes on both sides. The resultant articles on 'Single Finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins' appeared in the volumes of *BNJ* for 1984 (32 finds), 1985 (75 finds), and 1986 (139 finds). From 1987, the publication

of finds was formalized as the Coin Register, to which Mike himself contributed more than 2,000 find records.

Just as in his farm work, this new role that Mike had created for himself proved abundantly fruitful. In Michael Metcalf's words: 'in an excellent partnership with Mark Blackburn, he kept to it without deviation over the years. He found the right task for himself, to contribute objectively to scientific progress, and he worked steadily at it ... Mike Bonser was in the forefront of what has since become a major field of interest ... Rich sites promote secretiveness, alas, and without Mike's diplomacy, much that he rescued would have faded from memory.'¹ His bibliography (see below) clearly evinces his credentials as a numismatist. It was Mike's determination and diplomacy, in the face of some menacing characters, that led to the so-called 'Flixborough' productive site being identified in his article on 'Fifteen years of coin finds from productive sites' in 1997 as Sledmere.

As a result of his highly significant contribution to numismatics, Mike was among the winners of the inaugural Jeffrey North Medal in 2008. In his presentation of the award, Mark Blackburn acknowledged Mike's integrity and the enthusiasm which enabled him successfully to bridge the divide between detectorists and academics.² This helped ensure that finds from productive sites were disclosed and thus facilitated the establishment of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Mike was always keen to share his knowledge with others. He lectured for the Workers' Educational Association for more than twenty years and gave many talks to numismatic societies and detecting clubs.

At the well-attended Thanksgiving Service Mike's enthusiasm for nature, fossils, steam engines, chain saws and numismatics were recalled. He was a real gentleman, a man of the soil, with strong hands, a weather-beaten face and a boisterous laugh, who rarely spoke an angry word. It was evident to all on first meeting him that he was a warm hearted, open spirited, and clear sighted individual. It was a combination of no-nonsense, hands-on practicality and intellectual curiosity that enabled him to be a 'gatekeeper' between detectorists and academics, respected by all.

Mike was a member of the Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire Numismatic Societies and of the British Numismatic Society for thirty years, including three years on Council (1988–90). His death is a great loss to his family, friends, numismatic colleagues and numismatics in general. He leaves Dorothy, his wife of fifty-two years, his children Paul, Richard and Judith and six grandchildren.

TONY ABRAMSON

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RICHARD GEORGE (DICK) DOTY (1942–2013)

Dick Doty passed away on 2 June 2013, after a long illness. Cindi Roden, Dick's fourth wife and his soul mate, called him her 'Silly old Bear'. It is a good name. A very complex man, he showed infinite patience in doing research that he shared with others in the form of talks, books, and historically backed numismatic displays. He was the author of nine numismatic books, a teacher, a lecturer and just a plain good friend, and the world has lost a truly amazing man.

Dick was born in Portland, Oregon, on 11 January 1942. His family was poor but proud. Dick worked in a textile mill with his father in the evenings when he was in high school, and thus some school grades were a struggle. He was aided by a mentor, a teacher, O.P. Marsubian, who became a second father and a lifelong friend. Marsubian pulled a few strings and got Dick a small grant to go to Portland State University where he completed his B.A. degree. From there, Dick went to the University of Southern California, and graduated with a doctorate in Latin American Studies in 1968.

Beginning his professional career as a teacher, there were stops at Central College, Pella, Iowa; York College, City University of New York in 1970–71, and the University of Guam, 1971–73. At each place he served as an Assistant Professor, teaching mostly Latin American, United States and World history. His duties filled his days with lecturing and writing, which served him in good stead later in life.

When Dick was eight he was given his first world coins, which left an impression that lasted until his death. Given the opportunity to use his numismatic expertise, he joined the American Numismatic Society staff in New York, where he served as curator of modern coinage from 1974 to 1986, when he left to join the Smithsonian Museum in Washington DC. At the time of his passing, he was the senior curator of the National Money Collection at the Smithsonian. Dick decided that he did not wish for higher positions at the Smithsonian: he was certain he would not be happy with an office, meetings, and a coffee cup. I believe he made the right decision. His work made him happy.

Dick received many awards in his lifetime, including a Fulbright Fellowship to the University of Madrid, Spain, a Mexican Government Fellowship for study in Mexico City, the Del Amo Fellowship for research in Spain, the Millennial Award Medal of the Royal Numismatic Society, a lifetime achievement award from the American Numismatic Association, and (the most recent) the Huntington Award from the American Numismatic Society.

He was the founding President of the International Committee for Money and Banking Museums (ICOMON), and served as the first President of the Conder Token Collector's Club, International. Important indeed as these achievements were, there was much more to honour in the man.

Dick was essentially a man without ego. He never used his education or his position as a benchmark of who he was. Titles, be they his own or someone else's, meant little to him in terms of the measure of a person. A person's education or job was not at all important to him, everyone was seen as his equal. He was a man who had so many friends that one could not

count them, and no enemies at all. He was a very loyal friend as well. Once he accepted someone as a friend, he would never desert them.

Dick fully believed that human relationships could be found in the items he studied and organized as a curator, and he shunned the usual (or traditional, if you will) history that was told in rather dry language by many of his predecessors, and by many museum curators today as well. At his core, he was a story teller. The history came first, followed by the coin or token.

Dick became enchanted by British eighteenth-century Provincial tokens in a roundabout way. Here are his own words, written as part of an introduction for the sale of his collection of those tokens in 2006:¹

I finally became a serious token collector because of two factors. One was being Welsh. And the other was running into Matthew Boulton.

Bloodwise, I am a mongrel – French, Sephardic, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, Scottish, Irish, possibly Italian and definitely English – and Welsh. I tend to favor the Welsh portion of my inheritance, in part because we're so obscure as a people that no one has managed to create meaningful prejudice against us. When I discovered that Wales (which, until the coming of the Royal Mint some three decades ago, I would have categorized as one of the most numismatically inert spots on earth) had actually struck and circulated its own money in the 1780s and 1790s, had actually shown the way to the rest of the British Isles, I thought it might be worth a closer look.

It was.

Then Matthew Boulton came into the mix. I've always been interested in machinery, coining technology, and the like. When I ran across a British Midlander who'd had the vision to marry a steam engine to a coining press, and who'd performed the rite two hundred years ago – I thought he might be worth a closer look too.

He was.

I found that many of the features he and his Soho Mint would someday introduce on coins had already made their debut – on his tokens. The tokens got me more deeply into the life and work of Matthew Boulton. And Matthew Boulton returned the favor, leading me deeper and deeper into Conder tokens in general, and those of Soho and the other Birmingham coiners in particular. I lived in Brum, off and on, for about a year. And I finally turned what I'd found there into a book.

Dick's award-winning and wonderfully readable book, *The Soho Mint and the Industrialization of Money* (London, 1998), a very important study presented by the National Museum of American History of the Smithsonian Institution and the British Numismatic Society (in association with Spink), explained to the world the origin of modern minting and gave credence to tokens as a form of money. Many consider this to be his most important work. Truly, Dick was one of a small and very select band of American numismatists, in company with the likes of Marvin Lessen, Harrington Manville, and Peter Gaspar who have expanded our knowledge of British coinage.

Richard Doty is survived by his wife, Cindi Roden. We are all left with fond memories of a one-of-a-kind numismatist, and a one-of-a-kind friend. He will be greatly missed.

BILL MCKIVOR

¹ The Copper Corner FPL 45, July 2006, 2.

PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF THE YEAR 2012

ROGER BLAND

WHEN my predecessor, Robin Eaglen, became President following Mark Blackburn in 2008 he said he was taking on a difficult task, not because the Society was in poor heart, but for precisely the opposite reason; he felt it would be hard to match what Mark had achieved. I now feel the same way. Robin, the Society continued to flourish under your Presidency and I would like to thank you for the very healthy state in which you left it and for all your kindness to me.

I believe that members see the Society as a well-run machine, with everything happening at the right time and very efficiently, the meetings following on regularly, the *British Numismatic Journal* and newsletters coming out regularly and a website with almost the whole run of *BNJ* available on it and so on. And so they should. But what this masks is an enormous amount of effort by your officers and Council to ensure that all these things happen and I would like to pay tribute to them.

First of all I would like to thank our Secretary, Peter Preston-Morley, who has been a tower of strength to me and who conducts the business of meetings and council with great efficiency. The Society is greatly in his debt. Thanks too to our Membership Secretary, Philip Skingley of Spinks, not only for looking after our members so efficiently, but also for generously enabling us to meet at Spink's this evening.

Our membership continues to remain at a healthy level, 590. During the year 19 new members were elected and that is balanced by four deaths, three resignations and 13 amovals. So the figure remains a little below our benchmark of 600 and my message to you all is do encourage anyone you know who is not a member to join.

As we have heard, our Treasurer continues to ensure that the Society remains in good financial health. Thanks to this we have been able to hold our subscription at £32 for ten years now, and last year, besides all our normal activities, we were able to publish three Special Publications and digitise *BNJ* without diminishing our resources, which amount to a healthy £216,000. We are also extremely grateful, as ever, to our Hon. Auditor, Tony Merson, for his hard work on the accounts. My earliest memories of the Society when I joined in the early 1980s was that at that time its finances were very uncertain and the Society could barely afford to produce the *BNJ*: we should be grateful to successive treasurers that in a time of considerable financial uncertainty we are now in such a strong position.

We thank our Director, Ian Leins, for organizing another varied programme of meetings this year with another one promised for next year, plus the summer meeting in Oxford; our editors, Elina Screen and Martin Allen for continuing to maintain the high standard of *BNJ* and Robert Thompson, who took on the role of Joint Librarian last year, for maintaining that very important asset, our library. I would also like to express our thanks to Dr Barrie Cook, who is standing down from Council after three years' service and welcome the three new members of Council who were elected this evening: Thomas Anstiss, Jeremy Cheek and John Rainey.

Without doubt the Society's main achievement of the last year has been the completion of the project – started under my predecessor Robin Eaglen – to digitize all back numbers of the *BNJ*, down to 2007. This has been a great achievement and I think we are the first numismatic society to put all the back numbers of our journal going back over a century on a freely-available web site. In its first incarnation each journal was available as a single download, but now you are able to select individual papers, making it extremely usable and a really invaluable resource. We have taken a cautious approach and at the moment we are holding back the last five years' worth of journals from the web site, as we don't want this initiative to lead to a reduction in our membership, but I believe that Council should keep this under review to see whether we can move to a position where we only hold back the current journal. However, it is quite right

that we should be cautious until we can assess whether this is having any impact on our membership. It is great to see that we are leading the way in this initiative and congratulations to Rory Naismith and Andy Woods for this achievement.

2010 was a remarkable year in that it saw the publication of three Special Publications – Derek Chick's *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries*, Rory Naismith's *The Coinage of Southern England 769–865* and Mark Blackburn's *Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles*. That pace was obviously not sustainable but this year has seen the long-awaited awaited publication of *The Brussels Hoard of 1908* by Ron Churchill and Bob Thomas: this was a joint venture with Baldwin's which involved no financial commitment from ourselves and which will indeed provide us with a modest income. Our thanks to Martin Allen for his work on that volume. Next year we look forward to the publication of *Leonard Wyon's Diaries 1853–1867* edited by Philip Attwood.

Another innovation in our publications is that volume 82 of the *Journal* for the first time contained summary entries of all coin hoards found in Britain, to complement the single finds published in the Coin Register. These entries were formerly published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but now for the first time summary information on all the most important coin finds from Britain, whether single finds or hoards, will appear in our *Journal*. My thanks to Martin Allen for achieving that.

Turning to our meetings, we have enjoyed another rich and varied programme of talks and we thank our Director Ian Leins for organizing that, as well as our speakers: Graham Dyer, Sam Moorhead, Richard Cassidy, Martin Allen, Stephen Brogan, Barrie Cook and Adam Daubney; also to Frances Simmons for kindly stepping into the breach with a talk on Olympic medals when our scheduled speaker Felicity Powell was indisposed.

The Summer meeting, which we hold jointly with the RNS, has also occupied Council. This year our Director organized an excellent day of very stimulating papers on the theme of Jubilees and Anniversaries in Worcester College, Oxford, a very good venue; however, it would be fair to say we could have wished for a better attendance than the thirty-five we actually had. Next year it was to be the turn of the Royal to organize the meeting and, when they indicated that they were unable to do so, we were very grateful to Tony Abramson, the very energetic Secretary of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society, for stepping in to the breach and offering to organize a meeting on 'Coin hoards and Treasure finds' on 20 July 2013 in York; as this is the weekend of the York Coin and Stamp Fair we hope we will be able to attract a wider audience.

Council spent some time considering the location of our meetings. This was prompted by the fact that the Warburg Institute indicated they would be raising their charges from this autumn and also by the increasing difficulty of holding parties after meetings because of a change in the Warburg's security arrangements. Spink, via Philip Skingley, generously offered the use of their auction room to both the Societies free of charge. After discussion, we decided not to break our link with the Warburg which also houses our joint library and which, even after an increase in charges this autumn, still charges very reasonable rates, but to move to Spink for the two meetings a year that are followed by parties – this meeting and the May meeting. The RNS will similarly be holding their December and June meetings here. We have jointly purchased, with the RNS, a new laptop, data projector and screen for use here and we are grateful to our Secretary for sorting this out.

When I was invited to become your President I said that a goal would be to foster closer co-operation with the RNS. Most outsiders would find it strange that London holds two national numismatic societies, when the core base of members who can support and run those societies is not increasing. In practice we enjoy increasingly close co-operation and it is fair to say that the officers of Royal have embraced this agenda enthusiastically. We already meet in the same building, we share a library, we hold joint summer meetings and we co-operate over the Money and Medals newsletter. We have co-operated closely over the decision to hold two meetings a year at Spink's and we have both agreed we would like to open up our September meeting to Fellows of RNS and to match that the RNS is opening up its December meeting to ourselves.

Thanks to the initiative of our publicity officer, Megan Gooch, we have been having some discussion about how we can attract younger members. We need to make it more widely known

that the subscription rate for students is £15. We also have an aspiration to facilitate the publication of a popular book on British coins and medals – although that remains an aspiration until we can find a publisher. We would also like to encourage more younger members to join Council.

We also made donations of £1,000 to the fund established in memory of Mark Blackburn Fund by the Fitzwilliam Museum and to the BANS for its 60th anniversary conference in Greenwich next April.

This year we elected two Honorary Fellows: Jørgen Steen Jensen, former Keeper of Coins in the National Museum, Copenhagen, and Professor Peter Spufford, FBA, perhaps our most distinguished living economic historian. We would also like to congratulate our members Andrew Burnett, Deputy Director of the British Museum, for being made a Commander of the British Empire in the New Year's Honours list and Robert Julian for receiving the prestigious Numismatist of the Year award from the American Numismatic Association.

Lastly it is my sad duty to record the deaths of four very distinguished members: Professor Peter BERGHAUS, who dies at the age of 92, had been an Honorary member of the Society since 1985 and was a great authority on German coinage, besides being a very generous man; David SELLWOOD, expert on Parthian coins and former President of the Royal Numismatic Society; Laurence BROWN¹, of B.A. Seaby Ltd and author of *British Historical Medals 1760–1960* and numismatist to the Queen; and Michael SHARP of Baldwin's and subsequently DNW and an expert on the coinage of Charles I.

¹ See *BNJ* 82 (2012), 296–7, for his obituary.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 2012

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903–08	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1909	W.J. Andrew, FSA
1910–14	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1915–19	Lt-Col. H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1920–21	F.A. Walters, FSA
1922 (until 22 June)	J. Sanford Saltus
1922 (from 28 June)	G.R. Francis
1923–25	G.R. Francis, FSA
1926–27	Major W.J. Freer, VD, DL, FSA
1928 (until 20 February)	Major P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1928 (from 22 February)	Lt-Col. H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1929–32	Lt-Col. H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1933–37	V.B. Crowther-Beynon, MBE, MA, FSA
1938–45	H.W. Taffs, MBE
1946–50	C.E. Blunt, OBE, FSA
1951–54	E.J. Winstanley, LDS
1955–58	H.H. King, MA
1959–63	D.F. Allen, BA, FBA, FSA
1964–65	C.W. Peck, FPS, FSA
1966–70	C.S.S. Lyon, MA, FIA
1971–75	S.E. Rigold, MA, FSA
1976–80	P. Woodhead, FSA
1981–83	J.D. Brand, MA, FCA
1984–88	H.E. Pagan, MA, FSA
1989–93	C.E. Challis, BA, PhD, FSA, FRHistS
1994–98	G.P. Dyer, BSc(Econ), DGA
1999–2003	D.W. Dykes, MA, PhD, FSA, FRHistS
2004–08	M.A.S. Blackburn, PhD, FSA
2008–11	R.J. Eaglen, MA, LL.M., PhD, FSA
2011–	R.F. Bland, OBE, BA, PhD, FSA

JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded triennially to ‘the person, being a member of the Society or not, who shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as having in their opinion made the scholarly contribution to British numismatics most deserving of public recognition, as evidenced by published work or works, whether in the *British Numismatic Journal* or elsewhere’, by ballot of all the members.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d’Honneur, a President of the Society, by gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists:

1910	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton	1932	C. Winter
1911	Helen Farquhar	1935	R. Carlyon-Britton
1914	W.J. Andrew	1938	W.C. Wells
1917	L.A. Lawrence	1941	C.A. Whitton
1920	Lt-Col. H.W. Morrieson	1944	(not awarded)
1923	H.A. Parsons	1947	R.C. Lockett
1926	G.R. Francis	1950	C.E. Blunt
1929	J.S. Shirley-Fox	1953	D.F. Allen
		1956	F. Elmore Jones
		1959	R.H.M. Dolley
		1962	H.H. King
		1965	H. Schneider
		1968	E.J. Winstanley
		1968	C.W. Peck (posthumous award)
		1971	B.H.I.H. Stewart (later Lord Stewartby)
		1974	C.S.S. Lyon
		1978	S.E. Rigold
		1981	Marion M Archibald
		1984	D.M. Metcalf
		1987	Joan E.L. Murray
		1990	H.E. Pagan
		1993	C.E. Challis
		1996	J.J. North
		1997	P. Grierson (special award)

1999	R.H. Thompson
2002	E.M. Besly
2005	P. Woodhead
2008	M.A.S. Blackburn
2011	M.R. Allen

BLUNT PRIZE

This prize was instituted in 1986 as the Council Prize but its name was changed in 2005 to mark the outstanding contribution to the Society and to British Numismatics made by Christopher Evelyn Blunt (1904–87). The prize takes the form of a triennial cash award to an individual, whether a member of the Society or not, who has made a recent significant contribution to the study of numismatics which falls within the Society's remit. Its purpose is principally to encourage younger scholars, and therefore preference is given to suitable candidates under 35 years of age.

Recipients:

1987	M.A.S. Blackburn
1990	E.M. Besly
1993	B.J. Cook
1996	M.R. Allen
1999	P. de Jersey
2002	K. Clancy
2005	S. Bhandare
2008	T. Crafter
2011	R.G.R. Naismith

NORTH BOOK PRIZE

The North Book Prize, established in 2006 with a generous donation by Jeffrey North, is awarded every two years for the best book on British Numismatics.

Books eligible for consideration for the prize are those published during the current or three preceding calendar years, copies of which have been received by the joint library of the British Numismatic Society and the Royal Numismatic Society for review.

Recipients:

2006	M.R. Allen for <i>The Durham Mint</i> (London, 2003)
2008	R.J. Eaglen for <i>The Abbey and Mint of Bury St Edmunds to 1279</i> (London, 2006)
2010	Lord Stewartby for <i>English Coins 1180–1551</i> (London, 2009)
2012	D.W. Dykes for <i>Coinage and Currency in Eighteenth-century Britain: The Provincial Coinage</i> (London, 2011)

JEFFREY NORTH MEDAL FOR SERVICES TO NUMISMATICS

The Jeffrey North Medal for exceptional services to British Numismatics was established with a generous gift from Jeffrey North in 2008. It is awarded by Council 'to members of the Society or others in recognition of

outstanding services to British numismatics, whether in the UK or overseas'.

Recipients:

2008	J. Bispham
2008	M.J. Bonser
2008	C.R.S. Farthing
2008	A.J. Holmes
2010	K. Sugden
2010	P. and Bente R. Withers

PROCEEDINGS 2012

All meetings from January to October were held at the Warburg Institute. The November meeting was held at Messrs. Spink. The President, Dr Roger Bland, was in the chair for all meetings except that in April, when the chair was taken by Dr Stewart Lyon.

(For Officers and Council for 2012, see Volume 82)

24 JANUARY 2012. Sebastien Delcampe, Kishor B. Parekh and Mrs Etsuko Zakoji were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The President announced that Dr Andrew Burnett, Deputy Director of the British Museum, had been made a CBE in the New Years Honours List. Graham Dyer then read a paper entitled *William John Hocking (1864–1953): curator and numismatist*.

28 FEBRUARY 2012. Eric Warren Schneckloth was elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Jørgen Steen Jensen and Prof. Peter Spufford were elected to Honorary Membership. Dr Sam Moorhead then read a paper entitled *Renewed vigour for the British Empire – Carausius and the Frome hoard*.

27 MARCH 2012. Neil C. Middleton was elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Yolanda Courtney tendered her resignation to Council. Jørgen Steen Jensen and Prof. Peter Spufford were formally admitted to Honorary Membership. Richard Cassidy then read a paper entitled *The Exchequer, the exchanges and the mints in the reign of Henry III*.

24 APRIL 2012. Ewan John Mordecai Frith, Claudio Patrucco and Andrew John Wide were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Council noted with regret the death of David Grenville Sellwood (7 April 2012, aged 86). Dr Martin Allen then read a paper entitled *Mints and money in Norman England*.

22 MAY 2012. Myrt Eugene Cribbs and Linda Daniella Anna Everaert were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. In a change to the published programme, Frances Simmons then read a paper entitled *Much Wenlock to Hackney Marshes – the Olympic medal*. The meeting was followed by the Spring Reception for members and their guests, sponsored by Marion Archibald and Gavin Scott.

26 JUNE 2012. Council noted with regret the death of Laurence Brown (18 June 2012, aged 80). Dr Stephen Brogan then read a paper entitled *Restoration and Jacobite touch pieces: what does the numismatic evidence reveal about Stuart thaumaturgy?*

25 SEPTEMBER 2012. Stuart Bruce Golledge and Keith David Pearshouse were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Dr Allan Chapman and Robert Ewbank tendered their resignations to Council. Council noted with regret the death of Michael Baruch Sharp (9 August 2012, aged 71). Dr Barrie Cook then read a paper entitled '*This is the very coinage of your brain: Shakespeare and coins revisited.*'

23 OCTOBER 2012. Ioannis Andronikou, Peter Michael Barber, Trevor David Brown and Hendrik Jozef Leopold van Caelenberghe were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The President said that, no alternative nominations having been received, Council's list of Officers and Council members circulated during the month would be adopted at the AGM. Adam Daubney then read a paper entitled *Maurice Johnson (1688–1755), numismatist and founder of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Lincolnshire.*

27 NOVEMBER 2012. Reinhard Carsten, Charles Alexander Geddes and Barry Murphy were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Council noted with regret the death of Dr Peter Berghaus (16 November 2012, aged 92). The Secretary declared that 13 members were moved under By-Law IV.6. The President awarded the North Book Prize for 2012 to Dr David Dykes for his volume *Coinage and Currency in Eighteenth-century Britain: The Provincial Coinage*, and presented the Sanford Saltus Medal for 2011 to Dr Martin Allen. Frances Simmons and Richard Gladdle were appointed scrutators for the ballot. The following Officers and Council were declared elected for 2013:

President:	Dr Roger Bland
Vice-Presidents:	Graham Dyer, Dr David Dykes Dr Stewart Lyon, Peter Mitchell, Hugh Pagan, Lord Stewartby
Director:	Ian Leins
Treasurer:	Philip Mernick
Secretary:	Peter Preston-Morley
Membership Secretary:	Philip Skingley
Librarian:	Robert Thompson
Council:	Dr Martin Allen (<i>Editor</i>), Thomas Anstiss, Jeremy Cheek, Dr Robin Eaglen, Dr Megan Gooch (<i>Publicity Officer</i>), David Guest, Dr Sam Moorhead Dr Rory Naismith (<i>Website Officer</i>), John Rainey, Dr Elina Screen (<i>Editor</i>), Frances Simmons, Dr Paul Stevens, Andrew Woods (<i>Website Officer</i>).

The Corresponding Members of Council were announced as Professor Peter Gaspar (North America) and Colin Pitchfork (Australasia).

Council's proposal that the subscription should remain unchanged at £32 for Ordinary Members and £15 for members under age 21 or in full-time education was approved. The President delivered the annual address, the first part devoted to a Review of the Society's activities in 2012, followed by his Presidential Address, *Hoarding in Britain: an overview*. On completion and on behalf of the membership, Hugh Pagan thanked the President for his endeavours on behalf of the Society in the first year of his Presidency. The President then invited members and their guests to attend a reception generously sponsored by Dr Robin Eaglen.

EXHIBITIONS

May:

By Frances Simmons:

A 1908 Olympic Games bronze prize medal designed by Bertrand Mackennal, a 1908 referees' medal in plated bronze by Mackennal, a 1948 torch relay souvenir badge on card, a 1948 bronze participation medal by Mackennal and Pinches, a 1948 souvenir tea caddy spoon, a 1948 *Daily Telegraph* guide to the Olympic Games and London, four limited edition pin badges for the 2012 Games and a 2012 torch relay souvenir on card.

October:

By Hugh Pagan:

[Rev'd. William Moore], *The Gentlemen's Society at Spalding: its origin and progress*, London, 1851, with inscription from Rev'd. John Howard Marsden (1803–91), an honorary member of the Society and a member of the Numismatic Society of London from 1863.

By the Secretary, on behalf of the executors of the late David Griffiths:

Three Lincolnshire seventeenth-century tokens, being duplicates from the Spalding Gentlemen's Society collection sold at auction in April 1987: BW. 69, 119 and 128.

SUMMER MEETING

The Summer Meeting of the Society, *Anniversaries and Jubilees*, was held jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society at Worcester College, Oxford, on Saturday 7 July 2012. The meeting was opened by Professor Nick Mayhew, President of the Royal Numismatic Society, and closed by the President. During the morning session, papers were read by Dr Andrew Burnett, *Roman anniversaries*; Alexandra Kim, *Crowning glory – the celebration of royal jubilees*; and Thomas Hockenhull, *Jubilee and commerce*. In the afternoon, papers were read by Graham Dyer, *The silver jubilee crown of 1935*; Quin Cao, *From coin-shaped charms to commemorative coins – jubilee celebrations in China*; and Shailendra Bhandare, *Indian jubilees*.

PRESENTATION OF THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL FOR 2011 TO DR MARTIN ALLEN

In making the presentation to Dr Allen on 27 November 2012 the President, Dr Roger Bland, said:

It is now my great pleasure to award the Sanford Saltus medal to our joint Editor, Dr Martin Allen. The John Sanford Saltus Medal is the Society's premier distinction, awarded triennially, on the vote of Members, for the recipient's scholarly contributions to British Numismatics. Although the award was initially based on publications in the *British Numismatic Journal*, the regulations have now been widened to take account of an author's entire publications in the field.

Martin, you are so well known to members that you scarcely need introduction, but I propose to do just that. You have been a member of staff of the Fitzwilliam Museum since 1997 and a Senior Assistant Keeper since 2008. While most of us are content with one or perhaps two degrees, you have no fewer than four, besides having qualified as an Associate of the Library Association. Amongst many other honours you are a Research Associate of Wolfson College, Cambridge, an Affiliated Lecturer in Cambridge University's Faculty of History, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Historical Society, and a Freeman of the Company of Arts Scholars, Dealers and Collectors. You are a member of the British Academy's Sylloge Committee and have served on our Council three times and have been co-editor of our journal since 2010.

You were awarded the Society's Council Prize (which is now the Blunt Prize) in 1996. You completed your PhD thesis on the mint of Durham in 1999 and it was published as our Special Publication no. 4 in 2003, and in 2006 we awarded it the North Book Prize. Your first paper was on 'The Carlisle and Durham mints in the Short Cross period' in *British Numismatic Journal* for 1979 and since then you have contributed no fewer than thirty other articles and notes to our *Journal*, besides another twenty significant contributions in other journals and edited volumes.

You first established yourself as a leading authority on the prolific coinage of the Short Cross period but your interests have expanded to encompass the whole medieval period, and you have combined the study of the surviving coinage with mint records to great effect to give us a much better idea of the size of coin production throughout the medieval period. Your work on coin finds and coin hoards is also of the greatest importance and you worked closely with Mark Blackburn on maintaining the Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds (EMC) database, a pioneering web-based resource, and in editing the Coin Register in the *British Numismatic Journal*. However, without doubt your crowning achievement to date – we hope and confidently expect to see many more – is the monumental volume published by Cambridge University Press earlier this year on *Mints and Money in Medieval England*. This is a masterly synthesis of the subject and, it would be fair to say, only you could have written it.

Martin, you have been selected by the membership of this Society as worthy of its premier award, the John Sanford Saltus medal, and it is with great pleasure that I present it to you. Not only that, but you have the honour of receiving the first striking from newly-repaired dies!

In reply Dr Allen said:

PRESIDENT, fellow members and friends, it is an enormous honour to receive this award from a Society that has had an important part in my life in numismatics for many years. Thank you also, Roger, for your very kind remarks.

I am acutely aware of the fact that the last person to receive this medal, in 2008, was my great friend and mentor Dr Mark Blackburn, whose tragically early death last year we still all mourn. My career in numismatics really began with a phone call from Mark back in 1997, when he asked whether I might be interested in a job in Cambridge, running the newly established EMC

database. I must admit that I was very doubtful at first, as this would involve exchanging the apparent certainties of a permanent job in local government for the uncertainties of a short-term contract in academia, but circumstances favoured us and in due course I was able to join the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum as a permanent member of staff. Under Mark's wise and inspirational leadership the Coin Room at the 'Fitz' had become one of the best places in the world to work with coins, and I have never regretted my decision to take the plunge into museum and academic life for one moment. In this most of favourable of situations I was able to bring the PhD thesis I had begun with Durham University to a successful conclusion and my output of publications swiftly rose to a high (and some would say excessive) level. The culmination of this work was the publication of my second book earlier this year, which was dedicated to Mark's memory.

When I received the call from Mark to join to his team at the Fitzwilliam I had already been a member of this Society for twenty years, and it had been of fundamental importance to my development from a young collector to a numismatic scholar. It has always been one of the great glories of this Society that it nurtures the interests of people who study numismatics simply for the love of the subject, and I still count myself in the ranks of such 'amateurs' although Cambridge University rather misguidedly pays me to do work with coins I would do for nothing. It has been a great privilege and a pleasure to serve the Society on its Council and latterly as an Editor, and a great honour to be nominated for this Medal and to receive it. It is only a pity that two other nominees just as worthy of the award could not be successful in the vote of the Members this time.

PRESENTATION OF THE NORTH BOOK PRIZE FOR 2012 TO DR DAVID DYKES

In making the presentation to Dr Dykes on 27 November 2012 the President, Dr Roger Bland, said:

It is now my pleasure to present the North Book Prize, awarded every two years for the book that represents, in the opinion of Council, the best contribution to British numismatics. Council established a subcommittee to recommend a candidate for this prize, which was chaired by our Senior Vice-President Dr Stewart Lyon. We had a very extensive and distinguished field of publications to consider, but, having regard to the balance between the depth of an author's study of the political and economic background to a book's subject and the presentation of the numismatic artefacts themselves, we unanimously agreed that the North Book Prize for 2012 should be awarded to Dr David Dykes for his comprehensive, very readable and attractively presented book on *Coinage and Currency in Eighteenth-century Britain: The Provincial Coinage*.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2011

THE British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The Society is established for the benefit of the public through the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, and particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be, or have been, subject to their jurisdiction.

The Society's activities are governed by its By-Laws. The By-Laws were amended in November 2011.

The trustees of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2011 were the officers and members of Council comprising: R.F. Bland (President from November 2011), R.J. Eaglen (President to November 2011, then Council); G.P. Dyer, D.W. Dykes, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby (Vice-Presidents); I. Leins (Director); P.H. Mernick (Treasurer); R.H. Thompson (Librarian from November 2011), J.E. Roberts-Lewis (Librarian to November 2011); P. Skingley (Membership Secretary); P.J. Preston-Morley (Secretary); R.G.R. Naismith (Website Officer), A.R. Woods (Council, then Website Officer from November 2011); M.R. Allen (Editor), E.M. Screen (Editor); M.L. Gooch (Council, then Publicity Officer and Education Officer from November 2011), W.A. Mackay (Publicity Officer to November 2011); N.L. Biggs (to November 2011), B.J. Cook, D.J. Guest (from November 2011), A.W. Lyons (to November 2011), T.S.N. Moorhead (from November 2011), F. Simmons, P.J.E. Stevens (from November 2011) (Council).

The registered address of the charity is that of the current Treasurer, P.H. Mernick, 42 Campbell Road, London E3 4DT and the Society's bankers are the National Westminster Bank PLC, PO Box 10720, 217 Strand, London, WC2R 1AL and CAF Bank Ltd, 25 Kings Hill, West Malling, Kent ME19 4JQ. Funds are also deposited with Clydesdale Bank PLC, 30 St Vincent Place, Glasgow G1 2HL. The Independent Examiner is R.A. Merson, FCA, Tanyard House, 13A Bridge Square, Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7QR.

Society meetings were held on the fourth Tuesday each month from January to June and September to November inclusive at the Warburg Institute, University of London, at which a substantive paper was read. On 2 July 2011, a special one-day meeting on *The Value of Money* was held in Cardiff. This was a joint meeting with the Royal Numismatic Society.

Early in 2012 the Society published Volume 81 of the *British Numismatic Journal*. The Society's editors have provided another substantial volume, with 335 pages and 40 plates, containing 8 principal articles, together with short articles and reviews, the 2011 Coin Register, the 2010 Presidential Address and Proceedings, and the Society's financial accounts for the year ended 31 December 2009.

The Society also produces a series of Special Publications, financed by the Osborne Fund. Two more volumes were published during the year: Mark Blackburn's *Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles* and Rory Naismith's *The Coinage of Southern England 796–865*. Work has also continued on several other planned volumes. Spink & Son Limited acts as distributor of the Society's publications.

The Society has an independent web-site (www.britnumsoc.org) to provide a mix of permanent factual information about the Society and details of its current programme of meetings and activities. In addition, UK members received three issues of the *Money & Medals* newsletter containing short and topical articles, reviews and details of meetings and exhibitions.

During the year, the digital scanning of the entire run of back numbers of the *British Numismatic Journal* was completed and the contents of all but the most recent volumes can now be freely accessed through the Society's website. The cost has almost entirely been met by generous donations together with almost £3,000 added through Gift Aid.

The Society holds a substantial library, jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society, which is located at the Warburg Institute, and actively maintains a programme of acquiring new books and rebinding existing books, as necessary. Books are available for loan to members, both in person and by post.

Annual subscriptions were paid to the International Numismatic Commission and the British Association of Numismatic Societies (BANS).

The Society is financed by an annual subscription of £32, paid by both ordinary and institutional members, or £15, paid by members under 21 or in full-time education, together with interest on cash held on deposit and donations from members over and above their subscription.

The Trustees believe that the present level of uncommitted reserves set against current and planned expenditure is both prudent and proportionate. The Society's investment policy is reviewed by a Finance Committee.

All officers of the Society offer their services on a voluntary basis, and administrative costs were kept to a minimum, consisting largely of stationery and postage.

The Society is actively seeking to increase its membership, both in Britain and overseas, the total of which exceeds 600.

Signed on behalf of the Trustees:

P.J. Preston-Morley

Secretary

23 October 2012

**THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2011**

	<i>General Fund</i>	<i>Designated Funds</i>	<i>Restricted Fund</i>	<i>Total 2011</i>	<i>Total 2010</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE					
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees received for 2011 and earlier years	16,442	—	—	16,442	18,536
Gift Aid	3,356	—	—	3,356	1,412
Interest received	1,198	1,992	164	3,354	2,945
Donations	6,162	(4,000)	400	2,562	5,074
Sale of Publications :—					
Back numbers	485	—	—	485	616
Special Publications	—	9,559	—	9,559	1,925
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	27,643	7,551	564	35,758	30,508
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	11,784	—	—	11,784	12,096
Special Publications	—	10,176	—	10,176	3,648
<i>Money & Medals</i> Newsletter	830	—	—	830	896
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i> digitisation	9,528	—	—	9,528	—
Provincial meetings	176	—	—	176	36
London meetings	890	—	—	890	940
Linecar Lecture	—	500	—	500	—
North Prize	—	—	—	—	500
Blunt Prize	—	—	400	400	—
Library	682	—	—	682	1,377
Subscriptions	174	—	—	174	157
Bank charges	120	—	—	120	141
Website and database	272	—	—	272	1,212
Other printing, postage, stationery and secretarial	747	—	—	747	1,123
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	25,203	10,676	400	36,279	22,126
NET INCOMING/(OUTGOING) RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS					
	2,440	(3,125)	164	(521)	8,382
FUND BALANCES	72,547	106,678	8,769	187,994	179,612
Brought forward 1 January 2011					
FUND BALANCES					
Carried forward 31 December 2011	74,987	103,553	8,933	187,473	187,994

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 DECEMBER 2011

	2011	2010
	£	£
GENERAL FUND	74,987	72,547
DESIGNATED FUNDS	103,553	106,678
RESTRICTED FUND	8,933	8,769
	<u>187,473</u>	<u>187,994</u>
 ASSETS:		
Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off	160	160
Stock of Society Medals	1,470	1,804
Sundry Debtors	14,126	6,849
Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
Bank – Deposit Accounts	172,127	196,545
Current Accounts	28,228	14,662
	<u>216,111</u>	<u>220,020</u>
 LIABILITIES:		
Subscriptions received in advance	1,345	1,672
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	2,543	5,837
Creditors and Provision for Journals	24,750	24,517
	<u>28,638</u>	<u>32,026</u>
	<u>187,473</u>	<u>187,994</u>

Registered Charity No. 275906

The accounts were approved by Council on 23 October 2012

Signed on their behalf by:

R. Bland	President
P.H. Mernick	Hon. Treasurer

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2011

1. Accounting Policies

Basis of Accounting

These accounts have been prepared under the historical cost convention, and in accordance with applicable accounting standards and the Statement of Recommended Practice on Accounting by Charities.

Fixed Assets

No value has been attributed in the balance sheet to the Society's library. The joint library of the Society and The Royal Numismatic Society was insured during the year at a value of £415,650. The books are individually labelled as to which Society owns them, but for the purposes of practical day-to-day administration and the sharing of costs, one-third of the library is taken as belonging to The British Numismatic Society.

Stock

No value is attributed to the Society's stocks of Special Publications and *The British Numismatic Journal*.

Subscriptions

No credit is taken either for subscriptions received in advance or for subscriptions in arrears at the balance sheet date.

2. Designated Funds

	<i>North Fund</i>	<i>Linecar Fund</i>	<i>Osborne Fund</i>	<i>Benefactors' Fund</i>	<i>Total</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Interest received	217	234	1,446	95	1,992
Donation	—	—	—	1,000	1,000
Sales of Special Publications	—	—	9,559	—	9,559
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	<u>217</u>	<u>234</u>	<u>11,005</u>	<u>1,095</u>	<u>12,551</u>
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
Linecar Lecture	—	500	—	—	500
Special Publications	—	—	10,176	—	10,176
To General Fund donations	—	—	—	5,000	5,000
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	<u>—</u>	<u>500</u>	<u>10,176</u>	<u>5,000</u>	<u>15,676</u>
NET INCOMING/(OUTGOING) RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	217	(266)	829	(3,905)	(3,125)
FUND BALANCES					
brought forward 1 January 2011	11,646	12,508	77,449	5,075	106,678
FUND BALANCES					
carried forward 31 December 2011	<u>11,863</u>	<u>12,242</u>	<u>78,278</u>	<u>1,170</u>	<u>103,553</u>

The General and Designated Funds are all unrestricted.

The Linecar Fund was started in 1986 with the bequest of £5,000 and Council has designated this Fund to provide for a biennial lecture in Mr Linecar's memory.

The Osborne Fund was started in 1991 with the bequest of £50,000 and Council has designated this Fund to finance the series of Special Publications.

The Benefactors' Fund consists of other bequests and donations to the Society. During the year the Society received a bequest of £1,000. With the encouragement of the donor, the £5,000 received in 2010 has been restated as a donation to General Fund and used towards meeting the costs of the *British Numismatic Journal* digitisation project.

The North Fund was set up during 2006 with a generous donation from member Mr J.J. North and Council decided that this should partly be used to fund a biennial prize for the best book on British Numismatics published in the preceding three years. In 2007 Council decided additionally to use part of the Fund to establish the Jeffrey North Medal, to be awarded occasionally to members of the Society or others in recognition of outstanding services to British numismatics, whether in the UK or overseas.

3. Restricted Fund: The Prize Fund

Following an appeal for donations in 2005, the Society created a new Prize Fund with the purpose of supporting the John Sanford Saltus Medal, the Blunt Prize and any other award the Society might introduce in the future. The Society acknowledge the continued support of the Blunt Prize by the Blunt family.

PRIZE FUND	£
INCOMING RESOURCES	
Interest received	164
Donation	400
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	<u>564</u>
RESOURCES EXPENDED	
Blunt Prize	400
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	<u>400</u>
NET INCOMING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	164
FUND BALANCE brought forward 1 January 2011	8,769
FUND BALANCE carried forward 31 December 2011	<u>8,933</u>

4. Creditors and Provision for Journals

	£
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i> 81 (2011), published early 2012	12,250
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i> 82 (2012), to be published December 2012	<u>12,500</u>
	<u>24,750</u>

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I report on the accounts of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2011, which are set out on pages 336 to 339.

Respective responsibilities of trustees and examiner

Council as the Society's trustees are responsible for the preparation of the financial statements, and consider that the audit requirement of Section 144 of the Charities Act 2011 does not apply. It is my responsibility to state, on the basis of procedures specified in the General Directions given by the Charity Commission under Section 145(5) (b) of that Act, whether particular matters have come to my attention.

Basis of independent examiner's report

My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commission. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the Society and a comparison of the financial statements presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the financial statements, and seeking explanations from Council concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the view given by the financial statements.

Independent examiner's statement

In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:

(a) which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements to keep accounting records in accordance with section 130 of the Charities Act 2011, and to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with the accounting requirements of that Act have not been met; or

(b) to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable a proper understanding of the financial statements to be reached.

R.A. Merson, F.C.A.
Tanyard House,
13A Bridge Square,
Farnham,
Surrey,
GU9 7QR

23 October 2012

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

THE Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The object of the Society is the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be or have been subject to their jurisdiction.

Membership is open to all persons and to appropriate institutions. Details of membership and an application form can be found on the Society's website: www.britnumsoc.org. Further enquiries about membership should be made to the Membership Secretary:

Philip Skingley, Esq.
The British Numismatic Society
c/o The Warburg Institute
Woburn Square
London WC1H 0AB

Meetings are held at 6 p.m. on the fourth Tuesday of each month from January to June and September to November at the Warburg Institute. Other meetings may be arranged from time to time. Offers of papers to be read at meetings should be sent to the Director:

I. Leins, Esq.
Department of Coins and Medals
The British Museum
Great Russell Street,
London WC1B 3DG

The *British Numismatic Journal*, which is fully peer-reviewed, is published annually and distributed without charge to all members. Back numbers of the *Journal* have been digitized and are freely available online on the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org). Persons, whether members or not, wishing to submit an article or short note for publication should write to the Editors:

c/o Dr M. Allen
Department of Coins and Medals
Fitzwilliam Museum
Trumpington Street
Cambridge CB2 1RB

To assist contributors in the preparation of typescripts for submission to the *Journal*, and also with the marking up of proofs, a set of Notes for the Guidance of Contributors may be downloaded from the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org) or obtained from the Editors. The *Journal* is working towards becoming Green Open Access compliant. The final text of articles may be deposited in an online repository after an embargo period of 36 months, subject to the signing of a CC-BY NC ND license. Authors wishing so to deposit their articles should contact the Editors.

The Society's library is housed at the Warburg Institute. Members may use the library on presentation of their signed membership card. Books can be sent to members by post on request to the Librarian. Gifts for the library, and books for review, should be sent to the Librarian:

R.H. Thompson, Esq.
The British Numismatic Society
c/o The Warburg Institute
Woburn Square
London WC1H 0AB

Annual subscriptions, currently £32 (reduced subscription for those under 21 or in full time education £15), are due on 1 January each year, and should be sent without request to the Treasurer:

P.H. Mernick, Esq.
42 Campbell Road
London E3 4DT

ABBREVIATIONS

ANS	American Numismatic Society	CCI	Celtic Coin Index
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>	<i>CH</i>	<i>Coin Hoards</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports	<i>CHRB</i>	<i>Coin Hoards from Roman Britain</i>
BL	British Library	<i>CNS</i>	<i>Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt</i>
BM	British Museum	<i>CTCE</i>	C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, <i>Coinage in Tenth-Century England</i> (Oxford, 1989)
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i>	<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds
BNS	British Numismatic Society	FPL	Fixed Price List
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>		
CBA	Council for British Archaeology		

<i>GM</i>	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>	<i>ProcINC</i>	<i>Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress</i>
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>	<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
<i>MBS</i>	<i>Mail Bid Sale</i>	<i>RBN</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique</i>
<i>MEC</i>	<i>Medieval European Coinage</i>	<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>MIN</i>	<i>Metallurgy in Numismatics</i>	<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>	<i>RNS</i>	<i>Royal Numismatic Society</i>
<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular</i>	<i>SCBI</i>	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i>
<i>NNA</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift</i>	<i>SCMB</i>	<i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i>
<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>	<i>TAR</i>	<i>Treasure Annual Report</i>
<i>NNUM</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatik Unions Medlemsblad</i>	<i>TNA: PRO</i>	<i>The National Archives: Public Record Office</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>	<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities Scheme</i>		

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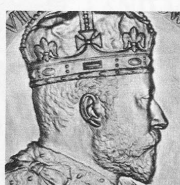
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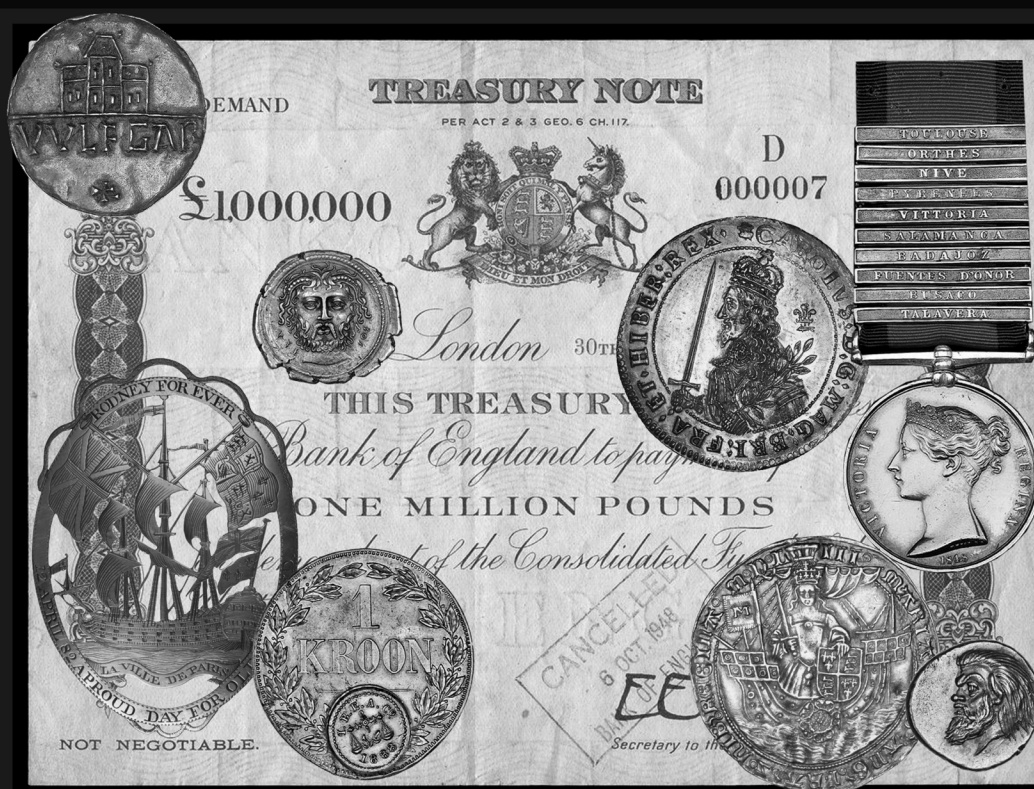
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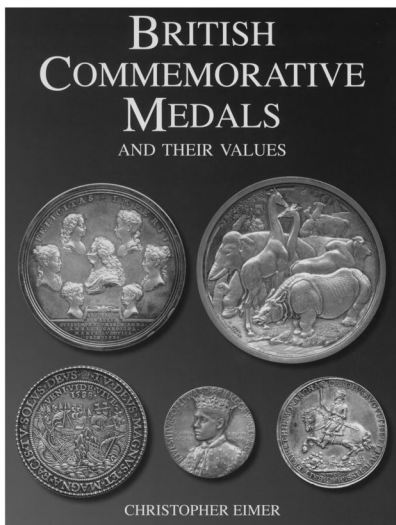
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